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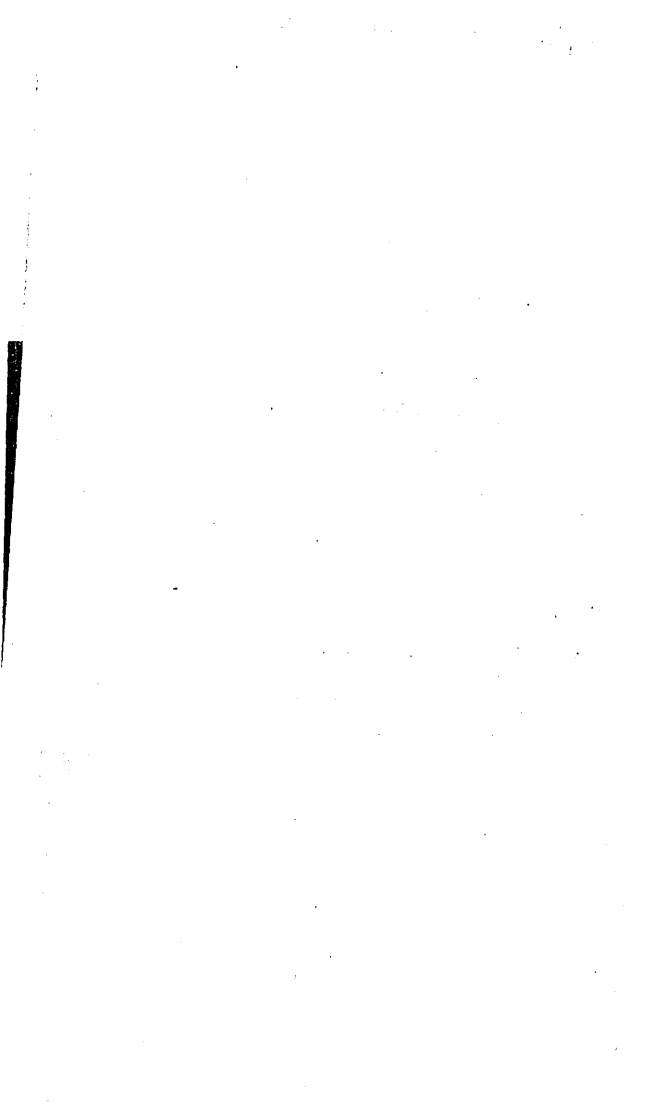
EDITED BY

CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D. T. E. PAGE, LITT.D. W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

## PLINY

### LETTERS

#### I





# PLINY

## LETTERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
WILLIAM MELMOTH

REVISED BY  
W. M. L. HUTCHINSON

IN TWO VOLUMES

I

*Plinius. Corvini. Secundus. C.*

"



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## PREFACE

MELMOTH's translation of Pliny's *Letters*, published in 1746, not only delighted contemporary critics—amongst whom Warton pronounced it a better work than the original—but deservedly ranks as a minor English classic. Apart from its literary excellence, it has the supreme merit of reflecting the spirit of the original, and that to a degree now unattainable. For it was produced when the lost art of letter-writing was in its heyday, and to compose just such letters as Pliny's the universal accomplishment of well-bred persons. His high-flown compliments, his neatly-turned platitudes, his nice blending of sense and sensibility, were stock ingredients of eighteenth century correspondence; and Melmoth—himself author of a vastly admired series of imaginary letters—had the ideal style for translating him at his fingers' ends. No modern rendering can recapture the ease and felicity of Melmoth's; for they came of his living in a world so like Pliny's own that he was perfectly at home with his author's mode of thought.

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On the other hand, Melmoth carried too far the principle that the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life. Judged even by the easy canons of his time in regard to translation, his work is extraordinarily loose and inaccurate; a good deal of it is simply paraphrase, and in many places the sense is flagrantly wrong. Thorough revision was necessary if it was to be included in the Loeb Classical Library; it was further needful to compress it considerably before it could be placed side by side with the text, as Melmoth's fondness for amplifying often makes the English twice as long as the Latin. To put new cloth to an old garment is always a hazardous undertaking, and the best I can hope is that my patches, though extensive, are sufficiently in harmony with the original fabric to escape notice.

The text of the present edition is based upon that published by the Bipons Press<sup>1</sup> in 1789, which

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Bipons editions of the classics were issued by three masters of the Gymnasium at Zweibrücken in the Rhenish Palatinate from 1779 to 1807, when after many vicissitudes in the revolutionary wars their Press was finally closed. The editor of its last production, an edition of *Quintus Smyrnaeus* (1807), says in his preface, "Who could occupy himself with a Greek poet at a time when all our minds are being stirred by mighty events and political changes? The work of the Bipons Press . . . has been interrupted by War."

## PREFACE

seems approximately the same as Melmoth's; it has been revised throughout with the help of the following modern editions: Keil, 1853 and 1873; C. F. W. Mueller (Teubner), 1903; Merrill (Selections), 1903; Kukula (Teubner), 1908; and for Book X., Hardy, 1889. Textual criticism, which in Pliny's case is highly difficult and uncertain, does not come within the scope of this edition; I have merely given some of the more important variant readings, citing the source of each. For the explanatory notes I am largely indebted to Merrill and Hardy, and have also consulted Church and Brodribb's "Selections" (1880).

W. M. L. HUTCHINSON.



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# INTRODUCTION

## PLINY'S LIFE

PLINY THE YOUNGER—commonly so called in distinction from his maternal uncle, the author of the *Natural History*—was born at Novum Comum (Como) in 61 or 62 A.D. Both his father's family, the Caecilii, and his mother's, the Plinii, belonged to the provincial nobility; both were wealthy and of good repute. Losing his father in childhood, Pliny was left to the guardianship of the celebrated Verginius Rufus; he received an elaborate education, completed at Rome, where he studied rhetoric under Quintilian, and doubtless supervised by his learned uncle. On the latter's death in 79 A.D. he left his nephew his sole heir, adopting him by will; Pliny, according to custom, took his adoptive father's name, and was thenceforth known as C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus.<sup>1</sup> In the same year, at the age of eighteen,

<sup>1</sup> The elder Pliny's name was C. Plinius Secundus. The nephew's original name was P. Caecilius Secundus; Publius being *praenomen*, Caecilius *gentilicium* (name of his gens), Secundus *cognomen*. His *cognomen*, being identical with his uncle's, remained unchanged; and he kept his original *gentilicium* in addition to that of his uncle (Plinius), whereas by older usage he would have added it as a second *cognomen* in the form Caecilianus.

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he made his first appearance at the bar; he became one of the most eminent pleaders of his day, and passed through the regular stages of an official career up to the consulship, to which he was nominated by Trajan in 100 A.D. The successful tenor of his public life remained unbroken throughout Domitian's reign of terror; and though he afterwards believed himself to have been in imminent danger from that Emperor, as the friend of his victims Helvidius, Rusticus, and Senecio, there is evidence that he enjoyed, and none that he ever forfeited, his favour.<sup>1</sup> From what we know of Pliny's character, as revealed in his *Letters*, we may infer that he played a prudent, though not dishonourable, part in those troublous times; that he concealed his sympathy with the objects of Domitian's persecution so long as to avow it was simply to share their fate; and that when Domitian's death and Nerva's accession (96 A.D.) had "restored liberty," he indulged a harmless vanity by posing as one who had narrowly escaped martyrdom under the late tyrant. On the other hand, though Pliny was no hero, we need not conclude him to have been a coward; if he avoided offending Domitian, Agricola himself did the same; and if he saved his life by discretion, he would

<sup>1</sup> He became quaestor 89 A.D. as Domitian's personal nominee; praetor 93 A.D., by his special grace, without waiting the usual year after holding the tribunate; and was by him appointed prefect of the military treasury, 94 or 95 A.D.

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assuredly have lost it rather than stoop to actual baseness.

Pliny's worth and talent for affairs were recognized both by Nerva and his successor, Trajan. The former, at the close of his short reign, made him prefect of the Treasury of Saturn—apparently the only instance of this important post being given to a man who had held the prefecture of the Military Treasury. From Trajan he received the consulship (100 A.D.) and, some three years later, the coveted office of augur; these were virtual sinecures, but about 105 A.D. he was given the "curatorship of the bed and banks of the Tiber and of the city sewers"—a post no less laborious than honourable, and demanding much administrative ability. This was the last public office held by Pliny at Rome; a still higher one awaited him in a distant province, from which he was not destined to return.

The province of Bithynia had been placed by Augustus among the "senatorial" provinces, *i.e.* those administered by the Senate through proconsuls chosen by lot from the ranks of that body. But whether owing to local conditions or proconsular mismanagement, this administration had been a failure in Bithynia; political disturbances were rife, and the finances of its cities disorganized. Trajan resolved to take the province under his own control for a time, and he sent Pliny thither as his legate, with full powers to reform abuses and re-organize

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the finances of the cities. It was probably in 111 A.D. that Pliny went upon this mission. How he executed it we learn in detail from his correspondence with Trajan, which gives us an interesting picture of Roman provincial administration at its best. Pliny's appointment seems to have lasted about two years, and to have been terminated by his death; but this remains matter of inference. For with his last letter to Trajan from Bithynia, in which he speaks of having sent his wife home to Italy, we lose all trace of him; the great inscription erected to his memory at Comum shows that he held no further office, and that he died before 115 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> but the rest is silence.

Pliny was thrice married, but left no children. Nothing is known of his first wife<sup>2</sup>; his second, the daughter of Pompeia Celerina, died about 97 A.D.; some years later he married Calpurnia, granddaughter of his fellow-townsmen Calpurnius Fabatus. From his letters to her, and to her relatives, we see that Pliny was a devoted husband, and his young wife a pattern of the domestic virtues.

<sup>1</sup> This is safely inferred from the fact that Trajan is not given the official title of "Parthicus," which he assumed in that year.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from i. 18 that he married her when "still a youth" and just entering practice at the bar.

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### THE LETTERS

Excepting the tenth and last Book, containing his official correspondence with Trajan, Pliny's Letters were not only published by himself but composed with an eye to publication. Hence the artificiality and lack of the vivid personal touch which at once strike us when we compare them with those of Cicero, whom he wished to emulate in letter-writing as in oratory. The difference is not merely the inevitable one between a man of genius writing in most stirring times and a man of mediocre talents writing in rather dull ones; it is far more the difference between a "human document" and a literary composition. In other words, Cicero's are real letters, in which he "unlocked his heart" to his friends and discussed all the news of the day; Pliny's are graceful prose exercises on various subjects and occasions. Incidentally, however, they give us much interesting detail respecting Roman life and manners in his time; valuable notices of contemporaries such as Martial and Silius Italicus; and an undesigned revelation of his own character, which, in spite of priggishness, vanity, and want of humour, has not only respectable but amiable traits.

The chronology of the first nine Books, none of these letters being dated, has been much disputed. It seems probable on the whole that Pliny published

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them in three groups (I.-II., III.-VI., VII.-IX.), issuing the first group in 97 or 98 A.D., and the last in 108 or 109. The tenth Book must have been published after his death, by some person unknown.

### SOURCES OF THE TEXT

For the first nine Books, we have three distinct sources, viz. (a) MSS. containing Books I.-V., of which the best are R (Florentinus Ashburnhamensis R. 98 olim Riccardianus), tenth century, F (Laurentianus S. Marci 284), tenth-eleventh century; (b) MSS. containing Books I.-VII. and IX., all of the fifteenth century, of which D (Dresdensis D. 166) is representative; (c) MSS. containing nine books, of which the best is M (Laurentianus 47. 36). V (Vaticanus 3864) is closely akin to M, but contains only Books I.-IV. The text of Book X. depends on a lost MS. which contained also the first nine Books. While this was still extant at Paris, copies of it by different hands were used by Avantius of Verona for his edition of 1502, and by Aldus in 1508. But while the Aldine edition gave the tenth Book entire, the first forty Letters are for some reason missing in that of Avantius. A MS. of these Letters has been discovered by Hardy in the Bodleian Library, which appears to be the actual copy from which Aldus printed.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## BOOK I

# C. PLINII CAECILII SECUNDI EPISTULARUM

## LIBER PRIMUS

### I

C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS SEPTICIO SUO S.

FREQUENTER hortatus es, ut epistulas, si quas paulo accuratius scripsissem, colligerem publicaremque. Collegi non servato temporis ordine (neque enim historiam componebam), sed ut quaeque in manus venerat. Superest, ut nec te consilii, nec me paeniteat obsequii. Ita enim fiet, ut eas, quae adhuc neglectae iacent, requiram, et, si quas addidero, non supprimam. Vale.

### II

C. PLINIUS ARRIANO SUO S.

QUIA tardiozem adventum tuum prospicio, librum, quem prioribus epistulis promiseram, exhibeo. Hunc rogo ex consuetudine tua et legas et emendes, eo



# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## BOOK I

### I

#### To SEPTICIUS

You have frequently pressed me to make a select collection of my Letters (if there be any which show some literary finish) and give them to the public. I have accordingly done so ; not indeed in their proper order of time, for I was not compiling a history ; but just as they presented themselves to my hands. And now what remains but to wish that neither you may have occasion to repent of your advice, nor I of my compliance ? if so, I may probably inquire after the rest, which at present lie neglected, and not withhold those I shall hereafter write. Farewell.

### II

#### To ARRIANUS

I FORESEE your journey hither is likely to be delayed, and therefore produce a copy of the speech which I promised in my former letter, begging you would, as usual, revise and correct it. I desire this the more

magis, quod nihil ante peraeque eodem ζήλω scripsisse videor. Temptavi enim imitari Demosthenem semper tuum, Calvum nuper meum, dumtaxat figuris orationis; nam vim tantorum virorum 'pauci, quos aequus amavit,' adsequi possunt. Nec materia ipsa huic (vereor, ne improbe dicam) aemulationi repugnavit; erat enim prope tota in contentione dicendi; quod me longae desidiaie indormientem excitavit, si modo is sum ego, qui excitari possim. Non tamen omnino Marci nostri ληκύθους fugimus, quotiens paululum itinere decedere non intempestivis amoenitatibus admonebamur. Acres enim esse, non tristes, volebamus. Nec est, quod putes me sub hac exceptione veniam postulare. Immo, quo magis intendam limam tuam, confitebor et ipsum me et contubernales ab editione non abhorрere, si modo tu fortasse errori nostro album calculum adieceris. Est enim plane aliquid edendum, atque utinam hoc potissimum, quod paratum est! (audis desidiaie votum?) edendum autem ex pluribus causis, maxime quod libelli, quos emisimus, dicuntur in manibus esse, quamvis iam gratiam novitatis exuerint; nisi tamen auribus nostris biblioplae blandiuntur. Sed sane blandiantur, dum per hoc mendacium nobis studia nostra commendent. Vale.

<sup>a</sup> *Aen.* vi. 129.

<sup>b</sup> ληκύθοι, lit. "toilet-bottles," in which ladies kept their cosmetics. The derived meaning, "tropes," "flowers of rhetoric," occurs in a letter of Cicero's (*Att.* i. 14. 3), from which Pliny may have quoted the word.

## BOOK I. ii

earnestly, as I was never, I think, animated with the same warmth of zeal in any of my former compositions ; for I have endeavoured to imitate your old favourite Demosthenes, and Calvus who is lately become mine. When I say so, I mean only with respect to their *manner* ; for to catch their sublime *spirit*, is given alone to “the choice selected few, whom fav’ring Jove befriends.”<sup>a</sup> My subject indeed seemed naturally to lead me to this (may I venture to call it?) *emulation*, since it was, in general, of such a nature as demanded controversial eloquence, even to a degree sufficient to have awakened (if in truth it is possible to awake) that indolence in which I have long reposed. I have not however neglected the softer graces<sup>b</sup> of my favourite Tully, wherever I could with propriety step out of my direct road to enjoy a more flowery path : for it was vigour, not austerity, at which I aimed. I would not have you imagine that I am bespeaking your indulgence, by filing this counter-plea : on the contrary, to induce you to exercise the utmost severity of your criticism, I will confess, that neither my familiars nor myself are averse to the publication of this piece if *you* should give your vote in favour of what may be pure error on my part. The truth is, as I must publish something, I wish (do you catch the true sluggard’s petition?) it might be this performance rather than any other, merely because it is already finished. At all events, however, something I must publish, and for many reasons ; chiefly, because the speeches which I have already sent into the world, though they have long since lost all their recommendation from novelty, are still, I am told, in request ; if, after all, the Booksellers do not flatter me. And let ’em, since by that deception I am encouraged to pursue my studies. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## III

C. PLINIUS CANINIO RUFO SUO S.

QUID agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae? quid suburbanum amoenissimum? quid illa porticus verna semper? quid platanon opacissimus? quid euripus viridis et gemmeus? quid subiectus et serviens lacus? quid illa mollis et tamen solida gestatio? quid balineum illud, quod plurimus sol implet et circumit? quid triclinia illa popularia, illa paucorum? quid cubicula diurna, nocturna? Possidentne te, et per vices participantur? an, ut solebas, intentione rei familiaris obeundae crebris excursionibus avocaris? Si te possident, felix beatusque es; si minus, unus ex multis. Quin tu (tempus est enim) humiles et sordidas curas aliis mandas et ipse te in alto isto pinguique secessu studiis adseris? Hoc sit negotium tuum, hoc otium, hic labor, haec quies, in his vigilia, in his etiam somnus reponatur. Effinge aliquid et excude, quod sit perpetuo tuum. Nam reliqua rerum tuarum post te alium atque alium dominum sortientur: hoc nunquam tuum desinet esse, si semel coeperit. Scio, quem animum, quod horter ingenium; tu modo enitere, ut tibi ipse sis tanti, quanti videberis aliis, si tibi fueris. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> Pliny's native town, the modern Como, on the shore of the Lacus Larins (now Lago di Como).

## BOOK I. iii

### III

#### TO CANINIUS RUFUS

How stands Comum,<sup>a</sup> that favourite scene of yours and mine? What becomes of the pleasant Villa, the ever vernal Portico, the shady Planetree-grove, the crystal Canal so agreeably winding along its flowery banks, together with the charming Lake below, that serves at once the purposes of use and beauty? What have you to tell me of the firm yet springy Allée, the Bath exposed on all sides to full sunshine, the public Saloon, the private Dining room, and all the elegant apartments for repose both at noon and night? Do these enjoy my friend, and divide his time with pleasing vicissitude? Or does the attentive management of your property, as usual, call you frequently out from this agreeable retreat? if the scene of your enjoyments lies wholly there, you are thrice happy: if not, you are levelled with the common order of mankind. But leave, my friend (for it is high time), the low and sordid pursuits of life to others, and in this safe and snug retreat, emancipate yourself for your studies. Let these employ your idle as well as busy hours; let them be at once your toil and your amusement, the subjects of your waking and even sleeping thoughts: shape and fashion something that shall be really and for ever your own. All your other possessions will pass on from one master to another: *this* alone, when once it is yours, will for ever be so. As well I know the temper and genius of him whom I am exhorting, I bid you strive to do justice to your talents; no more is needed, for the world to do the same. Farewell.

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## IV

C. PLINIUS POMPEIAE CELERINAE SOCRUI S.

QUANTUM copiarum in Ocriculano, in Narniensi, in Carsulano, in Perusino tuo ! in Narniensi vero etiam balineum, ex epistulis meis (nam iam tuis opus non est) una illa brevis et vetus sufficit. Non mehercule tam mea sunt, quae mea sunt, quam quae tua ; hoc tamen differunt, quod sollicitius et intentius tui me quam mei excipiunt. Idem fortasse eveniet tibi, si quando in nostra deverteris. Quod velim facias, primum ut perinde nostris rebus ac nos tuis perfruaris, deinde ut mei expergiscantur aliquando, qui me secure ac prope negligenter expectant. Nam mitium dominorum apud servos ipsa consuetudine metus exolescit ; novitatibus excitantur probarique dominis per alios magis quam per ipsos laborant. Vale.

## V

C. PLINIUS VOCONIO ROMANO SUO S.

VIDISTINE quemquam Marco Regulo timidiorē, humiliorem post Domitiani mortem ? sub quo non

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<sup>a</sup> Mother of Pliny's wife.

## BOOK I. iv.-v

### IV

#### TO POMPEIA CELERINA <sup>a</sup>

You might perceive by my last short letter of some time ago, that I had no occasion of *yours* to inform me of the various conveniences you enjoy at your several villas. The elegant accommodations which are to be found at Narnia, Oriculum, Carsola, Perusia, particularly the pretty bath at Narnia, I am extremely well acquainted with. For the truth is, I am more the master in your houses than I am in my own, and I know of no other difference between them, than that I am more carefully attended in the former than the latter. You may, perhaps, have occasion to make the same observation in your turn, whenever you shall give me your company here; which I wish for, not only that you may partake of *mine* with the same ease and freedom that I do *yours*, but to awaken the industry of my domestics, who are grown something careless in their attendance upon me. A long course of mild treatment is apt to wear out the impressions of awe in servants; whereas new faces quicken their diligence, as they are generally more inclined to please their master by attention to his guests, than to himself. Farewell.

### V

#### TO VOCONIUS ROMANUS

DID you ever see a more abject and mean-spirited creature than Regulus has appeared since the death of Domitian, during whose reign his conduct was no

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minora flagitia commiserat quam sub Nerone, sed tectiora. Coepit vereri, ne sibi irascerer; nec falleretur; irascebar. Rustici Aruleni periculum foverat, exsultaverat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque, in quo Rusticum insectatur atque etiam 'Stoicorum simiam' appellat; adicit 'Vitellianae cicatrice stigmosum.' Agnoscis eloquentiam Reguli. Lacerat Herennium Senecionem tam intemperanter quidem, ut dixerit ei Mettius Carus 'Quid tibi cum meis mortuis? numquid ego aut Crasso aut Camerino molestus sum?' quos ille sub Nerone accusaverat. Haec me Regulus dolenter tulisse credebat ideoque etiam cum recitaret librum, non adhibuerat. Praeterea reminiscebatur, quam capitaliter ipsum me apud centumviros lacesisset. Aderam Areionillae, Timonis uxori, rogatu Aruleni Rustici; Regulus contra. Nitebamur nos in parte causae sententia Metti Modesti, optimi viri. Is tunc in exilio erat, a Domitiano relegatus. Ecce tibi Regulus: 'Quaero,' inquit, 'Secunde, quid de Modesto sentias.' Vides, quod periculum, si respondissem 'bene,' quod flagitium, si 'male.' Non possum dicere aliud tunc mihi quam deos adfuisse. 'Respondebo,' inquam, 'quid sentiam,

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of the wound inflicted by one of Vespasian's soldiers, who, it is implied, treated Rusticus as a partisan of Vitellius. See Biogr. Index.

<sup>b</sup> The Centumviral court, originally composed of three citizens from each of the thirty-five tribes, dealt with civil cases relating to ownership, kinship, and inheritance. By Pliny's time it had been enlarged to 180 members, divided into four panels which sat separately for common cases, but as a single court for specially important ones (i. 18, vi. 33). It sat in the Basilica Julia (ii. 14).



## BOOK I. v

less infamous, though more concealed than under Nero's? He has lately entertained some apprehensions of my resentment: they were justly founded; resentment was what I felt. He not only promoted the prosecution against Rusticus Arulenus, but exulted in his death; insomuch that he actually recited and published a libel upon his memory, wherein he styles him, "the Stoics' ape": and further, "one branded with the scar" that stamped him a Vitellian." There you recognize his style of oratory. He falls so furiously in this piece, upon the character of Herennius Senecio, that Mettius Carus said to him one day: "Pray what business have you with my dead men? Did I ever interfere in the affair of Crassus, or Camerinus?" These, you know, were victims to Regulus in Nero's time. For these reasons he imagines I am highly exasperated, and therefore even when he recited the piece, did not give me an invitation. Besides he has not forgot, it seems, the dangerous assault he once made upon me, when he and I were pleading before the Centumviri.<sup>b</sup> Rusticus had desired me to be counsel for Arionilla, Timon's wife: Regulus was engaged against her. In the course of my defence I strongly insisted upon a ruling which had been formerly given by the worthy Modestus, at that time banished by Domitian. Now you shall see Regulus in his true colours: "Pray," says he, "what are your sentiments of Modestus?" You will easily judge how extremely hazardous it would have been to have answered in his favour, and how infamous if I had done otherwise. But some guardian power, I cannot but affirm, assisted me in this emergency. "I would tell you my sentiments," said I, "if that

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si de hoc centumviri iudicaturi sunt.' Rursus ille : 'Quaero, quid de Modesto sentias.' Iterum ego, 'Solebant testes in reos, non in damnatos interrogari.' Tertio ille : 'Non iam, quid de Modesto, sed, quid de pietate Modesti sentias.' 'Quaeris,' inquam, 'quid sentiam ; at ego ne interrogare quidem fas puto de quo pronuntiatum est.' Conticuit ; me laus et gratulatio secuta est, quod nec famam meam aliquo responso utili fortasse, inhonesto tamen, laeseram nec me laqueis tam insidiosae interrogationis involveram. Nunc ergo conscientia exterritus apprehendit Caecilium Celerem, mox Fabium Iustum, rogat, ut me sibi reconcilient, nec contentus pervenit ad Spurinnam ; huic suppliciter (ut est, cum timet, abiectissimus) 'Rogo,' inquit, 'mane videas Plinium domi : sed plane mane (neque enim diutius ferre sollicitudinem possum), et quoquo modo efficias, ne mihi irascatur.' Evigilaveram. Nuntius a Spurinna, 'Venio ad te.' 'Immo ego ad te.' Coimus in porticum Liviae, cum alter ad alterum tenderemus. Exponit Reguli mandata ; addit preces suas, ut dece-

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" To say that Modestus was loyal, might have been construed as treason to Domitian, who had condemned him. Pliny turns the tables upon Regulus by suggesting that even to put a question on a *chose jugée* was disloyal to the Emperor. (Merrill.)

were a matter for the consideration of the Centumviri." Still he repeated his Question. I replied, "It had been customary to examine witnesses to the character of *accused* but not of *condemned* persons." He pressed me a third time: "I do not inquire," said he, "what you think of Modestus in general, I only ask your opinion of his Loyalty." Since you will have my sentiments then, I returned, "I think it illegal even to ask a question concerning a person who stands convicted." This silenced him; and I was universally applauded and congratulated, that, without wounding my character by an expedient, perhaps, though disingenuous answer, I had avoided to entangle myself in so insidious a snare.<sup>a</sup> So now, alarmed by the consciousness of this offence, Regulus seizes first upon Caecilius Celer, then on Fabius Justus, and begs they would use their interest to bring about a reconciliation between us. And lest this should not be sufficient, he has applied also to Spurrinna for the same purpose; to whom he came in the humblest manner (for he is the most abject creature living, where he has any thing to fear) and says he—"I beg you will call upon Pliny to-morrow morning, and endeavour by any means to soften his resentment, but be sure to go *early* in the morning, for I can no longer support myself under this anxiety of mind." I had just awakened the following day when there came a message from Spurrinna, informing me that he would wait upon me. I sent word back, I would call upon him; however, both of us setting out to pay this visit, we met under Livia's Portico. He acquainted me with the commission he had received from Regulus, and interceded for him, as became so worthy a man in behalf of one of a very

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bat optimum virum pro dissimillimo, parce. Cui ego, 'Dispicies ipse, quid renuntiandum Regulo putes. Te decipi a me non oportet. Exspecto Mauricum,' (nondum enim ab exsilio venerat) 'ideo nihil alterutram in partem respondere tibi possum facturus, quidquid ille decreverit; illum enim esse huius consilii ducem, me comitem decet.' Paucos post dies ipse me Regulus convenit in praetoris officio; illuc persecutus secretum petit; ait timere se, ne animo meo penitus haereret, quod in centumvirali iudicio aliquando dixisset, cum responderet mihi et Satrio Rufo: 'Satrius Rufus, cui non est cum Cicerone aemulatio, et qui contentus est eloquentia saeculi nostri.' Respondi nunc me intelligere maligne dictum, quia ipse confiteretur; ceterum potuisse honorificum existimari. 'Est enim,' inquam, 'mihi cum Cicerone aemulatio, nec sum contentus eloquentia saeculi nostri. Nam stultissimum credo, ad imitandum non optima quaeque proponere. Sed tu, qui huius iudicii meministi, cur illius oblitus es, in quo me interrogasti, quid de Metti Modesti pietate sentirem?' Expalluit notabiliter, quamvis palleat semper, et haesitabundus: 'Interrogavi non ut tibi nocerem, sed ut Modesto.' Vide hominis crudelitatem, qui se non dissimulet exsuli nocere voluisse. Subiunxit

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<sup>a</sup> Brother to Arulenus Rusticus.

different character, without greatly pressing the thing. I ought not, I told him, to conceal the true state of the case from him, and after I had informed him of that, I would leave it to himself to consider what answer was proper for me to return. "I cannot positively," said I, "determine any thing till Mauricus" (who was then in exile) shall return, by whose sentiments I think myself obliged to be entirely guided in this affair." A few days after Regulus met me at the installation of the Praetor; following me at heel, he asks for a private conference, and says he was afraid I deeply resented an expression he had once made use of in his reply to me and Satrius Rufus, before the Centumviri, to this purpose: "Satrius Rufus, who does not affect to rival Tully, and contents himself with the eloquence of our age." I answered, that now indeed I perceived he spoke it with a sneer, since he owned he meant it so; otherwise it might have passed for a compliment. "I am free to own," I said, "that I do endeavour to emulate Cicero, and am by no means contented with taking my example from modern eloquence; for I look upon it as a very absurd thing not to copy the best models of every kind. But how happens it," continued I, "that you who remember so well what passed at this trial, should have forgot that other, when you pushed me so strongly concerning the loyalty of Modestus?" Pale as he always is, he turned still more remarkably so, and after a good deal of hesitation, he said, "It was not you whom I designed the question to injure, it was only Modestus." Observe now, I beseech you, the implacable spirit of this fellow, who makes no concealment of having designed to injure an exile. But the reason he subjoined is

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egregiam causam. ‘Scripsit,’ inquit, ‘in epistula quadam, quae apud Domitianum recitata est, “Regulus omnium bipedum nequissimus”’; quod quidem Modestus verissime scripserat. Hic fere nobis sermonis terminus; neque enim volui progredi longius, ut mihi omnia libera servarem, dum Mauricus venit, nec me praeterit, esse Regulum δυσκαθαίρετον; est enim locuples, factiosus, curatur a multis, timetur a pluribus, quod plerumque fortius amore est. Potest tamen fieri, ut haec concussa labantur; nam gratia malorum tam infida est quam ipsi. Verum, ut idem saepius dicam, exspecto Mauricum. Vir est gravis, prudens, multis experimentis eruditus, et qui futura possit ex praeteritis providere. Mihi et temptandi aliquid et quiescendi illo auctore ratio constabit. Haec tibi scripsi, quia aequum erat te pro amore mutuo non solum omnia mea facta dictaque, verum etiam consilia cognoscere. Vale.

### VI

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO TACITO SUO S.

RIDEBIS, et licet rideas. Ego ille, quem nosti, apros tres et quidem pulcherrimos, cepi. ‘Ipse?’ in-

16

pleasant. "He had wrote," said he, "in a letter, which was read to Domitian, 'Regulus, the greatest scoundrel that walks on two legs.'" And Modestus could have written nothing truer. Here, or hereabouts, our conversation ended; I not wishing to continue it, and being desirous to reserve to myself the liberty of acting as I should see proper when Mauricus returns. It is no easy matter, I well know, to overthrow Regulus; he is rich, and at the head of a party; there are many with whom he has credit, and more that are afraid of him; a sentiment that is often more powerful than love. But after all, ties of this sort are not so strong, but they may be loosened; for the popularity of a bad man is no more to be depended upon than he is himself. However (to repeat it again), I shall do nothing in this affair till Mauricus returns. He is a man of solid worth and great sagacity, formed upon a long course of experience, and who, from his observations on the past, well knows how to foresee the future. With him for adviser, I shall be able to present good and sufficient reason for either pursuing or dropping this affair. In the meanwhile, I thought I owed this account to the friendship that subsists between us, which gives you an undoubted right to be informed not only of all my sayings and doings, but all my designs. Farewell.

## VI

## TO CORNELIUS TACITUS

CERTAINLY you will laugh (and laugh you may) when I tell you that your old acquaintance is turned sportsman, and has taken three noble boars. What!

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

quis? Ipse; non tamen ut omnino ab inertia mea et quiete discederem. Ad retia sedebam; erat in proximo non venabulum aut lancea, sed stilus et pugillares; meditabar aliquid enotabamque, ut, si manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportarem. Non est, quod contemnas hoc studendi genus; mirum est, ut animus agitatione motuque corporis excite-  
tur; iam undique silvae et solitudo ipsumque illud silentium, quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt. Proinde, cum venabere, licebit auctore me ut panarium et lagunculam sic etiam pugillares feras; experieris non Dianam magis montibus quam Minervam inerrare. Vale.

### VII

C. PLINIUS OCTAVIO RUFO SUO S.

VIDE, in quo me fastigio collocaris, cum mihi idem potestatis idemque regni dederis quod Homerus Iovi Optimo Maximo :

Τῷ δ' ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατὴρ, ἕτερον δ' ἀνένευσεν.<sup>1</sup>

Nam ego quoque simili nutu ac renutu respondere voto tuo possum. Etenim, sicut fas est mihi, praesertim te exigente, excusare Baeticis contra unum

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xvi. 250.



## BOOK I. vi.-vii

(methinks I hear you say with astonishment) Pliny!—  
*Even he.* However, I indulged at the same time my beloved inactivity, and whilst I sat at my nets, you would have found me, not with spear and dart, but pen and tablets by my side. I mused and wrote, being resolved if I returned with my hands empty, at least to come home with my pocket-book full. Believe me, this manner of studying is not to be despised; you cannot conceive how greatly exercise contributes to enliven the imagination. Besides the sylvan solitude with which one is surrounded, and the very silence which is observed on these occasions, strongly incline the mind to meditation. For the future therefore let me advise you, whenever you hunt, to take along with you your tablets, as well as your basket and bottle: for be assured you will find Minerva as fond of roaming the hills as Diana. Farewell.

### VII

#### TO OCTAVIUS RUFUS

SEE on what a dizzy eminence you have placed me! You have even invested me with a sovereignty equal to that which Homer attributes to his mighty Jove:

“From heav’n’s imperial throne Jove heard his  
pray’r,

Part he admits, and scatters part in air.”

’Tis thus with a nod or a frown, I may grant or reject your petition as I see proper. To be serious: as I am at liberty, I think, to excuse myself to the Baetici, especially at your request, from being

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

hominem advocationem, ita nec fidei nostrae nec constantiae, quam diligis, convenit adesse contra provinciam, quam tot officiis, tot laboribus, tot etiam periculis meis aliquando devinxerim. Tenebo ergo hoc temperamentum, ut ex duobus, quorum alterutrum petis, eligam id potius, in quo non solum studio tuo, verum etiam iudicio satisfaciam. Neque enim tantopere mihi considerandum est, quid vir optimus in praesentia velis, quam quid semper sis probaturus. Me circa Idus Octobris spero Romae futurum eademque haec praesentem quoque tua meaque fide Gallo confirmaturum; cui tamen iam nunc licet spondeas de animo meo,

Ἡ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε.<sup>1</sup>

Cur enim non usquequaque Homericis versibus agam tecum? quatenus tu me tuis agere non pateris, quorum tanta cupiditate ardeo, ut videar mihi hac sola mercede posse corrumpi, ut vel contra Baeticos adsim. Paene praeterii, quod minime praetereundum fuit, accepisse me caryotas optimas, quae nunc cum ficis et boletis certandum habent. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* i. 528.

## BOOK I. vii

counsel for them against a single person ; so on the other hand, to oppose a whole province which I have long since attached to me by many good offices, and spared no pains to oblige even at the hazard of my own interest, would be acting inconsistently with my honour, and that uniformity of conduct which I know you admire. I shall steer therefore in this affair a middle course, and of the alternatives which you propose to me, choose that which will satisfy your judgement, as well as your inclination. For I do not look upon myself as obliged to consider so much what you at present desire, as what a man of your worthy character will *always* approve. I hope to be at Rome about the 15th of October, when I will personally pledge our united credit to Gallus in support of my present offer. In the meanwhile you may assure him of my good disposition towards him.

“The sire of men and gods,  
With gracious aspect mild, compliance nods.”

For why should I not continue to quote Homer's verses, since you will not put it in my power to quote any of yours? which yet I so passionately wish for, that I question whether I could withstand such a bribe, even to plead against my old clients the good people of Baetica.—I had almost forgot to mention (what however is of too much importance to be omitted) that I have received the excellent dates you sent me. They are likely to prove very powerful rivals to my favourite figs and morells. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## VIII

C. PLINIUS POMPEIO SATURNINO SUO S.

PEROPPORTUNE mihi redditae sunt litterae tuae, quibus flagitabas, ut tibi aliquid ex scriptis meis mitterem, cum ego id ipsum destinassem. Addidisti ergo calcaria sponte currenti pariterque et tibi veniam recusandi laboris et mihi exigendi verecundiam sustulisti. Nam nec me timide uti decet eo, quod oblatum est, nec te gravari, quod depoposcisti. Non est tamen, quod ab homine desidioso aliquid novi operis exspectes. Petiturus sum enim, ut rursus vaces sermoni, quem apud municipes meos habui bibliothecam dedicaturus. Memini quidem te iam quaedam adnotasse, sed generaliter; ideo nunc rogo, ut non tantum universitati eius attendas, verum etiam particulas, qua soles lima, persequaris. Erit enim et post emendationem liberum nobis vel publicare vel continere. Quin immo fortasse hanc ipsam cunctationem nostram in alterutram sententiam emendationis ratio deducet, quae aut indignum editione, dum saepius retractat, inveniet aut dignum, dum id ipsum experitur, efficiet.

Quamquam huius cunctationis meae causae non tam in scriptis quam in ipso materiae genere consistunt; est enim paulo quasi gloriosius et elatius; onerabit hoc modestiam nostram, etiamsi stilus ipse fuerit

## BOOK I. viii

### VIII

#### TO POMPEIUS SATURNINUS

NOTHING could be more seasonable than the letter which I received from you, wherein you desire me to communicate to you some of my compositions: I was at that very time designing to send you one. Thus you have set spurs to a willing horse; and at once deprived yourself of excuse in refusing a task, and me of scruple in requesting it. For 'twould ill become me to hesitate to make use of your offer; nor must you take the consequence of it with reluctance. However, you must not expect from a man of indolence any thing new. On the contrary I am going to entreat you again to devote your leisure to the speech I made to my countrymen, when I dedicated the public library which I founded for their use. You have already, I remember, obliged me with some general observations upon this piece: but I now beg of you, not only to take a view of it in the whole, but distinctly to criticise it, with your usual exactness, in all its parts. When you have corrected it, I shall still be at liberty either to publish or suppress it. The delay in the meantime will be attended with one of these advantages, that while we are deliberating whether it is fit for the public view, a frequent revisal will either make it so, or convince me that it is not.

Though indeed the principal difficulty with me concerning the publication of this harangue, does not arise so much from the composition itself, as from the subject, which has something in it, I fear, that will look like ostentation. For though the style be ever

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

pressus demissusque, propterea quod cogimur cum de munificentia parentum nostrorum tum de nostra disputare. Anceps hic et lubricus locus est, etiam cum illi necessitas lenocinatur. Etenim, si alienae quoque laudes parum aequis auribus accipi solent, quam difficile est obtinere, ne molesta videatur oratio de se aut de suis disserentis! nam cum ipsi honestati tum aliquanto magis gloriae eius praedicationique invidemus atque ea demum recte facta minus detorquemus et carpinus, quae in obscuritate et silentio reponuntur.

Qua ex causa saepe ipse mecum, nobisne tantum, quidquid est istud, composuisse, an et aliis debeamus. Ut nobis, admonet illud, quod pleraque, quae sunt agenda rei necessaria, eadem peracta nec utilitatem parem nec gratiam retinent. Ac, ne longius exempla repetamus, quid utilius fuit quam munificentiae rationem etiam stilo prosequi? Per hoc enim adsequebamur, primum ut honestis cogitationibus immoraremur, deinde ut pulchritudinem illarum longiore tractatu pervideremus, postremo ut subitae largitionis comitem paenitentiam caveremus. Nascebatur ex his exercitatio quaedam contemnendae pecuniae. Nam, omnes cum homines ad custodiam eius natura restrinxerit, nos contra multum ac diu pensitatus amor liberalitatis com-

so plain and unassuming, yet as the occasion necessarily led me to touch not only upon the munificence of my ancestors, but my own; my modesty will be greatly embarrassed. A dangerous and slippery topic this, even when one is allured to it by necessity! For if mankind are not very favourable to panegyric, even when given us by others, how difficult is it for a speaker not to seem tedious when he himself, or his family, is the theme of his discourse. Virtue, though stripped of all external advantages, is generally the object of envy, but particularly so, when glory is her attendant; and the world is never so little disposed to wrest and pervert your honest actions, as when they lie unobserved and unapplauded.

For these reasons I frequently ask myself, whether I should have composed this harangue, such as it is, merely for my own private use, or with a view also to the public? The former plan is recommended by the consideration that what may be exceedingly useful and proper in the prosecution of any affair, may lose all its grace and fitness the moment the thing is completed. For instance, to take only the case before us, nothing could be more to my purpose than to set down in black and white the motives of my intended bounty; for by this means I accustomed my mind to generous sentiments; obtained a fuller view of their loveliness by prolonged reflection, and guarded lastly against that repentance which usually attends a hasty execution of liberalities not well considered. This method trained me, as it were, to despise money. For while mankind seem to be universally governed by an innate disposition to accumulate wealth, the cultivation of liberal inclinations in my own breast taught me to free myself

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

munibus avaritiae vinculis eximebat, tantoque laudabilior munificentia nostra fore videbatur, quod ad illam non impetu quodam, sed consilio trahebamur. Accedebat his causis, quod non ludos aut gladiatores, sed annuos sumptus in alimenta ingenuorum pollicebamur. Oculorum porro et aurium voluptates adeo non egent commendatione, ut non tam incitari debeant oratione quam reprimi; ut vero aliquis libenter educationis taedium laboremque suscipiat, non praemiis modo, verum etiam exquisitis adhortationibus impetrandum est. Nam, si medici salubres, sed voluptate carentes cibos blandioribus adloquiis prosequuntur, quanto magis decuit publice consulentem utilissimum munus, sed non perinde popolare comitate orationis inducere? praesertim cum enitendum haberemus, ut, quod parentibus dabatur, et orbis probaretur, honoremque paucorum ceteri patienter et exspectarent et mereantur.

Sed, ut tunc communibus magis commodis quam privatae iactantiae studebamus, cum intentionem effectumque muneris nostri vellemus intellegi, ita nunc in ratione edendi veremur, ne forte non



## BOOK I. viii

from the general bondage to avarice, and I thought my munificence would appear the more meritorious, as it should proceed, not from a sudden start of temper, but from the dictates of cool and deliberate reflection. I considered, besides, the nature of my design; I was not engaging myself to endow public games or troupes of gladiators, but to defray the annual expense of maintenance for well-born youths. Furthermore, the pleasures of the eye and ear are so far from needing recommendation, that oratory should be employed to curb, rather than to promote them. But to prevail with anyone, to undertake with cheerfulness the disagreeable business of education, it is necessary to employ, not only rewards, but the most artful incitements. For if Physicians find it expedient to use the most insinuating address in recommending to their patients a wholesome, though far from pleasant, regimen; how much more occasion had *He* to exert all the powers of persuasion, who, out of regard to the public welfare, was endeavouring to reconcile it to a most useful, though not very popular, benefaction: particularly, as my aim was to recommend an establishment calculated singly for the benefit of those who were parents, to such as were not so; and to persuade the *many* that they should patiently wait for and endeavour to deserve an honour, of which, at present, a *few* only could partake.

But as at that time, when I attempted to explain and enforce the design and benefit of my institution, I considered more the general good of my countrymen than any reputation which might arise to myself; so I am apprehensive if I publish

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

aliorum utilitatibus, sed propriae laudi servisse videamur. Praeterea meminimus, quanto maiore animo honestatis fructus in conscientia quam in fama reponatur. Sequi enim gloria, non adpeti debet, nec, si casu aliquo non sequatur, idcirco, quod gloriam non meruit,<sup>1</sup> minus pulchrum est. Ii vero, qui benefacta sua verbis adornant, non ideo praedicare, quia fecerint, sed ut praedicarent, fecisse creduntur. Sic, quod magnificum referente alio fuisset, ipso, qui gesserat, recensente vanescit. Homines enim, cum rem destruere non possunt, iactationem eius incessunt. Ita, si silenda feceris, factum ipsum, si laudanda, quod non sileas, ipse culparis. Me vero peculiaris quaedam impedit ratio. Etenim hunc ipsum sermonem non apud populum, sed apud decuriones habui, nec in propatulo, sed in curia. Vereor ergo, ut sit satis congruens, cum in dicendo adsentationem vulgi adclamationemque defugerim, nunc eadem illa editione sectari, cumque plebem ipsam, cui consulebatur, limine curiae parietibusque discreverim, ne quam in speciem ambitionis inciderem, nunc eos etiam, ad quos ex munere nostro nihil pertinet praeter exemplum, velut obvia ostentatione conqui-

<sup>1</sup> non meruit *Fpra, Otto, Müller, non om. rel.*

## BOOK I. viii

that piece, it will seem as if I had a view rather to my own credit than the benefit of others. Besides, I am sensible how much nobler it is to place the reward of virtue in the silent approbation of one's own breast than in the applause of the world. Glory ought to be the consequence, not the motive of our actions; and though it should sometimes happen not to attend the worthy deed, yet such a deed is none the less amiable for having missed the applause it deserved. But the world is apt to suspect that those who celebrate their own generous acts, do not extol them because they performed them, but performed them that they might have the pleasure of extolling them. Thus the splendour of an action which would have shone out in full lustre if related by another, vanishes and dies away when he that did it tells the tale. Such is the disposition of mankind, if they cannot blast an action, they will censure the parade of it; and whether you do what does not deserve to be taken notice of, or take notice yourself of what does, either way you incur reproach. In my own case there is a peculiar circumstance that impedes me: This speech was pronounced not before the people, but the local senate; not out of doors, but in the town-hall; I doubt therefore it will appear inconsistent that I, who, when I delivered it, avoided popular applause, should now, by publishing this performance, appear to court the same: that I, who would not admit to the town-hall the very populace who were interested in my benefaction, lest it might be suspected I was actuated in this affair by any ambitious views, should now seem to solicit admiration, by forwardly displaying it to such as have no other concern in my munificence than the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

rere. Habes cunctationis meae causas ; obsequar tamen consilio tuo, cuius mihi auctoritas pro ratione sufficit. Vale.

### IX

C. PLINIUS MINICIO FUNDANO SUO S.

MIRUM est, quam singulis diebus in urbe ratio aut constet aut constare videatur, pluribus iunctisque<sup>1</sup> non constet. Nam, si quem interrogas, 'Hodie quid egisti?' respondeat: 'Officio togae virilis interfui; sponsalia aut nuptias frequentavi; ille me ad signandum testamentum, ille in advocationem, ille in consilium rogavit.' Haec quo die feceris, necessaria; eadem, si quotidie fecisse te reputes, inania videntur, multo magis, cum secesseris. Tunc enim subit recordatio: 'Quot dies quam frigidis rebus absumpsi!' Quod evenit mihi, postquam in Laurentino meo aut lego aliquid aut scribo aut etiam corpori vaco, cuius fulturis animus sustinetur. Nihil audio, quod audisse, nihil dico, quod dixisse paeniteat; nemo apud me quemquam sinistris sermonibus carpit, neminem ipse

<sup>1</sup> iunctisque *F Ricc. a*, *K*<sup>2</sup>, cunctisque *Dpr*.

<sup>a</sup> At the age of fifteen, Roman boys discarded the *toga praetexta* (white, with a purple border) for the plain white *toga virilis*, the dress of adult citizens. The "coming-of-age" ceremonies included a sacrifice to the household Lares, a family procession to the Forum, and a sacrifice offered in the Capitol.

## BOOK I. viii.-ix

benefit of example. These are the scruples which have occasioned my delaying to give this piece to the public; but I submit them entirely to your judgement, which I shall ever esteem as a sufficient reason for my conduct. Farewell.

### IX

#### TO MINICIUS FUNDANUS

ONE cannot but be surprised, that take any single day in Rome, the reckoning comes out right, or at least seems to do so; and yet, if you take them in the lump, the reckoning comes out wrong. Ask anyone how he has been employed to-day? he will tell you, perhaps, "I have been at the ceremony of assuming the *manly robe*;"<sup>a</sup> this friend invited me to a betrothal, this to a wedding; that desired me to attend the hearing of his cause; one begged me to be witness to his will; another called me to sit as co-assessor." These are offices which, on the day one is engaged in them, appear necessary; yet they seem *bagatelles* when reckoned as your daily occupation—and far more so, when you have quitted Rome for the country. Then one is apt to reflect, How many days have I spent on trifles! At least it is a reflection which frequently comes across me at *Laurentum*, after I have been employing myself in my studies, or even in the necessary care of the animal machine (for the body must be repaired and supported, if we would preserve the mind in all its vigour). In that peaceful retreat, I neither hear nor speak anything of which I have occasion to repent. I suffer none to repeat to me the whispers of malice; nor do I censure

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

reprehendo, nisi tamen me, cum parum commode scribo; nulla spe, nullo timore sollicitor, nullis rumoribus inquietor, mecum tantum et cum libellis loquor. O rectam sinceramque vitam! o dulce otium honestumque ac paene omni negotio pulchrius! O mare, o litus, verum secretumque *μυστήριον*, quam multa invenitis, quam multa dictatis! Proinde tu quoque strepitum istum inanemque discursum et multum ineptos labores, ut primum fuerit occasio, relinque teque studiis vel otio trade. Satius est enim, ut Atilius noster eruditissime simul et facetissime dixit, otiosum esse quam nihil agere. Vale.

### X

C. PLINIUS ATTIO CLEMENTI SUO S.

Si quando urbs nostra liberalibus studiis floruit, nunc maxime floret. Multa claraque exempla sunt; sufficeret unum, Euphrates philosophus. Hunc ego in Syria, cum adolescentulus militarem, penitus et domi inspexi amarique ab eo laboravi; etsi non erat laborandum. Est enim obvius et expositus plenusque humanitate, quam praecipit. Atque utinam sic ipse, quam spem tunc ille de me concepit, impleverim, ut ille multum virtutibus suis addidit! aut ego nunc illas magis miror, quia magis intellego; quamquam

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" A Stoic, who taught in Tyre until he followed Vespasian to Rome. When aged and infirm, he committed suicide, agreeably to Stoic principles (118 A.D.).

any man, unless myself, when I am dissatisfied with my compositions. There I live undisturbed by rumour, and free from the anxious solitudes of hope or fear, conversing only with myself and my books. True and genuine life! pleasing and honourable repose! More, perhaps, to be desired than the noblest employments! Thou solemn sea and solitary shore, best and most retired scene for contemplation, with how many noble thoughts have you inspired me! Snatch then, my friend, as I have, the first occasion of leaving the noisy town with all its very empty pursuits, and devote your days to study, or even resign them to sloth: for as my ingenious friend Atilius pleasantly said, "It is better to do nothing, than to be *doing* of *nothing*." Farewell.

## X

## TO ATTIVS CLEMENS

IF ever polite literature flourished at Rome, it certainly does now, of which I could give you many eminent instances: I will content myself however with naming only Euphrates the philosopher.<sup>a</sup> I made intimate acquaintance with this person in my youth, when I served in the army in Syria and took some pains to gain his affection: though that indeed was nothing difficult, for he is exceeding open to access, and full of that humanity which he professes. I should think myself extremely happy if I had as much answered the expectations he at that time conceived of me, as he has increased his own excellencies. But perhaps I admire these more now, than I did then, because I understand them better; though I

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ne nunc quidem satis intellego. Ut enim de pictore, scalptore, fictore nisi artifex iudicare, ita nisi sapiens non potest perspicere sapientem. Quantum mihi tamen cernere datur, multa in Euphrate sic eminent et elucent, ut mediocriter quoque doctos advertant et adficient. Disputat subtiliter, graviter, ornate, frequenter etiam Platoniam illam sublimitatem et latitudinem effingit. Sermo est copiosus et varius, dulcis in primis, et qui repugnantes quoque ducat, impellat. Ad hoc proceritas corporis, decora facies, demissus capillus, ingens et cana barba; quae licet fortuita et inania putentur, illi tamen plurimum venerationis adquirunt. Nullus horror in cultu, nulla tristitia, multum severitatis; reverearis occursum, non reformides. Vitae sanctitas summa, comitas par; insectatur vitia, non homines; nec castigat errantes, sed emendat. Sequaris monentem attentus et pendens et persuaderi tibi, etiam cum persuaserit, cupias.

Iam vero liberi tres, duo mares, quos diligentissime instituit. Socer Pompeius Iulianus cum cetera vita tum vel hoc uno magnus et clarus, quod

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" Otherwise unknown.



do not fully understand them yet. For as none but those who are skilled in Painting, Statuary, or the plastic art, can form a right judgement of any master in those arts; so a man must himself have made great advances in philosophy, before he is capable of forming a just notion of a philosopher. However, as far as I am qualified to determine, Euphrates is possessed of so many shining talents, that he cannot fail to strike and engage even the somewhat illiterate. He reasons with much force, penetration, and elegance, and frequently embodies all the sublime and luxuriant eloquence of Plato. His style is rich and various, and at the same time so wonderfully sweet, that it seduces the attention of the most unwilling hearer. His outward appearance is agreeable to all the rest: he has a tall figure, a comely aspect, long hair, and a large white beard: circumstances which though they may probably be thought trifling and accidental, contribute however to gain him much reverence. There is no uncouthness in his manner, which is grave, but not austere; and his approach commands respect without creating awe. Distinguished as he is by the sanctity of his life, he is no less so by his polite and affable address. He points his eloquence against the vices, not the persons of mankind, and without chastising reclaims the wanderer. His exhortations so captivate your attention, that you hang as it were upon his lips; and even after the heart is convinced, the ear still wishes to listen to the harmonious reasoner.

His family consists of three children (two of which are sons) whom he educates with the utmost care. His father-in-law, Pompeius Julianus,<sup>a</sup> as he greatly distinguished himself in every other part of his life,

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ipse provinciae princeps inter altissimas condiciones generum non honoribus principem, sed sapientia elegit. Quamquam quid ego plura de viro, quo mihi frui non licet? an, ut magis angar, quod non licet? Nam dstringor officio ut maximo sic molestissimo; sedeo pro tribunali, subnoto libellos, conficio tabulas, scribo plurimas, sed inlitteratissimas litteras. Soleo nonnumquam (nam id ipsum quando contingit!) de his occupationibus apud Euphratem queri. Ille me consolatur, adfirmat etiam esse hanc philosophiae et quidem pulcherrimam partem, agere negotium publicum, cognoscere, iudicare, promere et exercere iustitiam, quaeque ipsi doceant, in usu habere. Mihi tamen hoc unum non persuadet, satius esse ista facere quam cum illo dies totos audiendo discendoque consumere. Quo magis te, cui vacat, hortor, cum in urbem proxime veneris (venias autem ob hoc maturius), illi te expoliendum limandumque permittas. Neque enim ego ut multi invideo aliis bonum, quo ipse careo, sed contra sensum quendam voluptatemque percipio, si ea, quae mihi denegantur, amicis video superesse. Vale.

so particularly in this, that though he was himself a leading personage in his province, yet among many prospective sons-in-law of the highest rank, he chose the first in wisdom, though not in dignity. But to dwell any longer upon the virtues of a man, whose conversation I am so unfortunate as not to have leisure to enjoy, what would it avail but to increase my uneasiness that I cannot enjoy it? My time is wholly taken up in the execution of an office highly important and correspondingly troublesome; in hearing of causes, annotating petitions, passing accounts, and writing of letters; but letters, alas! of the most unlettered description. I sometimes complain to Euphrates (for how seldom have I leisure even for that!) of these displeasing occupations. He endeavours to comfort me by affirming that to be engaged in the service of the public, to hear and determine causes, to explain the laws, and administer justice, is a part, and the noblest part too, of Philosophy, as it is reducing to practice what her professors teach in speculation. It may be so: but that it is as *agreeable* as to spend whole days in attending to his instructive conversation—on this one point he will never be able to convince me. I all the more strongly recommend it to you, who have leisure, the next time you come to Rome (and you will come, I dare say, so much the sooner) to take the benefit of his elegant and refined instructions. I am not, you see, in the number of those who envy others the happiness they cannot share themselves: on the contrary, it is a very sensible pleasure to me, when I find my friends abounding in enjoyments from which I have the misfortune to be excluded. Farewell.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

### XI

C. PLINIUS FABIO IUSTO SUO S.

OLIM nullas mihi epistulas mittis. 'Nihil est,' inquis, 'quod scribam.' At hoc ipsum scribe, nihil esse, quod scribas, vel solum illud, unde incipere priores solebant; 'Si vales, bene est; ego valeo.' Hoc mihi sufficit; est enim maximum. Ludere me putas? serio peto. Fac sciam, quid agas, quod sine sollicitudine summa nescire non possum. Vale.

### XII

C. PLINIUS CALESTRIO TIRONI SUO S.

LACTURAM gravissimam feci, si iactura dicenda est tanti viri amissio. Decessit Corellius Rufus et quidem sponte, quod dolorem meum exulcerat. Est enim luctuosissimum genus mortis, quae non ex natura nec fatalis videtur. Nam utcunque in illis, qui morbo finiuntur, magnum ex ipsa necessitate solatium est, in iis vero, quos arcessita mors aufert, hic insanabilis dolor est, quod creduntur potuisse diu vivere. Corellium quidem summa ratio, quae sapien-

## BOOK I. xi.-xii

### XI

#### TO FABIVS JUSTVS

It is long since I received a letter from you. You will allege, perhaps, you have nothing to write : but let me have the satisfaction at least of seeing it under your hand, or tell me merely in the good old style of exordium, "If you are well, I am so." I shall be contented even with that; as indeed that single circumstance from a friend includes every thing. You may possibly think I jest : but believe me I am extremely in earnest. Let me know how it is with you ; for I cannot be ignorant of that, without the utmost anxiety. Farewell.

### XII

#### TO CALESTRIVS TIRO

I HAVE suffered a most heavy *loss* ; if that word is strong enough to express the misfortune which has deprived me of so excellent a man. Corellius Rufus is dead ! and dead too by his own act ! a circumstance of great aggravation to my affliction, as that sort of death which we cannot impute, either to the course of nature, or the hand of providence, is of all others the most to be lamented. It affords much consolation in the loss of those friends whom disease snatches from us, that they fall by the inevitable fate of mankind : but those who destroy themselves leave us under the inconsolable reflection that they had it in their power to have lived long. 'Tis true Corellius

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tibus pro necessitate est, ad hoc consilium compulit, quamquam plurimas vivendi causas habentem, optimam conscientiam, optimam famam, maximam auctoritatem, praeterea filiam, uxorem, nepotem, sorores interque tot pignora veros amicos. Sed tam longa, tam iniqua valetudine conflictabatur, ut haec tanta pretia vivendi mortis rationibus vincerentur.

Tertio et tricensimo anno, ut ipsum audiebam, pedum dolore correptus est. Patrius hic illi; nam plerumque morbi quoque per successiones quasdam ut alia traduntur. Hunc abstinencia, sanctitate, quoad viridis aetas, vicit et fregit; novissime cum senectute ingravescentem viribus animi sustinebat, cum quidem incredibilis cruciatus et indignissima tormenta pateretur. Iam enim dolor non pedibus solis ut prius insidebat, sed omnia membra pervagabatur. Veni ad eum Domitiani temporibus in suburbano iacentem. Servi e cubiculo recesserunt; habebat enim hoc moris, quotiens intrasset fidelior amicus; quin etiam uxor quamquam omnis secreti capacissima digrediebatur. Circumtulit oculos et 'cur,' inquit 'me putas hos tantos dolores tamdiu sustinere? ut

had many inducements to be fond of life ; a blameless conscience, high reputation, and great dignity, together with all the tender endearments of a wife, a daughter, a grandson, and sisters, and amidst these considerable pledges of happiness, many and faithful friends. Still it must be owned he had the highest reason (which to a wise man will always have the force of necessity) to determine him in this resolution. He had long laboured under so tedious and painful a distemper, that even these blessings, great and valuable as they are, could not balance his inducements to die.

In his thirty-third year (as I have frequently heard him say) he was seized with the gout in his feet. This he received from his father; for diseases, as well as possessions, are oftentimes transmitted by a kind of inheritance. A life of abstinence and virtue had something broke the force of this distemper while he had strength and youth to struggle with it; as a manly courage supported him under the increasing weight of it in his old age though suffering the most incredible and cruel tortures, since the gout by then was not only in his feet, but had spread itself over his whole body. In the reign of Domitian, I made him a visit at his country-house, where I found him lying sick. As soon as I entered his chamber, his servants withdrew: for such was his constant rule when any very intimate friend was with him: he even carried it so far as to dismiss his wife upon such occasions, though worthy of the highest confidence. Looking round about him, "Do you know," says he "why I endure life under these cruel agonies? It is with the hope that I may

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

scilicet isti latroni vel uno die supersim.' Dedisses huic animo par corpus, fecisset, quod optabat.

Adfuit tamen deus voto, cuius ille compos ut iam securus liberque moriturus multa illa vitae, sed minora retinacula abrupit. Increverat valetudo, quam temperantia mitigare temptavit; perseverantem constantia fugit. Iam dies alter, tertius, quartus; abstinebat cibo. Misit ad me uxor eius Hispulla communem amicum C. Geminium cum tristissimo nuntio destinasse Corellium mori nec aut suis aut filiae precibus flecti, solum superesse me,<sup>a</sup> a quo revocari posset ad vitam. Cucurri. Pervenēram in proximum, cum mihi ab eadem Hispulla Iulius Atticus nuntiat nihil iam ne me quidem impetraturum; tam obstinate magis ac magis induruisse. Dixerat sane medico admoventi cibum: κέρικα, quae vox quantum admirationis in animo meo tantum desiderii reliquit.

Cogito, quo amico, quo viro caream. Implevit quidem annum septimum et sexagensimum, quae aetas etiam robustissimis satis longa est; scio. Evasit perpetuam

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<sup>a</sup> Domitian.



outlive, at least for one day, that brigand." *a*. And had you given him strength equal to his resolution, he would infallibly have brought to pass what he desired.

Still, Heaven heard his prayer, and having obtained it, he broke through those great, but now insufficient attachments to the world, since he could die in possession of security and freedom. His distemper increased; and as it now grew too violent to admit of any relief from temperance, he resolutely determined to put an end to its uninterrupted attacks by an effort of heroism. He had refused all sustenance for four days, when his wife, Hispulla, sent to me our common friend Geminius, with the melancholy news that he was resolved to die; and that she and her daughter having in vain joined in their most tender persuasions to divert him from his purpose, the only hope they had now left was my endeavours to reconcile him to life. I ran to his house with the utmost precipitation. As I approached it, I met a second messenger from Hispulla, Julius Attius, who informed me there was nothing to be hoped for, even from me, as he grew more and more inflexible in his resolution. What confirmed their fears was an expression he made use of to his physician, who pressed him to take some nourishment: "'tis resolved," he said: an expression which as it raised my admiration of his greatness of soul, so it does my grief for the loss of him.

I am every moment reflecting what a valuable friend, what an excellent man I am deprived of. That he was arrived to his sixty-seventh year, which is an age even the strongest seldom exceed, I well know; that he is delivered from a life of

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valetudinem ; scio. Decessit superstitibus suis, florente republica, quae illi omnibus suis carior erat ; et hoc scio. Ego tamen tamquam et iuvenis et firmissimi mortem doleo, doleo autem (licet me imbecillum putes) meo nomine. Amisi enim, amisi vitae meae testem, rectorem, magistrum. In summa dicam, quod recenti dolore contubernali meo Calvisio dixi : ‘ Vereor, ne negligentius vivam.’ Proinde adhibe solacia mihi, non haec : ‘ Senex erat, infirmus erat ’ (haec enim novi), sed nova aliqua, sed magna, quae audierim nunquam, legerim nunquam. Nam, quae audivi, quae legi, sponte succurrunt, sed tanto dolore superantur. · Vale.

### XIII

C. PLINIUS SOSIO SENECONI SUO S.

MAGNUM proventum poëtarum annus hic attulit ; toto mense Aprili nullus fere dies, quo non recitaret aliquis. Iuvat me, quod vigent studia, proferunt se ingenia hominum et ostentant, tametsi ad audiendum pigre coitur. Plerique in stationibus

continual pain ; that he left a family ; that he left (what he loved even more) his country in a flourishing state ; all this I know. Still I cannot forbear to weep for him as if he had been in the prime and vigour of his days : and I weep (shall I own my weakness ?) upon a private account. For I have lost, oh ! I have lost the witness, the guide, and the director of my life ! In fine, I confess to you what I did to my friend Calvisius in the first transport of my grief—I sadly fear, now that I am no longer under his eye, I shall not keep so strict a guard over my conduct. Speak comfort to me therefore, I entreat you ; not by telling me that “ he was old, that he was infirm ” ; all this I know ; but by supplying me with some arguments that are uncommon and resistless, that neither the writings nor the discourses of the philosophers can teach me. For all that I have heard and all that I have read occur to me of themselves ; but all these are by far too weak to support me under so heavy an affliction. Farewell.

## XIII

To SOSIUS SENECIO

THIS year has proved extremely fertile in poetical productions : during the whole month of April, scarce a day has passed wherein we have not been entertained with the recital of some poem. It is a pleasure to me to find, notwithstanding there seems to be so little disposition in the public to attend assemblies of this kind, that literary pursuits still flourish, and men of genius are not discouraged from producing their performances. The greater part of

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

sedent tempusque audiendi fabulis conterunt ac subinde sibi nuntiari iubent, an iam recitator intra-verit, an dixerit praefationem, an ex magna parte evolverit librum; tum demum ac tunc quoque lente cunctanterque veniunt nec tamen permanent, sed ante finem recedunt, alii dissimulanter et furtim, alii simpliciter et libere. At hercule memoria parentum Claudium Caesarem ferunt, cum in Palatio spatia-retur audissetque clamorem, causam requisisse, cumque dictum esset recitare Nonianum, subitum recitanti inopinatumque venisse. Nunc otiosissimus quisque multo ante rogatus et identidem admonitus aut non venit aut, si venit, queritur se diem, quia non perdidit, perdidisse. Sed tanto magis laudandi probandique sunt, quos a scribendi recitandique studio haec auditorum vel desidia vel superbia non retardat. Equidem prope nemini defui. Erant sane plerique amici; neque enim quisquam est fere, qui studia, ut non simul et nos amet. His ex causis longius, quam destinaveram, tempus in urbe consumpsi. Possum iam repetere secessum et scribere aliquid, quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus adfui, non

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the audience which is collected upon these occasions seat themselves in the ante-chambers; spend the time of the recitation in talk and send in every now and then to inquire whether the author is come in, whether he has read the preface, or whether he has almost finished the piece. Not till then, and even then with the utmost deliberation, they just look in, and withdraw again before the end, some by stealth, and others without ceremony. It was not thus in the time of our ancestors. It is reported that Claudius Caesar, one day hearing a noise as he walked on the Palatine, inquired the occasion of it, and being informed that Nonianus was reciting a composition of his, went immediately to the place, and surprised the author with his presence. But now, were one to bespeak the company even of the most idle man living, and remind him of the appointment ever so often, or ever so long beforehand, either he would avoid it, or, if not, would complain of having *lost a day*; and for no other reason, but because he had *not* lost it. So much the rather do *those* authors deserve our encouragement and applause, who have resolution to persevere in their studies, and exhibit their performances, notwithstanding this indolence or pride of their audience. For my own part, I scarce ever refuse to be present upon such occasions. Though, to say truth, the authors have generally been my friends; as indeed there are few friends of learning who are not. It is this has kept me in town longer than I intended. I am now however at liberty to withdraw to my retirement, and write something myself: but without any intentions of reciting in my turn. I would not have it thought

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auditor fuisse, sed creditor. Nam ut in ceteris rebus ita in audiendi officio perit gratia, si reposcatur. Vale.

### XIV

C. PLINIUS IUNIO MAURICO SUO S.

PETIS, ut fratris tui filiae prospiciam maritum; quod merito mihi potissimum iniungis. Scis enim, quantopere summum illum virum suspexerim dilexerimque, quibus ille adolescentiam meam exhortationibus foverit, quibus etiam laudibus, ut laudandus viderer, effecerit. Nihil est, quod a te mandari mihi aut maius aut gratius, nihil, quod honestius a me suscipi possit, quam ut eligam iuvenem, ex quo nasci nepotes Aruleno Rustico deceat. Qui quidem diu quaerendus fuisset, nisi paratus et quasi provisus esset Minicius Acilianus, qui me ut iuvenis iuvenem (est enim minor pauculis annis) familiarissime diligit, reveretur ut senem. Nam ita a me formari et institui cupit, ut ego a vobis solebam.

Patria est ei Brixia ex illa nostra Italia, quae multum adhuc verecundiae, frugalitatis atque etiam rusticitatis antiquae retinet ac servat. Pater Minicius Macrinus, equestris ordinis princeps, quia

## BOOK I. xiii.—xiv

that I rather *lent* than gave my attendance ; for in these, as in all other good offices, the obligation ceases the moment you seem to expect a return. Farewell.

### XIV

#### TO JUNIUS MAURICUS

You desire me to look out a husband for your niece ; and it is with justice you enjoin *me* that office. You were a witness to the esteem and affection I bore that great man her father, and with what noble instructions he formed my youth, and taught me to deserve those praises he was pleased to bestow upon me. You could not give me then a more important, or more agreeable commission, nor could I be employed in an office of higher honour, than of choosing a young man worthy of continuing the family of Rusticus Arulenus : a choice I should be long in determining if I were not acquainted with Minicius Acilianus, who seems formed for our purpose. While he loves me with that warmth of affection which is usual between young men of equal years (as indeed I have the advance of him but by very few) he reveres me at the same time with all the deference due to age ; and is as desirous to model himself by my instructions, as I was by those of yourself and your brother.

He is a native of Brixia, a city of that Italy we both love, the Italy which still retains much of the sobriety, the frugality—ay, and the rustic plainness—of ancient manners. He is son to Minicius Macrinus, whose humble desires were satisfied with being first in the rank of the Equestrian order : for

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

nihil altius voluit; adlectus a divo Vespasiano inter Praetorios honestam quietem huic nostrae ambitioni dicam an dignitati constantissime praetulit. Habet aviam maternam Serranam Proculam e municipio Patavino. Nosti loci mores; Serrana tamen Patavinis quoque severitatis exemplum est. Contigit et avunculus ei P. Acilius gravitate, prudentia, fide prope singulari. In summa nihil erit in domo tota, quod non tibi tanquam in tua placeat. Aciliano vero ipsi plurimum vigoris et industriae, quamquam in maxima verecundia. Quaesturam, tribunatum, praeturam honestissime percucurrit ac iam pro se tibi necessitatem ambiendi remisit. Est illi facies liberalis multo sanguine, multo rubore suffusa, est ingenua totius corporis pulchritudo et quidam senatorius decor. Quae ego nequaquam arbitror negligenda; debet enim hoc castitati puellarum quasi praemium dari.

Nescio, an adiciam esse patri eius amplas facultates. Nam, cum imaginor vos, quibus quaerimus generum, silendum de facultatibus puto; cum publicos mores atque etiam leges civitatis intueor, quae vel in primis census hominum spectandos arbitrantur, ne id quidem praetereundum videtur. Et sane de posteris et his pluribus cogitanti

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<sup>a</sup> The Emperor, in his capacity of Censor, could not only admit extra members into the Senate, but confer honorary official rank on his nominees.



though he was admitted to Praetorian rank by Vespasian,<sup>a</sup> yet with a determined greatness of mind, he rather preferred an elegant repose, to the ambitious, shall I call them, or honourable pursuits in which we in public life are engaged. His grandmother on the mother's side is Serrana Procula, of Padua: you are no stranger to the manners of that place; yet Serrana is looked upon, even among these reserved people, as an exemplary instance of strict virtue. Acilius, his uncle, is a man of singular gravity, wisdom, and integrity. In a word, you will find nothing throughout his family but what you would approve in your own. Minicius himself has great vivacity, as well as application, joined at the same time with a most amiable and becoming modesty. He has already, with much credit, passed through the offices of Quaestor, Tribune, and Praetor, so that you will be spared the trouble of soliciting for him those honourable employments. He has a genteel and ruddy countenance; with a certain noble mien that speaks the man of distinction: advantages, I think, by no means to be slighted, since I look upon them as the proper tribute to virgin innocence.

I am doubtful whether I should add that his father is very rich. When I consider the character of those who require a husband of my choosing, I feel it is unnecessary to mention wealth; but when I reflect upon the prevailing manners of the age, and even the laws of Rome, which rank a man according to his possessions, it certainly claims some notice: and indeed in choosing a match, where a perhaps numerous progeny are to be considered, it is an article that well deserves to be taken into the account. You will be inclined

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hic quoque in condicionibus deligendis ponendus est calculus. Tu fortasse me putes indulsisse amoris meo supraque ista, quam res patitur, sustulisse. At ego fide mea spondeo futurum ut omnia longe ampliora, quam a me praedicantur, invenias. Diligo quidem adolescentem ardentissime, sicut meretur; sed hoc ipsum amantis est, non onerare eum laudibus. Vale.

### XV

C. PLINIUS SEPTICIO CLARO SUO S.

HEUS tu! promittis ad coenam, nec venis. Dicitur ius; ad assem impendium reddes nec id modicum. Paratae erant lactucae singulae, cochleae ternae, ova bina, halica cum mulso et nive (nam hanc quoque computabis, immo hanc in primis, quae perit in ferculo), olivae, betacei, cucurbitae, bulbi, alia mille non minus lauta. Audisses comoedum vel lectorem vel lyristen vel, quae mea liberalitas, omnes. At tu apud nescio quem ostrea, vulvas, echinos, Gaditanas maluisti. Dabis poenas, non dico quas. Dure fecisti;

## BOOK I. xiv.—xv

perhaps to suspect, that affection has had too great a share in the character I have been drawing, and that I have heightened it beyond the truth. But I will stake all my credit, you will find every thing far beyond what I have represented. I confess, indeed, I love Minicius (as he justly deserves) with all the warmth of the most ardent affection; but for that very reason I would not overload him with encomiums. Farewell.

### XV

#### TO SEPTICIUS CLARUS

How happened it, my friend, that you did not keep your engagement the other night to sup with me? Now take notice, the court is sitting, and you shall fully reimburse me the expense I was at to treat you—which, let me tell you, was no small sum. I had prepared, you must know, a lettuce and three snails apiece; with two eggs, barley-water, some sweet wine and snow (the snow most certainly I shall charge to your account, and at a high rate, as 'twas spoiled in serving). Besides all these curious dishes, there were olives, beets, gourds, shalots, and a hundred other dainties equally sumptuous. You should likewise have been entertained either with an interlude, the rehearsal of a poem, or a piece of music, as you like best; or (such was my liberality) with all three. But the oysters, chitterlings, sea-urchins and Spanish dancers of a certain — I know not who, were, it seems, more to your taste. However I shall have my revenge of you depend upon it;—in what manner, shall at

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

invidisti, nescio an tibi, certe mihi, sed tamen et tibi. Quantum nos lusissemus, risissemus, studuissemus! Potes apparatus coenare apud multos, nusquam hilarius, simplicius, incautius. In summa experire et, nisi postea te aliis potius excusaveris, mihi semper excusa. Vale.

### XVI

C. PLINIUS ERUCIO SUO S.

AMABAM Pompeium Saturninum, hunc dico nostrum, laudabamque eius ingenium, etiam antequam scirem, quam varium, quam flexibile, quam multiplex esset: nunc vero totum me tenet, habet, possidet. Audi vi causas agentem acriter et ardentem, nec minus polite et ornate, sive meditata sive subita proferret. Adsunt aptae crebraeque sententiae, gravis et decora constructio, sonantia verba et antiqua. Omnia haec mire placent, cum impetu quodam et flumine praevehuntur, placent, si retractentur. Senties quod ego, cum orationes eius in manus sumpseris, quas facile cuilibet veterum, quorum est aemulus, comparabis.

## BOOK I. xv.—xvi

present be a secret. In good truth it was not kind thus to mortify your friend, I had almost said yourself;—and upon second thoughts I do say so: for how agreeably should we have spent the evening, in laughing, trifling, and instruction! You may sup, I confess, at many places more splendidly; but you can be treated no where, believe me, with more unconstrained cheerfulness, simplicity and freedom: only make the experiment; and if you do not ever afterwards prefer my table to any other, never favour me with your company again. Farewell.

### XVI

#### To ERUCIUS

I CONCEIVED an affection for Pompeius Saturninus (I mean our friend of that name), and admired his genius, even long before I knew the extensive variety of his talents: but he has now taken full and unreserved possession of my whole heart. I have heard him in the unpremeditated, as well as studied speech, plead with no less warmth and energy, than grace and eloquence. He abounds with just reflexions; his periods are graceful and majestic; his words resonant with antiquity. These united qualities infinitely delight you, not only when you are carried along, if I may so say, with the resistless flow of his charming and emphatical elocution; but when considered distinct and apart from that advantage. I am persuaded you will be of this opinion when you peruse his orations, and will not hesitate to place him in the same rank with any of the ancients, whom he

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Idem tamen in historia magis satisfaciet vel brevitatem vel luce vel suavitate vel splendore etiam et sublimitate narrandi. Nam in concionibus idem, qui in orationibus suis est ; pressior tamen et circumscriptionior et adductionior. Praeterea facit versus, quales Catullus aut Calvus. Quantum illis leporis, dulcedinis, amaritudinis, amoris ! inserit sane, sed data opera, mollibus lenibusque duriusculos quosdam et hoc quasi Catullus aut Calvus.

Legit mihi nuper epistulas, quas uxoris esse dicebat. Plautum vel Terentium metro solutum legi credidi. Quae sive uxoris sunt, ut affirmat, sive ipsius, ut negat, pari gloria dignus est, qui aut illa componat aut uxorem, quam virginem accepit, tam doctam politamque reddiderit.

Est ergo mecum per diem totum ; eundem, antequam scribam, eundem, cum scripsi, eundem, etiam cum remittor, non tanquam eundem lego. Quod te quoque ut facias et hortor et moneo. Neque enim debet operibus eius obesse, quod vivit. An, si inter eos, quos nunquam vidimus, florisset, non solum libros eius, verum etiam im-

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. the speeches he put into the mouths of his characters.

emulates. But you will view him with still higher pleasure in the character of an historian, where his narrative style is by turns concise, clear, smooth, or actually glowing and sublime; and the same eloquence, though more compressed and limited, runs through his harangues,<sup>a</sup> which distinguishes his own pleadings. But these are not all his excellencies; he has composed several poetical pieces in the manner of Catullus or of Calvus. What strokes of wit, what sweetness of numbers, what pointed satire, and what touches of the tender passion appear in his verses! He sometimes, but designedly, introduces harsher notes into his smooth and flowing numbers, in imitation too of those admired poets.

He read to me, the other day, some letters which he assured me were written by his wife: I fancied I was hearing Plautus or Terence in prose. If they are that lady's (as he positively affirms) or his own, which he absolutely denies, either way he deserves equal applause; whether for writing so politely himself, or for having so highly improved and refined the genius of his wife, who was but a girl when he married her.

His works are never out of my hands; and whether I sit down to write any thing myself, or to revise what I have already written, or am in a disposition to amuse myself, I constantly take up this same author; and, as often as I do so, he is still new. Let me strongly recommend him to the same degree of intimacy with you; nor be it any prejudice to his merit that he is a contemporary writer. Had he flourished in some distant age, not only his works, but the very pictures and statues of him would have been passionately inquired after;

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

agines conquireremus; eiusdem nunc honor praesentis et gratia quasi satietate languescet? At hoc pravam malignumque est, non admirari hominem admiratione dignissimum, quia videre, adloqui, audire, complecti nec laudare tantum, verum etiam amare contingit. Vale.

### XVII

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO TITIANO SUO S.

EST adhuc curae hominibus fides et officium, sunt, qui defunctorum quoque amicos agant. Titinius Capito ab imperatore nostro impetravit, ut sibi liceret statuam L. Silani in foro ponere. Pulchrum et magna laude dignum amicitia principis in hoc uti, quantumque gratia valeas, aliorum honoribus experiri. Est omnino Capitoni in usu claros viros colere; mirum est, qua religione, quo studio imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonum domi, ubi potest, habeat. Idem clarissimi cuiusque vitam egregiis carminibus exornat. Scias ipsum plurimis virtutibus abundare, qui alienas sic amat. Redditus est L. Silano debitus honor, cuius immortalitati Capito prospexit pariter et

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## BOOK I. xvi.-xvii

and shall we then, from a sort of satiety, and merely because he is present among us, suffer his talents to languish and fade away unhonoured and unadmired? It is surely a very perverse and envious disposition, to look with indifference upon a man worthy of the highest approbation, for no other reason but because we have it in our power to see him, and to converse familiarly with him, and not only to give him our applause, but to receive him into our friendship. Farewell.

### XVII

#### TO CORNELIUS TITIANUS

THE social virtues have not yet quite forsaken the world; and there are still those whose generous affection extends itself even to their departed friends. Titinius Capito has obtained the Emperor's permission to erect a statue in the Forum to the late L. Silanus. It is noble and truly laudable to use princely favour for purposes such as these, and to try the extent of one's interest for the glory of others. It is indeed habitual to Capito to distinguish merit. He has placed in his house (where he is at liberty to do so) the statues of the Bruti, the Cassii, and the Catos, and it is incredible what a religious veneration he pays them. This is not all: there is scarce a name of any note or lustre that he has not celebrated by his excellent verses. One may be very sure a man must be possessed of manifold virtues himself, who thus admires those of others. As Silanus certainly deserves the honour that is done him, so Capito has by this means secured to himself that immortality which

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suae. Neque enim magis decorum et insigne est statuam in foro populi Romani habere quam ponere. Vale.

### XVIII

C. PLINIUS SUETONIO TRANQUILLO SUO S.

SCRIBIS te perterritum somnio vereri, ne quid adversi in actione patiaris, rogas, ut dilationem petam et pauculos dies, certe proximum, excusem. Difficile est, sed experiar :

καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν.<sup>1</sup>

Refert tamen, eventura soleas an contraria somniare. Mihi reputanti somnium meum istud, quod times tu, egregiam actionem portendere videtur. Susceperam causam Iuni Pastoris, cum mihi quiescenti visa est socrus mea advoluta genibus, ne agerem, obsecrare. Et eram acturus adolescentulus adhuc, eram in quadruplici iudicio, eram contra potentissimos civitatis atque etiam Caesaris amicos; quae singula excutere

<sup>1</sup> *Il. i. 63.*

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Centumviri, sitting as one court. See *i. 5. n.*

## BOOK I. xvii.-xviii

he has conferred on his friend ; for in my opinion he who erects a statue in the Roman Forum, receives as much glory as the person to whom it is erected. Farewell.

### XVIII

#### TO SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS

YOUR letter informs me that you are extremely terrified with a dream, as apprehending that it threatens some ill success to you in the cause you have undertaken to defend ; and therefore desire that I would get it adjourned for a few days, or at least to the next. This is a favour, you are sensible, not very easily obtained, but I will use all my interest for that purpose ;

“For dreams descend from Jove.”

In the mean while it is very material for you to recollect whether your dreams generally represent things as they afterwards fall out, or quite the reverse. But if I may judge of this dream that alarms you by one that happened to myself, it portends you will acquit yourself with great success. I had promised to be counsel for Junius Pastor ; when I fancied in my sleep that my mother-in-law came to me, and throwing herself at my feet, earnestly entreated me not to be concerned in the cause. I was at that time a very young man ; the case was to be argued in the fourfold Court<sup>a</sup> ; my adversaries were some of the most considerable men in Rome, and favourites of Caesar ; any of which circumstances, were sufficient, after

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mentem mihi post tam triste somnium poterant.  
Egi tamen λογισάμενος illud :

Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνασθαι περὶ πάτρης.<sup>1</sup>

Nam mihi patria, et si quid carius, fides videbatur. Prospere cessit, atque adeo illa actio mihi aures hominum, illa ianuam famae patefecit. Proinde dis-  
pice, an tu quoque sub hoc exemplo somnium istud in bonum vertas, aut, si tutius putas illud cautissimi cuiusque praeceptum : ‘ Quod dubites, ne feceris,’ id ipsum rescribe. Ego aliquam stropham inveniam agamque causam tuam, ut ipsam agere tu, cum voles, possis. Est enim sane alia ratio tua, alia mea fuit. Nam iudicium centumvirale differri nullo modo, istud aegre quidem, sed tamen potest. Vale.

### XIX

C. PLINIUS ROMATIO FIRMO SUO S.

MUNICEPS tu meus et condiscipulus et ab ineunte aetate contubernalis, pater tuus et matri et avunculo meo, mihi etiam, quantum aetatis diversitas passa est,

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xii. 243.

## BOOK I. xviii.-xix

such an inauspicious dream, to have discouraged me. Notwithstanding this, I engaged in the cause, reflecting within myself,

“ Without a sign, his sword the brave man draws,  
And asks no omen, but his country's cause ” :

for I looked upon my faith towards a client to be as precious to me as my country, or, if that were possible, more so. The event happened as I wished ; and it was that very speech which first procured me the favourable attention of the public, and threw open to me the gates of Fame. Consider then whether your dream, judged by this precedent, may not portend success. Or, if you think it more safe to pursue that maxim of the wary : “ never do a thing of which you are in doubt ” : write me word. In the interval I will consider of some expedient, and endeavour your cause shall be heard any day you like best. In this respect you are in a better situation than I was : the court of the Centumviri where I was to plead admits of no adjournment ; whereas in that where your cause is to be heard, though it is not easy to procure one, still however it is possible. Farewell.

## XIX

### TO ROMATIUS FIRMUS

As you are my fellow-townsmen, my school-fellow, and the companion of my earliest youth : as there was the strictest friendship between my mother and uncle, and your father ; which friendship I also enjoyed as far as the great inequality of our ages would

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

familiaris ; magnae et graves causae, cur suscipere et augere dignitatem tuam debeam. Esse autem tibi centum milium censum satis indicat, quod apud nos decurio es. Igitur, ut te non decurione solum, verum etiam equite Romano perfruamur, offero tibi ad implendas equestres facultates trecenta milia nummum. Te memorem huius muneris amicitiae nostrae diuturnitas spondet ; ego ne illud quidem admoneo, quod admonere deberem, nisi te scirem sponte facturum, ut dignitate a me data quam modestissime ut a me data utare. Nam sollicitius custodiendus est honor, in quo etiam beneficium amici tuendum est. Vale.

### XX

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO TACITO SUO S.

FREQUENS mihi disputatio est cum quodam docto homine et perito, cui nihil aeque in causis agendis, ut brevitās, placet. Quam ego custodiendam esse confiteor, si causa permittat ; alioqui praevaricatio est transire dicenda, praevaricatio etiam cursim et breviter attingere, quae sint inculcanda, infigenda, repetenda.

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<sup>a</sup> The Equestrian order was constituted on a property valuation, and included all citizens whose fortunes amounted to 400,000 sesterces. The knights ranked midway between

## BOOK I. xix.-xx

admit; it behoves me, for many strong and weighty reasons, to contribute all in my power to the advancement of your dignity. The rank you bear in our province as a local senator is a proof that you are possessed at least of a hundred thousand sesterces; but that we may also have the pleasure of seeing you a Roman knight,<sup>a</sup> give me leave to present you with three hundred thousand, in order to make up the sum requisite to entitle you to that dignity. The length of our friendship leaves me no room to doubt you will ever be forgetful of this service. And I need not advise you (what if I did not know your disposition, I should) to enjoy this honour with the modesty that becomes one who received it from me; for the dignity we possess by the good offices of a friend is to be guarded with peculiar attention, since we must thereby justify his kindness. Farewell.

### XX

#### TO CORNELIUS TACITUS

I HAVE frequent debates with a learned and judicious person of my acquaintance, who admires nothing so much in the eloquence of the bar as conciseness. I admit, where the cause will admit of this manner, it ought to be pursued; but insist, that to omit what is material to be mentioned, or only slightly to touch upon those points which should be repeatedly inculcated, and urged home to the minds of the audience, is, in effect, to betray the cause one has the senators and the common people, but without other distinction than the privilege of wearing a gold ring, the badge of their order.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Nam plerisque longiore tractu vis quaedam et pondus accedit, utque corpori ferrum sic oratio animo non ictu magis quam mora imprimitur. Hic ille mecum auctoritatibus agit ac mihi ex Graecis orationes Lysiae ostentat, ex nostris Gracchorum Catonisque, quorum sane plurimae sunt circumcisae et breves; ego Lysiae Demosthenem, Aeschinem, Hyperidem multosque praeterea, Gracchis et Catoni Pollionem, Caesarem, Coelium, in primis Marcum Tullium oppono, cuius oratio optima fertur esse quae maxima. Et hercule ut aliae bonae res ita bonus liber melior est quisque quo maior. Vides, ut statuas, signa, picturas, hominum denique multorumque animalium formas, arborum etiam, si modo sint decorae, nihil magis quam amplitudo commendet. Idem orationibus evenit, quin etiam voluminibus ipsis auctoritatem quandam et pulchritudinem adicit magnitudo.

Haec ille multaque alia, quae a me in eandem sententiam solent dici, ut est in disputando incomprehensibilis et lubricus, ita eludit, ut contendat hos ipsos, quorum orationibus nitar, pauciora dixisse, quam ediderint. Ego contra puto. Testes sunt multae multorum orationes et Ciceronis pro Murena, pro Vareno, in quibus brevis et nuda quasi subscriptio quorundam criminum solis titulis indicatur. Ex his

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<sup>a</sup> *Praevaricatio* was the technical term for letting a prosecution fail by collusion with the defence. It was later used also of collusion with the prosecution by defendant's counsel.

<sup>b</sup> *Pro Cluentio*.



undertaken.<sup>a</sup> In many cases a copious manner of expression gives strength and weight to discourse, which frequently makes impressions upon the mind, as iron does upon solid bodies, rather by prolonged than rapid blows. In answer to this he usually has recourse to authorities ; and produces Lysias amongst the Grecians, and Cato and the two Gracchi among our own countrymen, whose speeches certainly afford many instances of the concise style. In return, I name Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, and many others in opposition to Lysias ; while I confront Cato and the Gracchi with Caesar, Pollio, Coelius, and above all Cicero, whose longest oration<sup>b</sup> is generally esteemed the best. It is in good compositions, as in every thing else that is valuable ; the more there is of them, the better. You may observe in statues, basso-relievos, pictures, and the bodies of men and animals, and even in trees, that nothing is more graceful than magnitude, if accompanied with proportion. The same holds true in speeches ; and even in books, a large volume carries something of beauty and authority in its very size.

My antagonist, who is extremely dexterous at evading an argument, eludes all this, and much more which I usually urge to the same purpose, by insisting that those very persons, upon whose works I found my opinion, made considerable additions to their orations when they published them. This I deny : and appeal to the harangues of numberless orators ; particularly to those of Cicero for Murena and Varenus, where he has given us merely the titles of certain cut-and-dried counts in the indictment. Whence it appears, that many things which he

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

apparet, illum permulta dixisse, cum ederet, omisisse. Idem pro Cluentio ait se totam causam veteri instituto solum pergrasse et pro Cornelio quadriduo egisse, ne dubitare possimus, quae per plures dies, ut necesse erat, latius dixerit, postea recisa ac purgata in unum librum grandem quidem, unum tamen coartasse.

At aliud est actio bona, aliud oratio. Scio nonnullis ita videri, sed ego (forsitan fallar) persuasum habeo posse fieri, ut sit actio bona, quae non sit bona oratio, non posse non bonam actionem esse, quae sit bona oratio. Est enim oratio actionis exemplar, et quasi ἀρχέτυπον. Ideo in optima quaque mille figuras extemporales invenimus, in iis etiam, quas tantum editas scimus, ut in Verrem: ‘Artificem quem? quemnam? recte admones; Polyclitum esse dicebant.’ Sequitur ergo, ut actio sit absolutissima, quae maxime orationis similitudinem expresserit, si modo iustum et debitum tempus accipiat; quod si negetur, nulla

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“ Prosecuted for treason 65 B.C. Cicero’s two speeches for him are lost, except a few fragments.

enlarged upon at the time he delivered those orations, were retrenched when he gave them to the public. The same orator informs us, that, agreeably to the ancient custom (which allowed only one counsel on a side), Cluentius had no other advocate but himself; and tells us farther, that he employed four whole days in defence of Cornelius<sup>a</sup>; leaving us in no doubt that those orations which, when delivered at their full length, had necessarily taken up several days, were greatly pruned and abridged when he afterwards comprised them in a single volume, though I must confess, indeed, a large one.

But, it is objected, there is a wide difference between a good *spoken* and a good *written* oration. This opinion I acknowledge, has had some favourers; nevertheless I am persuaded (though I may perhaps be mistaken) that it is possible a speech may be well received by the audience, which has not merit enough to recommend it to the reader; but an oration which is good on paper cannot be bad when delivered; for the oration on paper is, in truth, the original and model of the speech that is to be pronounced. It is for this reason we find in many of the best orations extant numberless extempore figures of rhetoric; and this even where we are sure they were never spoken at all: as for instance in the following passage from the oration against Verres,—“A certain craftsman—what’s his name? Oh, I’m obliged to you for helping me to it: yes, ’twas Polyclitus.” It follows then, that the nearer approach a pleader makes to a real oration, the more perfect will be his plea; always supposing, however, that he has the necessary indulgence in point of time; for if he be abridged of that, no imputation can justly be fixed

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

oratoris, maxima iudicis culpa est. Adsunt huic opinioni meae leges, quae longissima tempora largiuntur nec brevitatem dicentibus, sed copiam, hoc est diligentiam, suadent; quam praestare nisi in angustissimis causis non potest brevitatis. Adieciam, quod me docuit usus, magister egregius. Frequenter egi, frequenter iudicavi, frequenter in consilio fui. Aliud alios movet, ac plerumque parvae res maximas trahunt. Varia sunt hominum iudicia, variae voluntates. Inde, qui eandem causam simul audierunt, saepe diversum, interdum idem, sed ex diversis animi motibus sentiunt. Praeterea suae quisque inventioni favet et quasi fortissimum complectitur, cum ab alio dictum est, quod ipse praevidit. Omnibus ergo dandum est aliquid, quod teneant, quod agnoseant.

Dixit aliquando mihi Regulus, cum simul adessemus: ‘Tu omnia, quae sunt in causa, putas exsequenda, ego iugulum statim video, hunc premo.’ Premit sane, quod elegit, sed in eligendo frequenter errat.

upon the advocate, though certainly a very great one is chargeable upon the judge. The sense of the laws is, I am sure, on my side, which are by no means chary of the orator's time; it is not brevity, but fulness, in other words, attention to everything material, which they recommend. And how is it possible for an advocate to acquit himself of that duty, unless in the most simple causes, if he affects to be concise? Let me add what experience, that superlative master, has taught me; it has frequently been my province to act as an advocate and as juror, I have often sat as an assessor, and I have ever found that different minds are to be influenced by different applications; and that the slightest circumstances often entail the most important consequences. There is variety in the dispositions and understandings of men, so that they seldom agree in their opinions about any one point in debate before them; or, if they do, it is generally from the movement of different passions. Besides, every man naturally favours his own discoveries, and when he hears an argument made use of which had before occurred to himself, will certainly embrace it as extremely convincing; the orator therefore should so adapt himself to his audience as to throw out something to every one of them, that he may receive and approve as his own peculiar thought.

Once when Regulus and I were counsel together in a cause, he said to me, "you think it necessary to insist upon every point: whereas I mark at once the *throat*, and closely press *that*." ('Tis true he tenaciously holds whatever part he has once fixed upon; but the misfortune is, he is extremely apt to mistake the right place.) I answered, it

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Respondi posse fieri, ut genu esset aut tibia aut talus, ubi ille iugulum putaret. 'At ego,' inquam, 'qui iugulum perspicere non possum, omnia pertempto, omnia experior, πάντα denique λίθον κινῶ.' Utque in cultura agri non vineas tantum, verum etiam arbusta, nec arbusta tantum, verum etiam campos curo et exerceo, utque in ipsis campis non far aut siliginem solam, sed hordeum, fabam ceteraque legumina sero, sic in actione plura quasi semina latius spargo, ut, quae provenerint, colligam. Neque enim minus inperspicua, incerta, fallaciaque sunt iudicum ingenia quam tempestatum terrarumque. Nec me praeterit summum oratorem Periclem sic a comico Eupolide laudari :

πρὸς δέ γ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει  
Πειθῷ τις ἐπεκάθητο τοῖσι χεῖλεσιν.  
Οὕτως ἐκήλει, καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων  
Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.<sup>1</sup>

Verum huic ipsi Pericli nec illa πειθῷ nec illud ἐκήλει brevitate vel velocitate vel utraque (differunt enim) sine facultate summa contigisset. Nam delectare, persuadere copiam dicendi spatiumque desiderat; relinquere vero aculeum in audientium animis is demum potest, qui non pungit, sed infigit. Adde, quae de eodem Pericle comicus alter :

"Ἡστραπτ', ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eupolis *Δῆμοι* fr. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. *Acharn.* 531.

might possibly happen that what he took for the throat was in reality the knee, shin, or heel. "As for me," said I, "who cannot descry this throat, I attack every part, and push at every opening; in short, I leave no stone unturned." As in agriculture, it is not my vineyards, or my woods, alone, but my fields also that I cultivate; and as I do not sow those fields with only spelt and winter-wheat, but employ also barley, beans, and the other leguminous plants; so in my pleadings at the bar, I spread at large a variety of matter like so many different seeds, in order to reap from thence whatever may happen to sprout; for the disposition of your jurors is as precarious and as little to be ascertained, as that of soils and seasons. I remember the comic writer Eupolis mentions in praise of that excellent orator Pericles, that

"He spake, and straight  
Upon his lips Persuasion sate;  
He only eloquence could find  
That charmed, yet left a sting behind."

But could Pericles, without the richest gifts of expression, and merely by force of the concise or the rapid style, or both together (for they are different), have exerted that *persuasion* and that *charm* of which the poet here speaks? To delight and to persuade requires time, and a great compass of language; while to leave a *sting* in the minds of his audience is an effect not to be achieved by an orator who slightly pushes, but by him, and him only, who thrusts home and deep. Again, another comic poet, speaking of the same orator, says:

"Lightnings and thunders from his mouth he hurled,  
And made a chaos of the Grecian world."

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Non enim amputata oratio et abscisa, sed lata et magnifica et excelsa tonat, fulgurat, omnia denique perturbat ac miscet.

‘Optimus tamen modus est’; quis negat? sed non minus non servat modum, qui infra rem quam qui supra, qui adstrictius quam qui effusius dicit. Itaque audis frequenter ut illud: ‘immodice et redundanter’ ita hoc: ‘ieiune et infirme.’ Alius excessisse materiam, alius dicitur non implesse. Aequè uterque, sed ille imbecillitate, hic viribus peccat; quod certe, etsi non limatioris, maioris tamen ingenii vitium est. Nec vero, cum haec dico, illum Homericum ἀμετροεπή<sup>1</sup> probò, sed hunc:

Καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίησιν<sup>2</sup>

non quia non et ille mihi validissime placeat παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως,<sup>3</sup> si tamen detur electio, illam orationem similem nivibus hibernis, id est crebram et adsiduam et largam, postremo divinam et caelestem, volo.

‘At est gratior multis actio brevis.’ Est; sed inertibus, quorum delicias desidiamque quasi iudicium

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* ii. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* iii. 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* iii. 214.



For it is not concise and curtailed, it is copious, majestic, and sublime oratory, that with blaze and thunder perturbs and confounds the universe.

The just mean, we all allow, is best ; but he equally deviates from that mean who falls short of it, as he who goes beyond it ; he who confines himself in too narrow a compass, as he who launches out with too great latitude of speech. Hence it is as common to hear our orators condemned for being too barren, as too luxuriant ; for not reaching, as well as for overflowing the bounds of their subject. Both are equally in fault ; but with this difference however, that in the one the fault arises from weakness, in the other from strength ; an error which if it be not a sign of a more correct, yet it is certainly of a more exalted genius. When I say this, I would not be understood to approve that "measureless talker" mentioned in Homer, but that other described in the following lines :

"Frequent and soft as falls the winter snow,  
Thus from his lips the copious periods flow."

Not but I extremely admire him too, of whom the poet says :

"Few were his words, but wonderfully clear."

Yet if I were to choose, I should clearly give the preference to the style resembling *winter snow*, that is, to the full, fluent and diffusive ; in short, to the heavenly and divine.

But ('tis urged) the short harangue is most generally admired. It is so, I confess : but by whom ? By the indolent ; whose lazy caprices it would surely be the highest absurdity to take as a serious

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

respicere ridiculum est. Nam, si hos in consilio habeas, non solum satius est breviter dicere, sed omnino non dicere.

Haec est adhuc sententia mea, quam mutabo, si dissenseris tu; sed plane, cur dissentias, explices rogo. Quamvis enim cedere auctoritati tuae debeam, rectius tamen arbitror in tanta re ratione quam auctoritate superari. Proinde, si non errare videor, id ipsum quam voles brevi epistula, sed tamen scribe (confirmaveris enim iudicium meum); si erravero, longissimam para. Num corrumperis te, qui tibi, si mihi accederes, brevis epistolae necessitatem, si dissentires, longissimae imposui? Vale.

### XXI

C. PLINIUS PLINIO PATERNO SUO S.

Ur animi tui iudicio sic oculorum plurimum tribuo, non quia multum, ne tibi placeas, sed quia tantum quantum ego sapis; quamquam hoc quoque multum est. Omissis iocis credo decentes esse servos, qui

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verdict. Were you to consult persons of this cast they would tell you, not only that it is best to say little, but that it is best to say nothing.

Thus, my friend, I have laid before you my sentiments upon this subject, which I shall abandon, if I find they are not agreeable to yours. But if you should dissent from me, I beg you would communicate to me your reasons. For though I ought to yield in this case to your authority, yet in a point of such consequence, I hold it more correct to receive my conviction from the force of argument than authority. If you should be of my opinion in this matter, a line or two from you in return, intimating your concurrence, will be sufficient to confirm me in the justness of my sentiments. On the contrary, if you think me mistaken, I beg you would give me your objections at large. Yet has it not, think you, something of the air of bribery, to ask only a short letter if you agree with me; but enjoin you the trouble of a very long one, if you are of a contrary opinion. Farewell.

## XXI

## TO PATERNUS

As I rely very much upon the strength of your judgement, so I do upon the goodness of your eyes: not because I think your discernment very great (for I would not make you vain), but because I think it as good as mine: which, it must be owned, is saying a great deal in its favour. Jestings apart, I like very well the appearance of the slaves which

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

sunt empti mihi ex consilio tuo. Superest, ut frugi sint, quod de venalibus melius auribus quam oculis indicatur. Vale.

### XXII

C. PLINIUS CATILIO SEVERO SUO S.

DIU iam in urbe haereo et quidem attonitus. Perturbat me longa et pertinax valetudo Titi Aristonis, quem singulariter et miror et diligo. Nihil est enim illo gravius, sanctius, doctius; ut mihi non unus homo, sed litterae ipsae omnesque bonae artes in uno homine summum periculum adire videantur. Quam peritus ille et privati iuris et publici! quantum rerum, quantum exemplorum, quantum antiquitatis tenet! Nihil est, quod doceri<sup>1</sup> velis, quod ille docere non possit; mihi certe, quotiens aliquid abditum quaero, ille thesaurus est. Iam quanta sermonibus eius fides, quanta auctoritas, quam pressa et decora cunctatio! quid est, quod non statim sciat? Et tamen plerumque haesitat, dubitat diversitate rationum, quas acri magnoque iudicio ab origine causisque primis repetit, discernit, expendit. Ad haec quam parcus in victu, quam modicus in cultu! Soleo ipsum cu-

<sup>1</sup> doceri *R Fp*, *Otto*, *Muell.*, discere *M V D a*, *Bip. K.*

## BOOK I. xxi.-xxii

were purchased for me by your recommendation ; all that I want farther, is to be satisfied of their honesty ; a point on which, where slaves are in question, one's ears are better judges than one's eyes. Farewell.

### XXII

#### TO CATILIUS SEVERUS

I AM at present detained in Rome (and have been so a considerable time) under the most alarming apprehensions. Titius Aristo, whom I uncommonly love and esteem, is fallen into a lingering and obstinate illness, which deeply affects me. Virtue, knowledge, and good sense shine out with so superior a lustre in this excellent man that learning herself and every valuable endowment seems involved in the danger of his single person. How consummate is his knowledge both in the political and civil laws of his country ! How thoroughly conversant is he in history, precedents, antiquity ! There is no article, in short, you would wish to be informed of, in which he cannot enlighten you. As for my own part, whenever I would acquaint myself with any abstruse point, I have recourse to him, as to a mine of knowledge. What an amiable sincerity, what a noble dignity is there in his conversation ! How graceful his deliberate concision of utterance ! Though he conceives at once every point in debate, yet his reserve in judgement, deliberately weighing every opposite reason that is offered, traces it, with a most judicious penetration, from its source through all its remotest consequences. His diet is frugal,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

biculum eius ipsumque lectum ut imaginem quandam priscae frugalitatis aspicere. Ornat haec magnitudo animi, quae nihil ad ostentationem, omnia ad conscientiam refert recteque facti non ex populi sermone mercedem, sed ex facto petit. In summa non facile quemquam ex istis, qui sapientiae studium habitu corporis praeferunt, huic viro comparabis. Non quidem gymnasia sectatur aut porticus nec disputationibus longis aliorum otium suumque delectat, sed in toga negotiisque versatur, multos advocatione, plures consilio iuvat. Nemini tamen istorum castitate, pietate, iustitia, fortitudine etiam primo loco cesserit.

Mirareris, si interesses, qua patientia hanc ipsam valetudinem toleret, ut dolori resistat, ut sitim differat, ut incredibilem febrium ardorem immotus opertusque transmittat. Nuper me paucosque mecum, quos maxime diligit, advocavit rogavitque, ut medicos consuleremus de summa valetudinis, ut, si esset insuperabilis, sponte exiret e vita, si tantum difficilis et longa, resisteret maneretque; dandum enim precibus uxoris, dandum filiae lacrimis, dandum etiam nobis amicis, ne spes nostras, si modo non essent inanes, voluntaria morte desereret. Id ego arduum in primis et praecipua laude dignum puto.

his dress plain; and his very chamber and bed, whenever I view them, present me with a kind of picture of ancient simplicity. To all this, his illustrious mind reflects the noblest ornament; he places no part of his happiness in ostentation, but refers the whole of it to conscience; and seeks the reward of a virtuous action, not in the applauses of the world, but in the action itself. In short, you will not easily find his equal even among the tribe who claim the title, by assuming the guise, of philosophers. He frequents not the places of public resort, nor idly amuses himself and others with endless controversies. *His* talents are exerted as a pleader in the scenes of civil and active life. Many has he assisted as an advocate, still more as an adviser; and with all this, in the practice of temperance, piety, justice, and fortitude he has no superior among your professed moralists.

It would astonish you to witness with what patience he bears this illness; how he struggles with pain, endures thirst, and quietly submits to lie covered up, though burning with fever. He lately called me and a few more of his particular friends, to his bed-side and begged we would ask his physicians what turn they apprehended his distemper would take; that if they pronounced it incurable, he might voluntarily put an end to his life; but if there were hopes of a recovery, however tedious and difficult, he might hold out with patience; for so much, he thought, was due to the entreaties of his wife, the tears of his daughter, and also to the affection of his friends, as not to betray our hopes, if in truth they were not entirely desperate, by committing suicide. A resolution this, in my estimation, truly arduous, and worthy of the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Nam impetu quodam et instinctu procurrere ad mortem commune cum multis, deliberare vero et causas eius expendere, utque suaserit ratio, vitae mortisque consilium vel suscipere vel ponere ingentis est animi. Et medici quidem secunda nobis pollicentur; superest, ut promissis deus adnuat tandemque me hac sollicitudine exsolvat; qua liberatus Laurentinum meum, hoc est libellos et pugillares studiosumque otium, repetam. Nunc enim nihil legere, nihil scribere aut adsidenti vacat aut anxio libet. Habes, quid timeam, quid optem, quid etiam in posterum destinem; tu quid egeris, quid agas, quid velis agere, invicem nobis, sed laetioribus epistulis scribe. Erit confusioni meae non mediocre solatium, si tu nihil quereris. Vale.

### XXIII

C. PLINIUS POMPEIO FALCONI SUO S.

CONSULIS, an existimem te in tribunatu causas agere debere. Plurimum refert, quid esse tribunatum putes, inanem umbram et sine honore nomen an potestatem sacrosanctam, et quam in ordinem



## BOOK I. xxii.—xxiii

highest applause. Instances are frequent enough in the world of rushing into the arms of death without reflection, and by a sort of blind impulse: but calmly and deliberately to weigh the motives for life or death, and to be determined in our choice as reason counsels, is the mark of an uncommon and great mind. We have had the satisfaction of the opinion of his physicians in his favour; and may heaven confirm their assurances, and free me from this restless anxiety! If that should happily be the event, I shall immediately return to my favourite Laurentinum, or, in other words, to my books and studious leisure. At present, so much of my time and thoughts is employed in attendance upon my friend, and in my apprehensions for him, that I have neither leisure nor inclination to read or write anything. Thus have I informed you of my fears, my hopes, and my intentions. Communicate to me, in your turn, but in a gayer style, an account not only of what you are and have been doing, but even of your future designs. It will be a very sensible consolation to me in this perplexity of mind, to be assured that yours is easy. Farewell.

### XXIII

TO POMPEIUS FALCO

You desire my opinion whether you can with propriety act as an advocate during your Tribunate? But before I determine that question, I must know what are your sentiments of that office; whether you look upon it as a mere shadow of honour, and an empty title, or as a sacred and inviolable function,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

cogi ut a nullo ita ne a se quidem deceat. Ipse cum tribunus essem, erraverim fortasse, qui me esse aliquid putavi, sed, tamquam essem, abstinui causis agendis; primum, quod deforme arbitrabar, cui adsurgere, cui loco cedere omnes oporteret, hunc omnibus sedentibus stare, et, qui iubere posset tacere quemcumque, huic silentium clepsydra indici, et, quem interfari nefas esset, hunc etiam convicia audire et, si inulta pateretur, inertem, si ulcisceretur, insolentem videri. Erat hic quoque aestus ante oculos, si forte me appellasset vel ille, cui adessem, vel ille, quem contra, intercederem et auxilium ferrem an quiescerem sileremque et quasi eiurato magistratu privatum ipse me facerem. His rationibus motus malui me tribunum omnibus exhibere quam paucis advocatum. Sed tu (iterum dicam) plurimum interest quid esse tribunatum putes, quam personam tibi imponas; quae sapienti viro ita aptanda est, ut perferatur. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> *In ordinem cogi*, lit. "to reduce to the ranks."

## BOOK I. xxiii

which as no one may set at nought,<sup>a</sup> so neither ought the person himself who is invested with it? When I was myself in that post (possibly I might be mistaken in supposing I was become of any importance, however upon the supposition that I really was) I entirely quitted the bar. I thought it unbecoming a magistrate, who, upon all occasions, had a right of precedency, and in whose presence every body is obliged to rise, to be seen standing, while all about him were seated; that he who has authority to impose silence on any man, should himself be silent when the clock directs:<sup>b</sup> that he whom it is held impious to interrupt, should be exposed to the scurrilous liberties of bar orators; which to chastize, would be thought a sort of insolence of office, and yet it would be weakness to overlook. I considered farther, the great difficulty I should be under, if either party to a suit should happen to appeal to me as Tribune, whether to interpose my authority to protect him; or as it were resign my office, and reduce myself to the status of a private citizen by preserving a passive silence. For these reasons I rather chose to appear as the Tribune of all, than the advocate of a few. But with respect to you (I repeat it again), the whole depends upon what your sentiments are of this office, and in what part you would choose to appear; remembering always that a wise man will take upon himself such only as he is capable of sustaining throughout the play. Farewell.

<sup>b</sup> Alluding to the time-limit imposed on advocates' speeches. Cf. ii. 11. n. (p. 128).

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

### XXIV

C. PLINIUS BAEBIO HISPANO SUO S.

TRANQUILLUS, contubernalis meus, vult emere agellum, quem venditare amicus tuus dicitur. Rogo cures, quanti aequum est, emat ; ita enim delectabit emisse. Nam mala emptio semper ingrata est eo maxime, quod exprobrare stultitiam domino videtur. In hoc autem agello, si modo adriserit pretium, Tranquilli mei stomachum multa sollicitant, vicinitas urbis, opportunitas viae, mediocritas villae, modus ruris, qui avocet magis quam distringat. Scholasticis porro dominis, ut hic est, sufficit abunde tantum soli, ut relevare caput, reficere oculos, reptare per limitem unamque semitam terere omnesque viticulas suas nosse et numerare arbusculas possint. Haec tibi exposui, quo magis scires, quantum ille esset mihi, ego tibi debiturus, si praediolum istud, quod commendatur his dotibus, tam salubriter emerit, ut poenitentiae locum non relinquat. Vale.

XXIV

TO BAEBIUS

MY friend Tranquillus has an inclination to purchase a small farm, of which, as I am informed, an acquaintance of yours intends to dispose. I beg you would endeavour he may have it upon reasonable terms: a circumstance which will add to his satisfaction in obtaining it. A dear bargain is always disagreeable, particularly as it is a reflection upon the purchaser's judgement. There are several circumstances attending this little farm, which (supposing my friend had no objection to the price) are appetising to his palate: the convenient distance from Rome, the goodness of the roads, the smallness of the building, and the very few acres of land around it, which is just enough to amuse but not employ him. To a man of the studious turn that Tranquillus is, it is sufficient if he has but a small spot to relieve the mind and divert the eye, where he may saunter round his grounds, traverse his single walk, grow familiar with his two or three vines, and count his little plantations. I mention these particulars, to let you see how much he will be obliged to me, as I shall to you, if you can help him to the purchase of this little box, so agreeable to his taste, upon terms of which he shall have no occasion to repent. Farewell.



## BOOK II

## LIBER SECUNDUS

### I

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

Post aliquot annos insigne atque etiam memorabile populi Romani oculis spectaculum exhibuit publicum funus Vergini Rufi, maximi et clarissimi civis, perinde felicis. Triginta annis gloriae suae supervixit; legit scripta de se carmina, legit historias et posteritati suae interfuit. Perfunctus est tertio consulatu, ut summum fastigium privati hominis impleret, cum principis nolisset. Caesares, quibus suspectus atque etiam invisus virtutibus fuerat, evasit, reliquit incolumem optimum atque amicissimum, tamquam ad hunc ipsum honorem publici funeris reservatus. Annum tertium et octogensimum excessit in altissima tranquillitate, pari veneratione. Usus est firma valetudine, nisi quod solebant ei manus tremere, citra dolorem tamen. Aditus tantum mortis durior longiorque, sed hic ipse laudabilis. Nam cum vocem praepararet acturus in

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. Nerva.



## BOOK II

### I

#### TO VOCONIUS ROMANUS

ROME has not for many years beheld so striking and memorable a spectacle as was lately exhibited in the public funeral of Virginius Rufus, one of her greatest citizens, and no less fortunate than illustrious. For he lived thirty years after achieving fame, he read his actions in the pages of poets and historians, and thus made one among his survivors. He was thrice raised to the dignity of Consul, that he who refused to be the first of princes, might at least be the highest of subjects. He escaped the resentment of those emperors to whom his virtues had rendered him suspect, and even odious, and left the best, the most amicable of princes <sup>a</sup> firmly seated on the throne, as if providence had purposely preserved him to receive the honour of this public funeral. He arrived, in full tranquillity and universally revered, to the eighty-fourth year of his age, still enjoying robust health, excepting only a paralytic disorder in his hands, which however was attended with no pain. His passage to death, alone, was severe and tedious; but even this was matter for praise. As he was rehearsing his speech of thanks to the Emperor, who had raised him to the consulship, a

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

consulatu principi gratias, liber, quem forte acceperat grandiore, et seni et stanti ipso pondere elapsus est. Hunc dum consequitur colligitque, per leve et lubricum pavementum fallente vestigio cecidit coxamque fregit, quae parum apte collocata reluctante aetate male coit.

Huius viri exequiae magnum ornamentum principi, magnum saeculo, magnum etiam foro et rostris attulerunt. Laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito; nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus. Et ille quidem plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam, quos recusavit; nobis tamen quaerendus ac desiderandus est ut exemplar aevi prioris, mihi vero praecipue, qui illum non solum publice, sed etiam privatim quantum admirabar tantum diligebam; primum quod utrique eadem regio, municipia finitima, agri etiam possessionesque coniunctae, praeterea quod ille tutor mihi relictus adfectum parentis exhibuit. Sic candidatum me suffragio ornavit, sic ad omnes honores meos ex secessibus accucurrit, cum iam pridem eiusmodi officiis renuntiasset, sic illo die, quo sacerdotes solent nominare, quos dignissimos sacerdotio iudicant, me semper nominabat. Quin etiam in hac novissima

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. "members of one of the four great priestly colleges, pontifices, augures, quindecimviri sacris faciundis, septemviri epulonum." (Merrill.)

## BOOK II. i

volume, which chanced to be inconveniently large for him to hold, escaped by its sheer weight the grasp that age and his upright posture doubly enfeebled. In hastily endeavouring to recover it, he missed his footing on the smooth slippery pavement; fell down, and broke his hip-bone; which fracture, as it was unskilfully set at first, and having besides the infirmities of age to contend with, could never be brought to unite again.

The funeral obsequies paid to the memory of this great man have done honour to the Emperor, to the present age, and also to Eloquence herself. The consul Cornelius Tacitus pronounced his funeral oration: for the series of his felicities was crowned by the applause of the most eloquent of orators. He died full of years and of glory, as illustrious by the honours he refused, as by those he accepted. Still, however, he will be missed and lamented by us, as the bright model of a bygone age; especially by myself, who not only admired him as a patriot, but loved him as a friend. We were not only natives of the same province, and of neighbouring towns, but our estates were contiguous. Besides, he was also left guardian to me, and treated me with the affection of a parent. Whenever I offered myself a candidate for any employment, he constantly honoured me with his support; though he had long since renounced friendly services of this nature, he would always hasten from his rural retirement to attend my formal entry upon an office. At the time when it is customary for the priests<sup>a</sup> to nominate such as they judge worthy to be received into their sacred office, he constantly proposed me. Even in his last sickness, being apprehensive he might

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

valetudine veritus, ne forte inter quinqueviros crearetur, qui minuendis publicis sumptibus iudicio senatus constituebantur, cum illi tot amici senes consularesque superessent, me huius aetatis, per quem excusaretur, elegit his quidem verbis: 'Etiam si filium haberem, tibi mandarem.'

Quibus ex causis necesse est tamquam immaturam mortem eius in sinu tuo defleam, si tamen fas est aut flere aut omnino mortem vocare, qua tanti viri mortalitas magis finita quam vita est. Vivit enim vivetque semper atque etiam latius in memoria hominum et sermone versabitur, postquam ab oculis recessit.

Volui tibi multa alia scribere, sed totus animus in hac una contemplatione defixus est. Verginium cogito, Verginium video, Verginium iam vanis imaginibus, recentibus tamen, audio, adloquor, teneo; cui fortasse cives aliquos virtutibus pares et habemus et habebimus, gloria neminem. Vale.

## II

C. PLINIUS PAULINO SUO S.

IRASCOR, nec liquet mihi, an debeam, sed irascor. Scis, quam sit amor iniquus interdum, impotens

be named one of the five commissioners appointed by the senate to reduce the public expenses, he fixed upon me, young as I am, to carry his excuses; in preference to so many other friends of superior age and dignity; and in a very obliging manner assured me, that had he a son of his own, he would nevertheless have employed me in that office.

Thus I am constrained to lament his death, as if it were immature, and pour out the fullness of my grief in the bosom of my friend; if indeed it be permissible to grieve at all upon this occasion, or to call that event *death*, which to *such* a man, is rather to be looked upon as the period of his mortality than of his life. For he lives, and will continue to live for ever; and his fame will be spread farther by the recollection and the tongues of men now that he is removed from their sight.

I had many other things to write to you, but my mind is so entirely taken up with this subject, that I cannot call it off to any other. Virginius is constantly in my thoughts; the vain but lively impressions of him are continually before my eyes, and I am for ever fondly imagining that I hear him, converse with him, and embrace him. There are, perhaps, and possibly hereafter will be, some few Romans who may rival him in virtue; but not one, I am persuaded, that will ever equal him in glory. Farewell.

## II

## TO PAULINUS

WHETHER I have reason for my rage is not quite so clear; however, wondrous angry I am. But love, you know, will sometimes be irrational; as it is

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

saepe, μικραίτιος semper. Haec tamen causa magna est, nescio an iusta; sed ego, tamquam non minus iusta quam magna sit, graviter irascor, quod a te tam diu litterae nullae. Exorare me potes uno modo, si nunc saltem plurimas et longissimas miseris. Haec mihi sola excusatio vera, ceterae falsae videbuntur. Non sum auditurus: 'Non eram Romae' vel: 'Occupatior eram'; illud enim nec di sinant, ut 'infirmior.' Ipse ad villam partim studiis, partim desidia fruor, quorum utrumque ex otio nascitur. Vale.

### III

C. PLINIUS NEPOTI SUO S.

MAGNA Isacum fama praecesserat, maior inventus est. Summa est facultas, copia, ubertas; dicit semper ex tempore, sed tamquam diu scripserit. Sermo Graecus, immo Atticus, praefationes tersae, graciles, dulces, graves interdum et erectae. Poscit controversias plures, electionem auditoribus permittit, saepe etiam partes, surgit, amicitur, incipit; statim omnia ac paene pariter ad manum, sensus reconditi occursant,

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<sup>a</sup> Juvenal mentions this rhetorician as a powerful speaker (iii. 74).

## BOOK II. ii.—iii

often ungovernable, and ever jealous. The occasion of this my formidable wrath is great, and I think, just : however, taking it for granted that there is as much truth, as weight in it, I am most vehemently enraged at your long silence. Would you soften my resentment? Let your letters for the future be very frequent, and very long; I shall excuse you upon no other terms; and as absence from Rome, or press of business, is a plea I can by no means admit; so that of ill health, the Gods, I hope, will not suffer you to allege. As for myself, I am enjoying at my villa the alternate pleasures of study and indolence; those happy privileges of retired leisure! Farewell.

### III

#### TO NEPOS

WE had received very advantageous accounts of Isaens,<sup>a</sup> before his arrival here; but he is superior to all that was reported of him. He possesses the utmost facility and copiousness of expression, and though always extempore his discourses have all the propriety and elegance of the most studied and elaborate composition. He employs the Greek language, or rather the genuine Attic. His prefatory remarks are terse, easy, and harmonious; and, when occasion requires, serious and majestic. He proposes several questions for discussion, gives his audience liberty to call for any they please, and sometimes even to name what side of it he shall take; when immediately he rises up, assumes his gown, and begins. He handles every point with almost equal readiness; profound ideas occur to him

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

verba, sed qualia! quaesita et exculta. Multa lectio in subitis, multa scriptio elucet. Prooemiatur apte, narrat aperte, pugnat acriter, colligit fortiter, ornat excelse, postremo docet, delectat, adficit, quid maxime, dubites; crebra ἐνθυμήματα, crebri syllogismi, circumscripti et effecti, quod stilò quoque asequi magnum est, incredibilis memoria, repetit altius, quae dixit ex tempore, ne verbo quidem labitur. Ad tantam ἔξω studio et exercitatione pervenit; nam diebus et noctibus nihil aliud agit, nihil audit, nihil loquitur.

Annum sexagensimum excessit et adhuc scholasticus tantum est; quo genere hominum nihil aut simplicius aut sincerius aut melius. Nos enim, qui in foro verisque litibus terimur, multum malitiae, quamvis nolimus, addiscimus; schola et auditorium et ficta causa res inermis, innoxia est nec minus felix, senibus praesertim. Nam quid in senectute felicius quam quod dulcissimum est in iuventa? Quare ego Isacum non disertissimum tantum, verum etiam beatissimum



as he proceeds; his language—but how admirable that is! So choice, so refined! These unprepared discourses plainly discover he has been very conversant in the best authors, and much accustomed to compose himself. He opens his subject with great propriety; his narration is clear; his controversy ingenious, his logic forcible and his rhetoric sublime. In a word, he at once instructs, entertains, and affects you, and each in so high a degree, that you are at a loss to determine in which of those talents he most excels. He abounds in enthymemes and syllogisms; the latter of a formal exactness, not very easy to attain even in writing. His memory is so extraordinary, that he can recollect what he has before spoke extempore, word for word. This wonderful habitude he has acquired by great application and practice; for his whole time is so devoted to subjects of this nature, that he thinks, hears, and talks of nothing else.

Though he is above sixty-three years of age, he still chooses to continue a mere professor of rhetoric; than which class none abounds with men of more worth, simplicity, and integrity. We, who are conversant in the real contentions of the bar, unavoidably contract a good deal of *finesse*, however contrary to our natural tempers. But the lecture-room, the audience-hall, the mock trial at law afford an employment as innocent as it is felicitous, particularly so for those who are advanced in years; as nothing can give more felicity at that period of life, than to enjoy what were the most pleasing entertainments of our youth. I look therefore upon Isaeus, not only as the most eloquent, but the most happy of men; as I shall esteem you the most

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

iudico ; quem tu nisi cognoscere concupiscis, saxeus ferreusque es. Proinde, si non ob alia nosque ipsos, at certe ut hunc audias, veni.

Numquamne legisti Gaditanum quendam Titi Livi nomine gloriaque commotum ad visendum cum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse statimque, ut viderat, abisse? Ἀφιλόκαλον, illiteratum, iners ac paene etiam turpe est non putare tanti cognitionem, qua nulla est iucundior, nulla pulchrior, nulla denique humanior. Dices: 'Habeo hic, quos legam, non minus disertos.' Etiam: sed legendi semper occasio est, audiendi non semper. Praeterea multo magis, ut vulgo dicitur, viva vox adficit. Nam, licet acriora sint, quae legas, altius tamen in animo sedent, quae pronuntiatio, vultus, habitus, gestus etiam dicentis adfigit; nisi vero falsum putamus illud Aeschinis, qui cum legisset Rhodiis orationem Demosthenis admirantibus cunctis adiecis-  
se fertur: Τί δέ, εἰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θηρίου, [τὰ αὐτοῦ ῥήματα βοῶντος] ἠκούσατε; et erat Aeschines, si Demostheni credimus, μεγαλοφωνότατος. Fatebatur tamen longe melius eadem illa pronuntiasse ipsum, qui pepererat.

## BOOK II. iii

insensible, if you appear to slight his acquaintance. Let me prevail with you then to come to Rome, if not upon my account, or any other, at least for the pleasure of hearing this extraordinary person.

You have surely read of a certain inhabitant of the city of Cadiz, who was so struck with the illustrious character of Livy, that he travelled from the ends of the earth on purpose to see that great genius; and, as soon as he had satisfied his curiosity, returned home again? A man must have a very inelegant, illiterate, and indolent (I had almost said a very mean) turn of mind, not to think whatever relates to a science so entertaining, so noble, and so polite, worthy of his curiosity. You will tell me, perhaps, you have authors in your own library equally eloquent. I allow it; and those authors you may turn over at any time, but you cannot always have an opportunity of hearing Isaeus. Besides, as the common saying has it, far more affecting is the spoken word. There is something in the voice, the countenance, the bearing, and the gesture of the speaker, that concur in fixing an impression upon the mind, deeper than can even vigorous writings. This at least was the opinion of Aeschines, who, having read to the Rhodians a speech of Demosthenes, which they loudly applauded; "but how," said he, "would you have been affected, had you heard the wild beast's own roar!" Aeschines, if we may believe Demosthenes, had great pomap and energy of elocution; yet, you see, he could not but confess it would have been a considerable advantage to the oration if it had been pronounced by the author himself. What I aim at

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Quae omnia huc tendunt, ut audias Isaeum, vel ideo tantum, ut audieris. Vale.

### IV

C. PLINIUS CALVINAЕ SUAE S.

Si pluribus pater tuus vel unicuilibet alii quam mihi debuisset, fuisset fortasse dubitandum, an adires hereditatem etiam viro gravem. Cum vero ego adductus adfinitatis officio dimissis omnibus, qui, non dico molestiores, sed diligentiores erant, creditor solus exstiterim, cumque ego nubenti tibi in dotem centum milia contulerim praeter eam summam, quam pater tuus quasi de meo dixit (erat enim solvenda de meo), magnum habes facilitatis meae pignus, cuius fiducia debes famam defuncti pudoremque suscipere; ad quod ne te verbis magis quam rebus hortor, quidquid mihi pater tuus debuit, acceptum tibi ferri iubeo.

## BOOK II. iii.-iv

by this, is, to persuade you to come and hear Isaeus ; and let me again entreat you to do so, if for no other reason, at least that you may have the pleasure to say you once heard him. Farewell.

### IV

#### TO CALVINA

If your father had left several creditors, or indeed a single one except myself, you might justly, perhaps, scruple to enter upon his estate, which, with such encumbrances, might prove a burden too heavy even for one of our sex to undertake. But since, out of regard to the affinity that subsisted between us, I was contented to remain the only person unsatisfied who had any demand upon the estate, while other creditors, I will not say more troublesome, but certainly more cautious, were paid off; and as I contributed, you may remember, 100,000 sesterces towards your marriage portion, over and above the sum your father charged upon this estate for your fortune, which may be esteemed my gift too, as it was to be paid out of a fund which was before appropriated to me—when you consider, I say, these instances of my friendship, you can want no assurance of my favourable disposition towards you. In confidence of which, you should not scruple to enter upon this inheritance, and by that means protect the memory of your father from the reproach of his dying insolvent. But that I may give you a more substantial encouragement to do so, than mere words, I entirely acquit you of the debt which he owed me.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Nec est, quod verearis, ne sit mihi onerosa ista donatio. Sunt quidem omnino nobis modicae facultates, dignitas sumptuosa, reditus propter conditionem agellorum nescio minor an incertior; sed, quod cessat ex reditu, frugalitate suppletur, ex qua velut e fonte liberalitas nostra decurrit; quae tamen ita temperanda est, ne nimia profusione inarescat, sed temperanda in aliis, in te vero facile ratio constabit, etiamsi modum excesserit. Vale.

### V

C. PLINIUS LUPERCO SUO S.

ACTIONEM et a te frequenter efflagitatam et a me saepe promissam exhibui tibi, non tamen totam; adhuc enim pars eius perpolitur. Interim, quae absolutiora mihi videbantur, non fuit alienum iudicio tuo tradi. His tu rogo intentionem scribentis accommodes. Nihil enim adhuc inter manus habui, cui maiorem sollicitudinem praestare deberem. Nam in ceteris actionibus existimationi hominum diligentia tantum et fides nostra, in hac etiam pietas subicietur. Inde et liber crevit, dum ornare patriam et amplificare gaudemus, pariterque et defensionis eius servimus et gloriae. Tu tamen haec ipsa, quantum ratio

## BOOK II. iv.-v

Do not scruple to receive this present at my hands, upon the supposition that I can ill spare so large a sum. It is true, my fortune is but moderate: the expenses which my station in the world requires are considerable; while the yearly income of my estate, from the nature and circumstances of it, is as uncertain as it is small; yet what I want in revenue, I make up by economy, the fountain, so to speak, that supplies my bounty. I must be cautious, no doubt, not to exhaust it by too much profusion; but that is a caution which I shall observe towards others; with respect to yourself, my accounts will readily tally, though it should exceed bounds. Farewell.

### V

#### To LUPERCUS

I SEND you at last the piece you have so often desired, and which I have as frequently promised: but it is part of it only; the remainder I am still polishing. In the meanwhile I thought there would be no impropriety in laying before you such parts as seemed to me most correct. I beg you would read it with the same close attention that I wrote it; for I never was engaged in any work that required so much care. In my other speeches, my diligence and integrity only, in this, my patriotism also, will be submitted to the judgement of the world. Hence while I dwelt with pleasure upon the honour of my native country, and endeavoured not only to support its rights, but heighten its glory; my oration swelled insensibly. However, I beg you would curtail

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

exegerit, resecā. Quotiens enim ad fastidium legentium deliciasque respicio, intellego nobis commendationem ex ipsa mediocritate libri petendam.

Idem tamen, qui a te hanc austeritatem exigo, cogor id, quod diversum est, postulare, ut in plerisque frontem remittas. Sunt enim quaedam adulescentium auribus danda, praesertim si materia non refragetur; nam descriptiones locorum, quae in hoc libro frequentiores erunt, non historice tantum, sed prope poëtice prosequi fas est. Quod tamen si quis extiterit qui putet nos lautius fecisse, quam orationis severitas exigat, huius, ut ita dixerim, tristitiam reliquae partes actionis exorare debebunt. Adnisi certe sumus, ut quamlibet diversa genera lectorum per plures dicendi species teneremus, ac, sicut veremur, ne quibusdam pars aliqua secundum suam cuiusque naturam non probetur, ita videmur posse confidere, ut universitatem omnibus varietas ipsa commendet. Nam et in ratione conviviorum, quamvis a plerisque cibis singuli temperemus, totam tamen cenam laudare omnes solemus, nec ea, quae stomachus noster recusat, adimunt gratiam illis, quibus capitur. Atque haec ego sic accipi volo, non tamquam adsecutum me esse credam, sed tamquam adsequi laboraverim, fortasse non frustra, si modo tu curam tuam admoveris interim istis, mox iis, quae sequentur.



## BOOK II. v

it, even in those favourite topics, wherever you find reason to do so; for when I consider the affected niceness of readers, I am sensible the surest recommendation I can have to their favour is by the moderate length of my book.

But while I demand your severity in this instance, I am obliged, contrariwise to beg your leniency in many others. Some consideration ought to be had to the taste of young people, especially where the subject admits of it; for instance, the descriptions of places, occur frequently in this performance; and these it is allowable to treat not only in historical but in almost poetic style. If any critic should happen to consider these passages too florid for the gravity of such an oration, the other parts of it ought to appease his moroseness if I may use that expression. I have, indeed, endeavoured to gain attention from readers of the most opposite tastes by employing several styles; and though I am afraid there are some passages that will displease particular persons, as not falling in with their peculiar taste; yet, its mere variety, one may fairly hope, will recommend the work as a whole. For in matters culinary, though we do not severally partake of every dish, yet we admire the general disposition of a dinner; and if we happen to meet with something not to our palate, we are not the less pleased, however, with what is. I would not be understood to mean that I have actually furnished out such an entertainment; but only that I have attempted to do so. And possibly my attempt may not prove altogether fruitless, if you will exercise your skill upon what I now send you, and shall hereafter send.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Dices te non posse satis diligenter id facere, nisi prius totam actionem cognoveris. Fateor: in praesentia tamen et ista tibi familiariora fient, et quaedam ex his talia erunt, ut per partes emendari possint. Etenim, si avulsum statuae caput aut membrum aliquod inspiceres, non tu quidem ex illo posses congruentiam aequalitatemque deprendere, posses tamen iudicare, an id ipsum satis elegans esset; nec alia ex causa principiorum libri circumferuntur, quam quia existimatur pars aliqua etiam sine ceteris esse perfecta.

Longius me provexit dulcedo quaedam tecum loquendi; sed iam finem faciam, ne modum, quem etiam orationi adhibendum puto, in epistula excedam. Vale.

### VI

C. PLINIUS AVITO SUO S.

LONGUM est altius repetere, nec refert, quemadmodum acciderit, ut homo minime familiaris cenarem apud quendam, ut sibi videbatur, lautum et diligentem, ut mihi, sordidum simul et sumptuosum. Nam sibi et paucis optima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta

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You will tell me, I know, that you cannot do so with proper accuracy till you are acquainted with the whole speech. There is truth in this, I confess: however, for the present you may better acquaint yourself with this detached part, wherein you will find some things, perhaps, that will bear piecemeal correction. If you were to examine the detached head, or any other part of a statue, though you could not thereby apprehend the harmony and just proportions of the entire figure, yet you would be able to judge of the elegance of that particular member. From what other principle is it that specimens of books are handed about, but that it is supposed the beauties of particular parts may be seen, without taking a view of the whole?

A sort of pleasant notion that I am talking with you has carried me a greater length than I intended. But I stop here; for it is not reasonable that I, who am for setting bounds even to a speech, should set none to a letter. Farewell.

## VI

## To AVITUS

It would be a long story, and of no importance, were I to recount too particularly by what accident I (who am not at all fond of society) supped lately with a person, who in his own opinion lives in splendour combined with economy; but according to mine, in a sordid but expensive manner. Some very elegant dishes were served up to himself and a few more of the company; while those which were placed before the rest were cheap and paltry. He

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ponebat. Vinum etiam parvulis lagunculis in tria genera discripserat, non ut potestas eligendi, sed ne ius esset recusandi, aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis (nam gradatim amicos habet), aliud suis nostrisque libertis. Animadvertit, qui mihi proximus recumbebat, et, an probarem, interrogavit. Negavi. 'Tu ergo,' inquit, 'quam consuetudinem sequeris?' 'Eadem omnibus pono; ad cenam enim, non ad notam invito cunctisque rebus exaequo, quos mensa et toro aequavi.' 'Etiamne libertos?' 'Etiam; convictores enim tunc, non libertos puto.' Et ille: 'Magno tibi constat.' 'Minime.' 'Qui fieri potest?' 'Quia scilicet liberti mei non idem quod ego bibunt, sed idem ego quod liberti.'

Et hercule, si gulae temperes, non est onerosum, quo utaris, ipse communicare cum pluribus. Illa ergo reprimenda, illa quasi in ordinem redigenda est, si sumptibus parcas, quibus aliquanto rectius tua continentia quam aliena contumelia consulas.

Quorsum haec? ne tibi, optimae indolis iuveni,

<sup>a</sup> i.e. not to be "marked" as socially inferior. Allusion to the mark (*nota*) which the Censors affixed to names of expelled members in the list of the Senate.

<sup>b</sup> Lit., "reduce to the ranks."

## BOOK II. vi

had apportioned in small flagons three different sorts of wine ; but you are not to suppose it was that the guests might take their choice : on the contrary, that they might not choose at all. One was for himself and me ; the next for his friends of a lower order (for, you must know, he measures out his friendship according to the degrees of quality) ; and the third for his own freed-men and mine. One who sat next me took notice of this, and asked me if I approved of it. "Not at all," I told him. "Pray, then," said he, "what is your method on such occasions ?" "Mine," I returned, "is, to give all my company the same fare ; for when I make an invitation, it is to sup, not to be censored." Every man whom I have placed on an equality with myself by admitting him to my table, I treat as an equal in all particulars." "Even freed-men ?" he asked. "Even them," I said ; "for on these occasions I regard them not as freed-men, but boon companions." "This must put you to great expense," says he. I assured him not at all ; and on his asking how that could be, I said "Why you must know my freed-men don't drink the same wine I do—but *I* drink what *they* do."

And certainly if a man is wise enough to moderate his own gluttony, he will not find it so very chargeable a thing to entertain all his visitors in general as he does himself. Restrain and, so to speak, humble<sup>b</sup> that failing, if you would be an economist in good earnest. You will find your own temperance a much better method of saving expenses, than affronts to other people.

What is my drift in all this, do you ask ? Why to hinder a young man of your excellent dis-

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

quorundam in mensa luxuria specie frugalitatis imponat. Convenit autem amori in te meo, quotiens tale aliquid inciderit, sub exemplo praemonere, quid debeas fugere. Igitur memento nihil magis esse vitandum quam istam luxuriae et sordium novam societatem; quae cum sint turpissima discreta ac separata, turpius iunguntur. Vale.

### VII

C. PLINIUS MACRINO SUO S.

HERI a senatu Vestricio Spurinnae principe auctore triumphalis statua decreta est, non ita ut multis, qui numquam in acie steterunt, numquam castra viderunt, numquam denique tubarum sonum nisi in spectaculis audierunt, verum ut illis, qui decus istud sudore et sanguine et factis adsequebantur. Nam Spurinna Bructerum regem vi et armis induxit in regnum ostentatoque bello feroeissimam gentem, quod est pulcherrimum victoriae genus, terrore perdomuit. Et hoc quidem virtutis praemium, illud solatium doloris accepit, quod filio eius Cottio, quem amisit absens, habitus est honor statuae. Rarum id in iuvene; sed pater hoc quoque merebatur, cuius

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<sup>a</sup> See iii. 10.

## BOOK II. vi.-vii

position from being imposed upon by the self-indulgence which prevails at some men's tables, under the guise of frugality. And whenever any folly of this nature falls within my observation, I shall, in consequence of that affection I bear you, point it out to you as an example which you ought to shun. Remember therefore, nothing is more to be avoided than this modern conjunction of self-indulgence and meanness; qualities superlatively odious when existing in distinct characters, but still more odious where they meet together in the same person. Farewell.

### VII

#### TO MACRINUS

THE Senate decreed yesterday, at the recommendation of the emperor, a triumphal statue to Vestricius Spurinna: not as to many others who never saw a field of battle, nor a camp, nor as much as heard the sound of a trumpet, unless at a show; but as to those whose fatigues, wounds, and exploits, have procured that honour. Spurinna by the power of his arms restored the king of the Bructeri to his throne; and this by a victory of all others the most noble; for he struck such a terror into that warlike people, that they submitted at the very first view of his troops. But at the same time that the Senate thus rewarded his valour, as a consolation to him for the loss of his son Cottius,<sup>a</sup> who died during his absence upon that expedition, they voted likewise a statue to that youth. A very unusual honour for one of his early years; but the services of the father

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

gravissimo vulnere magno aliquo fomento medendum fuit.

Praeterca Cottius ipse tam clarum specimen indolis dederat, ut vita eius brevis et angusta debuerit hac velut immortalitate proferri. Nam tanta ei sanetitas, gravitas, auctoritas etiam, ut posset senes illos provocare virtute, quibus nunc honore adaequatus est. Quo quidem honore, quantum ego interpretor, non modo defuncti memoriae, dolori patris, verum etiam exemplo prospectum est. Aeuvent ad bonas artes inventutem adolescentibus quoque ut<sup>1</sup> digni sint modo, tanta praemia constituta, aeuent principes viros ad liberos suscipiendos et gaudia ex superstitibus et ex amissis tam gloriosa solatia.

His ex causis statua Cotti publice laetor nec privatim minus. Amavi consummatissimum iuvenem tam ardenter, quam nunc impatienter requiro. Erit ergo pergratum mihi hanc effigiem eius subinde intueri, subinde respicere, sub hac consistere, praeter hanc commeare. Etenim, si defunctorum imagines domi positae dolorem nostrum levant, quanto magis eae, quibus in celeberrimo loco non modo species et vultus illorum, sed honor etiam et gloria refertur? Vale.

<sup>1</sup> ut *Fr p*, Müller, om. *rell*.



## BOOK · II. vii

well deserved this additional recompense, for so severe a wound required an extraordinary application.

Besides, Cottius himself gave so shining a specimen of his qualities, that it is but right his life, which had so brief a period, should be extended, as it were, by this kind of immortality. The purity of his manners, and the dignity, nay authority, of his character, were such that he might well have challenged in virtue those seniors with whom he is now equalled in honour : an honour, if I mistake not, conferred not only in memory of the deceased youth, and in consolation to the surviving father, but for the sake of public example. The young men of this age will be hence encouraged to cultivate every worthy principle, when they see such rewards open even to striplings, should they deserve them ; and men of quality will be prompted to rear issue, when they may expect not only to be happy in their children, if they survive ; but to have so glorious a consolation, if they lose them.

For the sake of the public therefore I am glad that a statue is decreed to Cottius : and so indeed I am upon my own ; for I loved this accomplished youth as ardently as I now impatiently regret him. It will be a great satisfaction to me ever and anon, to view this likeness of him—to look back towards it—to halt beneath it—to pass it as I go along. For if we derive consolation from images of the departed set up in their own homes, how much more comforting are they to the mourners, when, erected in a place of public resort, they are not only memorials of our lost ones' air and countenance, but of their glory and honour. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## VIII

C. PLINIUS CANINIO SUO S.

STUDES an piscaris an venaris an simul omnia? Possunt enim omnia simul fieri ad Larium nostrum. Nam lacus piscem, feras silvae, quibus lacus cingitur, studia altissimus iste secessus adfatim suggerunt. Sed, sive omnia simul sive aliquid facis, non possum dicere, 'Invideo'; angor tamen non et mihi licere, quae sic concupisco ut aegri vinum, balinea, fontes. Numquamne hos artissimos laqueos, si solvere negatur, abrumpam? Numquam, puto. Nam veteribus negotiis nova accrescunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur; tot nexibus, tot quasi catenis maius in dies occupationum agmen extenditur. Vale.

## IX

C. PLINIUS APOLLINARI SUO S.

ANXIUM me et inquietum habet petitio Sexti Eruci mei. Adficio cura et, quam pro me sollicitudinem non adii, quasi pro me altero patior; et alioqui meus pudor, mea existimatio, mea dignitas in discrimen adducitur. Ego Sexto latum

## BOOK II. viii.—ix

### VIII

#### TO CANINIUS

How is my friend employed? Is it in study, or angling, or the chase? Or does he unite all three, as he well may on the banks of our favourite Larius?<sup>a</sup> For that lake will supply you with fish; as the woods that surround it will afford you game; while the solemnity of that sequestered scene will at the same time dispose your mind to contemplation. Whether you are entertained with all, or any of these agreeable amusements, I cannot bring myself to say "I envy you," yet it irks me that I cannot partake of them too; a happiness I as earnestly long for, as a sick man does for wine, baths, and water-springs. Shall I never break loose (if I may not disentangle myself) from these snares that thus closely enmesh me? I doubt indeed, never; for new affairs keep budding out of the old, while yet the former remain unfinished: such an endless train of business daily rises upon me, so numerous are the ties—I may say the chains—that bind me! Farewell.

### IX

#### TO APOLLINARIS

I AM extremely anxious and uneasy about the candidature of my friend Sextus Erucius. I am a prey to care, and feel for him as for an *alter ego* a solicitude I never felt for myself; and apart from that, my own honour, credit and character are at stake. 'Twas I obtained for him of our Emperor the honour

<sup>a</sup> See i. 3. n.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

clavum a Caesare nostro, ego quaesturam impetravi, meo suffragio pervenit ad ius tribunatus petendi, quem nisi obtinet in senatu, vereor, ne decepisse Caesarem videar. Proinde adnitendum est mihi, ut talem eum iudicent omnes, qualem esse princeps mihi credidit. Quae causa si studium meum non incitaret, adiutum tamen cuperem iuvenem probissimum, gravissimum, eruditissimum, omni denique laude dignissimum et quidem cum tota domo.

Nam pater eius Erucius Clarus, vir sanctus, antiquus, disertus atque in agendis causis exercitatus, quas summa fide, pari constantia nec verecundia minore defendit. Habet avunculum C. Septicium, quo nihil verius, nihil simplicius, nihil candidius, nihil fidelius novi. Omnes me certatim et tamen aequaliter amant, omnibus nunc ego in uno referre gratiam possum. Itaque preno amicos, supplico, ambio, domos stationesque circumeo, quantumque vel auctoritate vel gratia valeam, precibus experior. Te quoque obsecro, ut aliquam oneris mei partem suscipere tanti putes. Reddam vicem, si reposes, reddam, et si non reposes. Diligeris,

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the broad purple stripe on the toga, a mark of distinction worn by senators; under the Emperors it was granted also to sons of senators and equites who were entering on their official career.

<sup>b</sup> The office of Tribune of the Plebs, carrying with it the highest powers of the State, was assumed by Julius Caesar, and after him by Augustus, and became thenceforward the

of wearing the *Laticlave*,<sup>a</sup> and the office of quaëstor ; as it was by my interest that he qualified as a candidate for the Tribunate ;<sup>b</sup> and if the Senate should reject him, I am afraid it will be thought I imposed upon the Emperor. I must therefore endeavour, that the judgement of the public may confirm the opinion which Caesar has conceived of him, by my representation. But if I were not obliged for these reasons to interest myself in the success of this young man, yet his superlative probity, good sense, and learning would 'incline me to assist him ; as indeed, he and his whole family are deserving of the highest applause.

His father, Erucius Clarus, is a man of strict morals and ancient simplicity of manners ; an eloquent and experienced advocate ; and defends every cause he undertakes with a courage and integrity equal to his great modesty. Caius Septicius, his uncle, is the most plain, sincere, candid, and trusty man I ever knew. There is a rivalry amongst them who shall show me most affection ; which nevertheless they all give me in an equal degree. I have now an opportunity of repaying my debt of gratitude to the whole family, in the single person of Sextus. Accordingly, I warmly solicit my friends, I entreat, I make house-to-house visits, I perambulate the places of public resort, and put my whole influence and popularity to the touch, by petitions on his behalf. I must beg of you likewise to condescend to take some share of this trouble with me ; I will return you the same good office whenever you shall require it, and even without your request. As you have many friends, pivot of Imperial authority. But Tribunes to the number of ten were still annually appointed, by election of the Senate.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

coleris, frequentaris; ostende modo velle te, nec deerunt, qui, quod tu velis, cupiant. Vale.

### X

C. PLINIUS OCTAVIO SUO S.

HOMINEM te patientem vel potius durum ac paene crudelem, qui tam insignes libros tam diu teneas! Quousque et tibi et nobis invidebis, tibi maxima laude, nobis voluptate? Sine per ora hominum ferantur isdemque quibus lingua Romana spatiis pervagentur. Magna enim longaue expectatio est, quam frustrari adhuc et differre non debes. Enotuerunt quidam tui versus et invito te claustra sua refregerunt. Hos nisi retrahis in corpus, quandoque ut erroneos aliquem, cuius dicantur, invenient. Habe ante oculos mortalitatem, a qua adserere te hoc uno monimento potes; nam cetera fragilia et caduca non minus quam ipsi homines occidunt desinuntque.

Dices, ut soles: 'Amici mei viderint.' Opto equidem amicos tibi tam fideles, tam eruditos, tam laboriosos, ut tantum curae intentionisque suscipere et possint et velint, sed dispice, ne sit parum providum sperare ex aliis, quod tibi ipse

## BOOK II. ix.-x

admirers, and dependents, it is but showing yourself a well-wisher to Sextus in this affair, and numbers will be ready to second your inclinations. Farewell.

### X

#### TO OCTAVIUS

You are certainly a most enduring, or rather, hard-hearted, I had almost said, a most cruel man thus to withhold from the world such excellent compositions ! How long do you intend to grudge your friends the pleasure of your verses, and yourself the glory of them ? Suffer them, I entreat you, to come abroad, and to be admired ; as admired they undoubtedly will be wherever the Roman language is understood. The public, believe me, has long and earnestly expected them, and you ought not to disappoint or put it off any longer. Some few poems of yours have already, contrary to your inclinations indeed, broke their prison and escaped to light : these if you do not collect together, some person or other will claim the agreeable wanderers as their own. Remember, my friend, the mortality of human nature, and that there is nothing so likely to preserve your name, as a monument of this kind ; all others are as frail and perishable as the men whose memory they perpetuate and fall and pass like them.

You will say, I suppose, as usual, "let my friends see to that." May you find many whose industry, fidelity and learning render them able and willing to undertake so considerable a charge ! But surely it is not altogether prudent to expect from others what you will not do for yourself. However, as to

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

non praestes. Et de editione quidem interim, ut voles; recita saltem, quo magis libeat emittere, utque tandem percipias gaudium, quod ego olim pro te non temere, praesumo. Imaginor enim, qui concursus, quae admiratio te, qui clamor, quod etiam silentium maneat; quo ego, cum dico vel recito, non minus quam clamore delector, sit modo silentium acre et intentum et cupidum ulteriora audiendi. Hoc fructu tanto, tam parato desine studia tua infinita ista cunctatione fraudare; quae cum modum excedit, verendum est, ne inertiae et desidia vel etiam timiditatis nomen accipiat. Vale.

### XI

C. PLINIUS ARIANO SUO S.

SOLET esse gaudio tibi, si quid actum est in senatu dignum ordine illo. Quamvis enim quietis amore secesseris, insidet tamen animo tuo maiestatis publicae cura. Accipe ergo, quod per hos dies actum est personae claritate famosum, severitate exempli salubre, rei magnitudine aeternum.

Marius Priscus accusantibus Afris, quibus pro

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* by an action for restitution of moneys extorted by a provincial governor. Fearing disclosures at the trial, Priscus virtually pleaded guilty to "extortion" by asking to have the case referred at once to a board of commissioners (*recip-*



## BOOK II. x.-xi

publishing of them, have your own way for the present. But let me at least prevail with you to recite them, that you may be more disposed to send them abroad; and may receive at last that satisfaction, which I will venture, upon very just grounds, to assure you of beforehand. I please myself with imagining the crowd, the admiration, the applause, and even the silence that will attend you: for the silence of my audience, when it proceeds from attention and an earnest desire of hearing more, is as agreeable to me as the loudest approbation. Do not then, by this interminable delay defraud your labours any longer of a fruit so certain and so desirable: if you should, the world, I fear, will be apt to charge you with carelessness and indolence, or, even, with timidity. Farewell.

### XI

#### TO ARRIANUS

You ever find satisfaction in any thing that is transacted in the Senate, worthy of that august assembly: for though love of repose has called you into retirement, your heart still retains its zeal for the honour of the public. Accept then the following account of what lately passed in that venerable body; a transaction for ever memorable by its importance, and not only remarkable by the quality of the person concerned, but useful by the severity of the example.

Marius Priscus, formerly Proconsul of Africa, being impeached<sup>a</sup> by that Province, instead of *eratores*) who would merely assess the amount of money he must refund.

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consule praefuit, omissa defensione iudices petiit. Ego et Cornelius Tacitus adesse provincialibus iussi existimavimus fidei nostrae convenire notum senatui facere excessisse Priscum immanitate et saevitia crimina, quibus dari iudices possent, cum ob innocentes condemnandos, interficiendos etiam, pecunias accepisset. Respondit Fronto Catius deprecatusque est, ne quid ultra repetundarum legem quaeretur, omniaque actionis suae vela vir movendarum lacrimarum peritissimus quodam velut vento miserationis implevit. Magna contentio, magni utrimque clamores aliis cognitionem senatus lege conclusam, aliis liberam solutamque dicentibus, quantumque admisisset reus, tantum vindicandum. Novissime consul designatus Iulius Ferox, vir rectus et sanctus, Mario quidem iudices interim censuit dandos, evocandos autem, quibus diceretur innocentium poenas vendidisse. Quae sententia non praevaluit modo, sed omnino post tantas dissensiones fuit sola frequens, adnotatumque experimentis, quod favor et misericordia acres et vehementes primos impetus habent, paulatim consilio et ratione quasi restincta considunt. Unde evenit, ut, quod multi clamore permixto tuentur, nemo tacentibus ceteris dicere velit; patescit enim, cum

defending the suit, petitioned that his case might be referred to a special commission. Cornelius Tacitus and myself, being assigned by the Senate counsel for that province, thought it our duty to inform the House, that the crimes alleged against Priscus were of too atrocious a nature to fall within the cognizance of a commission; for he was charged with accepting bribes to condemn, and even to execute, innocent persons. Fronto Catus replied on his behalf, and moved that the whole inquiry might be confined to the single article of extortion; a master of pathetic eloquence, he raised as it were a gale of compassion to swell the sails of his discourse. The debates grew warm, and the members were much divided in their sentiments. Some declared that the Senate could not legally take further cognizance of the matter; others, that the House was at liberty to proceed upon it, and that punishment of the culprit ought to be made fully equivalent to his guilt. At last Julius Ferox, the consul-elect, a man of great worth and integrity, proposed that a commission should be granted to Marius provisionally and that those persons should be summoned to whom it was alleged he had sold innocent blood. Not only the majority of the Senate gave into this opinion; but, after all the dissension that had been raised, it was the only one numerously supported. From whence one could not but observe that sentiments of compassion, though they at first operate with great violence, gradually subside under the quenching influence of reason and judgement: thus it happens, that numbers will defend by joining in the general cry, what they would never propose by themselves. The truth is, there is no discerning an object in a

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

separaris a turba, contemplatio rerum, quae turba teguntur.

Venerunt, qui adesse erant iussi, Vitellius Honoratus et Flavius Marcianus; ex quibus Honoratus trecentis milibus exilium equitis Romani septemque amicorum eius ultimam poenam, Marcianus unius equitis Romani septingentis milibus plura supplicia arguebatur emisse; erat enim fustibus caesus, damnatus in metallum, strangulatus in carcere. Sed Honoratum cognitioni senatus mors opportuna subtraxit, Marcianus inductus est absente Prisco. Itaque Tuccius Cerealis consularis iure senatorio postulavit, ut Priscus certior fieret, sive quia miserabiliorem, sive quia invidiosorem fore arbitrabatur, si praescens fuisset, sive, quod maxime credo, quia aequissimum erat commune crimen ab utroque defendi et, si dilui non potuisset, in utroque puniri.

Dilata res est in proximum senatum; cuius ipse conspectus augustissimus fuit. Princeps praesidebat (erat enim consul), ad hoc Ianuarius mensis cum cetera tum praecipue senatorum frequentia celeberrimus; praeterea causae amplitudo auctaque dilatione expectatio et fama insitumque mortali-

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<sup>a</sup> Trajan; see x. 3A. The trial took place 100 A.D.

<sup>b</sup> In this month the several magistrates entered upon their several offices.

crowd ; one must take it aside if one would view it in its true light.

Vitellius Honoratus, and Flavius Marcianus, the persons who were ordered to be summoned, were brought before the house. Honoratus was charged with having given three hundred thousand sesterces to procure a sentence of banishment against a Roman knight, as also the capital conviction of seven of his friends. Against Marcianus it was alleged, that he gave seven hundred thousand, that another Roman knight might be condemned to suffer various tortures ; and the unhappy man was first whipped, afterwards sent to work in the mines, and at last strangled in prison. But death opportunely removed Honoratus from the jurisdiction of the Senate. Marcianus however appeared, but without Priscus. Tuccius Cerealis, therefore, who had been formerly Consul, demanded, agreeably to his privilege as a senator, that notice to attend should be served upon Priscus ; either because he thought the latter would excite more compassion, or perhaps more resentment, by appearing ; or because, as I am inclined to believe, he thought it most equitable, as the charge was against them both, that they should both join in the defence, and be acquitted or condemned together.

The affair was adjourned to the next meeting of the Senate, which presented a most solemn spectacle. The Emperor <sup>a</sup> himself (for he was Consul) presided. It happened likewise to be the month of January <sup>b</sup> when town is very full upon many accounts, and particularly owing to the great numbers of senators which that season always brings together ; moreover the importance of the cause, the bruit and expectation that had been made by the several adjournments,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

bus studium magna et inusitata noscendi omnes undique exciverat. Imaginare, quae sollicitudo nobis, qui metus, quibus super tanta re in illo coetu praesente Caesare dicendum erat. Equidem in senatu non semel egi, quin immo nusquam audiri benignius soleo; tunc me tamen ut nova omnia novo metu permovebant. Obversabatur praeter illa, quae supra dixi, causae difficultas; stabat modo consularis, modo septemvir epulonum, iam neutrum. Erat igitur perquam onerosum accusare damnatum, quem ut premebat atrocitas criminis, ita quasi peractae damnationis miseratio tuebatur.

Utcumque tamen animum cogitationemque collegi, coepi dicere non minore audientium adsensu quam sollicitudine mea. Dixi horis paene quinque; nam XII clepsydris, quas spatiosissimas acceperam, sunt additae quattuor. Adeo illa ipsa, quae dura et adversa dicturo videbantur, secunda dicenti fuerunt. Caesar quidem mihi tantum studium, tantam etiam curam (nimium est enim dicere sollicitudinem) praestitit, ut libertum meum post me stantem

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<sup>a</sup> Established 196 B.C. to take charge of the public banquets (*epulae*) given at certain religious festivals. The original three members of this college were increased to seven, hence the title *septemviri*, which was retained after Julius Caesar had extended the number to ten.

<sup>b</sup> Forfeited by his being already convicted of "extortion."

<sup>c</sup> The *clepsydra* was a contrivance resembling an hour-glass, but containing water instead of sand. Those used in the law-courts measured a quarter of an hour each, normally;

## BOOK II. xi

together with that disposition in mankind to acquaint themselves with every thing great and uncommon, drew people together from all parts. Image to yourself the concern and anxiety we, who were to speak on so grave a charge before such an awful assembly, and in the presence of the prince, must feel. I have often pleaded in the Senate; as indeed there is no place where I am more favourably heard; yet, as if the scene had been entirely new to me, I now found myself under novel apprehensions. Besides the circumstances I have just mentioned, the difficult nature of the case was present to my mind; a man, once of consular dignity, and a member of the sacred college of *Epulones*,<sup>a</sup> now stood before me stripped of both those honours.<sup>b</sup> It was an onerous task, I thought, to accuse one already found guilty; one who lying as he did under the most shocking imputations was yet as it were shielded by sentiments of compassion towards a convicted person.

However, I collected my wits as best I could; I began my speech, and the applause I received was equal to the fears I had suffered; I spoke almost five hours successively (for four *clepsydrae*<sup>c</sup> were allowed me in addition to the twelve of the largest scale which had been granted me beforehand); and what at my first setting out had most contributed to raise my apprehensions, proved in the event greatly to my advantage. The kindness, the care of the Emperor (I dare not say his anxiety) were so great towards me, that he frequently spoke to one of my

but *spatiosissimae* here implies that they could be adjusted so as to run more slowly. A general time-limit for the speeches of counsel was already established in Cicero's day; in Pliny's time it seems to have been fixed by special arrangement in each particular case.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

saepius admoneret, voci laterique consulerem, cum me vehementius putaret intendi, quam gracilitas mea perpeti posset. Respondit mihi pro Marciano Claudius Marcellinus. Missus deinde senatus et revocatus in posterum; neque enim iam inchoari poterat actio, nisi ut noctis interventu scinderetur.

Postero die dixit pro Mario Salvius Liberalis, vir subtilis, dispositus, acer, disertus; in illa vero causa omnes artes suas protulit. Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi eius inest, *σεμνῶς*. Dixit pro Mario rursus Fronto Catius insigniter, utque iam locus ille poscebat, plus in precibus temporis quam in defensione consumpsit. Huius actionem vespera inclusit, non tamen sic, ut abrumperet. Itaque in tertium diem probationes exierunt.

Iam hoc ipsum pulchrum et antiquum, senatum nocte dirimi, triduo vocari, triduo contineri. Cornutus Tertullus, consul designatus, vir egregius et pro veritate firmissimus, censuit septingenta milia, quae acceperat Marius, aerario inferenda, Mario urbe Italiaque interdicendum, Marciano hoc amplius Africa. In fine sententiae adiecit, quod ego et Tacitus iniuncta advocacy diligenter fortiterque functi essemus, arbitrari senatum ita nos fecisse, ut dignum mandatis partibus fuerit. Adsenserunt consules designati, omnes etiam consulares usque ad Pompeium Collegam; ille et septingenta milia

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<sup>a</sup> *Probationes* was the technical term for the third division of an advocate's speech, in which he submitted "proofs" to the jury.



freedmen, who stood behind me, to desire me to spare my voice and breath; imagining I should exert myself beyond what my meagre frame would bear. Claudius Marcellinus replied in behalf of Marcianus. After which the assembly broke up till the next day; for had another speech been begun, it would have been cut in two by nightfall.

The next day Salvius Liberalis, a very acute, methodical, spirited, and eloquent orator, spoke in defence of Priscus: and he exerted all his talents upon this occasion. Cornelius Tacitus replied to him with great eloquence, and that stateliness which distinguishes all his speeches. Fronto Catus arose up a second time for Priscus, and, in a very fine speech, endeavoured, as indeed that stage of the case required, rather to soften the judges, than defend his client. Evening suspended, but without breaking off, his oration; accordingly, the division concerned with proofs<sup>a</sup> extended itself to the third day.

It was something very noble, and in the manner of ancient Rome, to see the Senate, adjourned only by the night, thus assemble for three days together. The excellent Cornutus Tertullus, Consul-elect, ever firm in the cause of truth, moved that Marius should pay into the treasury the 700,000 sesterces he had received, and be banished Italy in perpetuity. He was for giving Marcianus the severer sentence of banishment from Africa also. He concluded with moving that Tacitus and I having faithfully and diligently discharged the parts assigned to us, the Senate resolved we had executed our trust to their satisfaction. The consuls-elect, and those who had already enjoyed that office, agreed with the motion of Cornutus, till Pompeius Collega's turn

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

aerario inferenda et Marcianum in quinquennium relegandum, Marium repetundarum poenae, quam iam passus esset, censuit relinquendum. Erant in utraque sententia multi, fortasse etiam plures in hac vel solutiore vel molliore. Nam quidam ex illis quoque, qui Cornuto videbantur adsensi, hunc, qui post ipsos censuerat, sequebantur. Sed, cum fieret discessio, qui sellis consulum adstiterant, in Cornuti sententiam ire coeperunt. Tum illi, qui se Collegae adnumerari patiebantur, in diversum transierunt, Collega cum paucis relictus. Multum postea de impulsoribus suis, praecipue de Regulo questus est, qui se in sententia, quam ipse dictaverat, deseruisset. Est alioqui Regulo tam mobile ingenium, ut plurimum audeat, plurimum timeat.

Hic finis cognitionis amplissimae. Superest tamen *λειτουργιον*<sup>1</sup> non leve, Hostilius Firminus, legatus Mari Prisci, qui permixtus causae graviter vehementerque vexatus est. Nam et rationibus Marciani et sermone, quem ille habuerat in ordine Leptitanorum, operam suam Prisco ad turpissimum ministerium commodasse stipulatusque de Marciano quinquaginta milia denariorum probabatur, ipse praeterea accepisse sestertia decem milia foedissimo quidem titulo, no-

<sup>1</sup> ΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΟΝ *F*, ΛΙΠΟΥΡΤΙΟΝ *M V*, *λειτουργιον* *Das* vulg. *λειτουργιον*, *Merrill*, who explains the word as meaning "a small (*λίτος*) piece of business growing out of a larger one."

<sup>a</sup> "On ordering the final division, the presiding consul stated one of the proposals . . . and bade those who favoured it to seat themselves on a specified side of the house, and those who favoured any different proposition on the other side." (*Merrill*.)

came: he proposed that Marius should pay the seven hundred thousand sesterces into the treasury, but suffer no other punishment than what had been already inflicted upon him for extortion: as for Marcianus, he was for having him banished for five years only. There was a large party for both opinions, and perhaps the majority secretly inclined to the more lax, or more lenient sentence; for many of those who appeared at first to agree with Cornutus, went over to Collega, who had given his opinion after they gave theirs. But upon a division of the house, all those who stood near the consuls' chairs went over to the side of Cornutus.<sup>a</sup> Thereupon, those who were allowing themselves to be reckoned with Collega, crossed over to the opposite side, leaving him almost unsupported. He afterwards complained extremely of those who had urged him to this vote, particularly Regulus, whom he upbraided for abandoning him on a motion which he himself had formulated. There is, indeed, such an inconsistency in the general character of Regulus, that he is at once both bold and timorous to excess.

Thus ended this important trial; but there remains a considerable *appendix* to the business still behind. It is concerning Hostilius Firminus, lieutenant to Marius Priscus, who is strongly charged with being an accomplice with him: for it appeared by the accounts of Marcianus, and by a speech which he made in the municipal council at Leptis, that he was accessory to the wicked administration of Priscus; that he had bargained for fifty thousand denarii from Marcianus; and that he received an additional ten thousand sesterces himself, and that, moreover, under a most disgraceful item in the account, for they were

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

mine unguentarii, qui titulus a vita hominis compti semper et pumicati non abhorrebat. Placuit censente Cornuto referri de eo proximo senatu; tunc enim, casu incertum an conscientia, afuerat.

Habes res urbanas; invicem rusticas scribe. Quid arbusculae tuae, quid vineae, quid segetes agunt, quid oves delicatissimae? In summa, nisi aequae longam epistulam reddes, non est, quod postea nisi brevissimam exspectes. Vale.

## XII

C. PLINIUS ARRIANO SUO S.

Ἀιτούργιον illud, quod superesse Mari Prisci causae proxime scripseram, nescio an satis, circumcisum tamen et adrasum est. Firminus inductus in senatum respondit crimini noto. Secutae sunt diversae sententiae consulum designatorum; Cornutus Tertullus censuit ordine movendum, Acutius Nerva in sortitione provinciae rationem eius non habendam. Quae sententia tamquam mitior vicit, cum sit alioqui durior tristiorque. Quid enim miserius quam

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<sup>a</sup> *Unguentarium* (sc. *argentum*), lit. "ointment-money," was a euphemistic term for a gratuity. (Merrill.)

put down as *toilet-money*.<sup>a</sup> An entry quite in keeping with his foppish and effeminate personal habits! It was agreed, at the motion of Cornutus, to proceed against him, at the next meeting of the senate: for, either by accident or conscious guilt, he was at this time absent.

Thus have I given you an account of what is doing in town. Let me know in return, the news of the country; how your groves and your vineyards, your corn and your choice breed of sheep flourish? In fine, if you do not return me a letter as long as this, you need not expect to receive from me for the future any but the briefest. Farewell.

## XII

## TO THE SAME

THAT *appendix* to the case of Priscus, which I mentioned to you in my former letter, is at last polished off<sup>b</sup>—after a fashion. Firminus being brought before the Senate, made such a sort of defence as a man generally does who is conscious of detected guilt. The consuls-elect thereupon pronounced divergent opinions. Cornutus Tertullus moved he should be expelled the Senate; Acutius Nerva, that he should be left out from the allotment of provinces to past consuls; and this, as it had the appearance of a milder sentence, prevailed, though in truth it was the sterner and more severe. For can any situation be more wretched, than to be cut

<sup>b</sup> Apparently a metaphor borrowed from the “finishing” of a statue by chiselling and filing.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

exectum et exemptum honoribus senatoriis labore et molestia non carere? quid gravius quam tanta ignominia adfectum non in solitudine latere, sed in hac altissima specula conspiciendum se monstrandumque praebere? praeterea quid publice minus aut congruens aut decorum quam <sup>1</sup> notatum a senatu in senatu sedere ipsisque illis, a quibus sit notatus, aequari, summotum a proconsulatu, quia se in legatione turpiter gesserat, de proconsulibus iudicare damnatumque sordium vel damnare alios vel absolvere? Sed hoc pluribus visum est. Numerantur enim sententiae, non ponderantur; nec aliud in publico consilio potest fieri, in quo nihil est tam inaequale quam aequalitas ipsa. Nam, cum sit impar prudentia, par omnium ius est.

Implevi promissum priorisque epistulae fidem exsolvi, quam ex spatio temporis iam recepisse te colligo; nam et festinanti et diligenti tabellario dedi; nisi quid impedimenti in via passus est. Tuae nunc partes, ut primum illam, deinde hanc remunereris litteris, quales istinc redire uberimae possunt. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> quam *add. Sichert.*

off from senatorial honours, without exemption from the laborious duties of a senator? What can be harder to bear than, after having received such an ignominy, not to lie hid in solitude, but to be exposed in so lofty a station to the view of the world? Besides, to consider this with respect to the public, what can be more unbecoming the majesty of the Senate, than to suffer a person to retain a seat in the House, after having been publicly censured by it? What can be more indecent than for the censured to be ranked with his censors? for a man excluded the Proconsulship, because he behaved infamously as a lieutenant, to sit in judgement upon Proconsuls? for one proved guilty of the most sordid avarice, to condemn or acquit others of the like? But this was what seemed good to the majority. Votes go by number, not weight; nor can it be otherwise in assemblies of this kind, where nothing is more unequal than that equality which prevails in them; for though every member has the same right of suffrage, every member has not the same strength of judgement to direct it.

I have thus discharged the promise I gave you in my last letter, which by my reckoning of the time elapsed (unless any accident has befallen the post-runner to whom I gave it) should now have reached your hands; for he is a diligent fellow, and besides was in a hurry. I hope you will now, on your part, make me as full a return for this and my former as the scene you are in will permit. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XIII

C. PLINIUS PRISCO SUO S.

ET tu occasiones obligandi me avidissime amplecteris, et ego nemini libentius debeo. Duabus ergo de causis a te potissimum petere constitui, quod impetratum maxime cupio. Regis exercitum amplissimum; hinc tibi beneficiorum larga materia, longum praeterea tempus, quo amicos tuos exornare potuisti. Convertere ad nostros nec hos multos. Malles tu quidem multos, sed meae verecundiae sufficit unus aut alter ac potius unus. Is erit Vocius Romanus.

Pater ei in equestri gradu clarus, clarior vitricus, immo pater alius (nam huic quoque nomini pietate successit), mater e primis. Ipse citerioris Hispaniae (scis, quod iudicium provinciae illius, quanta sit gravitas) flamen proxime fuit. Hunc ego, cum simul studeremus, arte familiariterque dilexi; ille meus in urbe, ille in secessu contubernalis, cum hoc seria, cum hoc iocos miscui. Quid

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<sup>a</sup> It is possible that the Priscus here addressed was L. Neratius Priscus, praetorian legate of Pannonia 98 or 99 A.D.

<sup>b</sup> i.e., priest of the Temple of "Rome and Augustus" at Tarraco. This *flamen* was elected annually by the cities of the province.



## XIII

## To PRISCUS

As I know you gladly embrace every opportunity of obliging me, so there is no man to whom I had rather lay myself under an obligation. Thus I am doubly prompted to apply to you, preferably to any body else, for a favour which I am extremely desirous of obtaining. You who are at the head of a very considerable army <sup>a</sup> have many opportunities of bestowing kindnesses; and the length of time you have enjoyed that post, must have enabled you to advance all your own friends. I hope you will now turn your eyes upon some of mine: they are but one or two indeed, for whom I shall solicit you; a man of your disposition, I know, would be better pleased if the number were greater. But I am too modest to trouble you with recommending more than one or two; at present I will only mention Voconius Romanus.

His father was of great distinction among the Roman knights; and his step-father, or as I might more properly call him, his second father (for his affectionate treatment of Voconius entitles him to that appellation) was still more conspicuous. His mother belonged to one of the most considerable families. He himself was lately Flamen <sup>b</sup> of Hither Spain: you know what character the people of that province bear, and how remarkable they are for the strictness of their manners. Our friendship began with our studies, and we were early united in the closest intimacy. We lived together in town and country; he shared with me my most serious

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

enim illo aut fidelius amico aut sodale incundius? Mira in sermone, mira etiam in ore ipso vultuque suavitas. Ad hoc ingenium excelsum, subtile, dulce, facile, eruditum in causis agendis; epistulas quidem scribit, ut Musas ipsas Latine loqui credas. Amatur a me plurimum nec tamen vincitur. Equidem iuvenis statim iuveni, quantum potui per aetatem, avidissime contuli et nuper ab optimo principe trium liberorum ei ius impetravi. Quod quamquam parce et cum delectu daret, mihi tamen, tamquam eligeret,<sup>1</sup> indulisit. Haec beneficia mea tueri nullo modo melius, quam ut augeam, possum, praesertim cum ipse illa tam grate interpretetur, ut, dum priora accipit, posteriora mereatur.

Habes, qualis, quam probatus carusque sit nobis; quem rogo pro ingenio, pro fortuna tua exornes. In primis ama hominem; nam, licet tribuas ei, quantum amplissimum potes, nihil tamen amplius potes amicitia tua; cuius esse eum usque ad intimam familiaritatem capacem quo

<sup>1</sup> eligeret *Ricc. Fa, K*, liceret *M V*.

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<sup>a</sup> Augustus, with a view to counteracting the tendency to race suicide, had granted certain exemptions and privileges to fathers of three legitimate children. But the *ius trium liberorum* became later an artificial privilege which the Emperor could confer at his pleasure on childless citizens; thus Pliny himself received it from Trajan (x. 2) and requested it for Suetonius (x. 94).

and my gayest hours: and where, indeed, could I have found a more faithful friend, or more agreeable companion? In his conversation, and even in his very voice and countenance, there is an extraordinary sweetness; to this advantage he joins an elevated, penetrating, facile, and charming mind, deeply versed in legal practice. His letters are such, that were you to read them, you would imagine the Muses themselves talk Latin. I love him with more than common affection, yet not exceeding his for me. For my part, from our boyish days I warmly embraced every opportunity of doing him all the good offices which then lay in my power; as I have lately obtained for him of our excellent Emperor the privilege granted to those who have three children: a favour which though Caesar bestows sparingly and with discrimination, yet he conferred, at my request, in such a manner as to give it the air of being his own choice. My best way of maintaining the obligation he has already incurred to me, is by adding more to them, especially as he always accepts my good offices with so much gratitude as to merit farther.

Thus I have given you a faithful account of Romanus, and informed you how thoroughly I have experienced his worth, and how much I love him. Let me entreat you to honour him with your patronage in a way suitable to the generosity of your heart, and the eminence of your station. But, above all, admit him into a share of your affection; for though you were to confer upon him the utmost you have in your power to bestow, you can give him nothing more valuable than your friendship. That you may see he is worthy of it, even to the highest

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magis scires, breviter tibi studia, mores, omnem denique vitam eius expressi. Extenderem preces, nisi et tu rogari diu nolles, et ego tota hoc epistula fecissem; rogat enim et quidem efficacissime, qui reddit causas rogandi. Vale.

### XIV

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

VERUM opinaris; distringor centumviralibus causis quae me exercent magis quam delectant. Sunt enim pleracque parvae et exiles; raro incidit vel personarum claritate vel negotii magnitudine insignis. Ad hoc perpauci, cum quibus iuvet dicere, ceteri audaces atque etiam magna ex parte adolescentuli obscuri ad declamandum huc transeunt tam irreverenter et temere, ut mihi Atilius noster expresse dixisse videatur sic in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari ut ab Homero in scholis. Nam hic quoque ut illic primum coepit esse, quod maximum est. At hercule ante memoriam meam (ita maiores nati solent dicere) ne nobilissimis quidem adolescentibus locus erat nisi aliquo consulari producente;

degree of intimacy, I have sent you this short sketch of his tastes, his manners, in fine, his whole character. I should continue my intercessions in his behalf, but that I am sure you do not love long appeals, and I have uttered one in every line of this letter : for to show good cause for a request, is to make it, and that in the most effectual way. Farewell.

## XIV

## TO MAXIMUS

You guessed right: I am engrossed in pleading before the Centumviri, a business which brings me more of fatigue than pleasure. The causes are generally trivial and jejune, and it is very seldom that any thing considerable, either from the importance of the question, or the rank of the persons concerned, comes before them. There is this farther disagreeable circumstance attending it, that there are very few counsel who frequent this court, with whom I can take any sort of satisfaction in appearing. The rest are a parcel of impudent fellows, and the majority actually obscure young men, who migrate hither from the schools, to practise declaiming, with so much irreverence and impropriety, that my friend Atilius with great justness observed, "our boys set out at the bar with Centumviral causes, as they do at school with Homer," intimating, that in both places they begin at the top of the ladder. But "before I can remember" (to use an old man's phrase) it was not admissible for the youth, even of the best families, to appear as counsel, unless introduced by some

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tanta veneratione pulcherrimum opus colebatur. Nunc refractis pudoris et reverentiae claustris omnia patent omnibus, nec inducuntur, sed irrumpunt.

Sequuntur auditores actoribus similes, conducti et redempti;<sup>1</sup> manceps convenitur; in media basilica tam palam sportulae, quam in triclinio dantur. Ex iudicio in iudicium pari mercede transitur. Inde iam non inurbane Σοφοκλεῖς vocantur ἀπὸ τοῦ σοφῶς καὶ καλεῖσθαι; isdem Latinum nomen impositum est 'Laudiceni.' Et tamen crescit in dies foeditas utraque lingua notata. Heri duo nomenclatores mei (habent sane aetatem eorum, qui nuper togas sumpserint) ternis denariis ad laudandum trahebantur. Tanti constat, ut sis disertissimus. Hoc pretio quamlibet numerosa subsellia implentur, hoc ingens corona colligitur, hoc infiniti clamores commoventur, cum μεσόχοπος dedit signum. Opus est enim signo apud non intellegentes, ne audientes quidem; nam plerique non audiunt, nec ulli magis laudant. Si

<sup>1</sup> conducti et redempti; manceps convenitur; in media *K* ex *MVD*, conducti et redempti mancipēs. convenitur a cond. et red. *pra*, manceps conv. a conductis et red. *F* (om. manceps) *Otto, Müller*.

" i.e. of money, which replaced the dole of food anciently given by a patron to his clients. Here the fee paid in advance to these professional *claqueurs* by the agents (*manceps*) who employ them.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "from the words 'Bravo!' and 'to call.'" The second pun (on Laodiceans, from *laus*, "praise" and *cena*, "supper,") is the less execrable of the two.

person of Consular dignity : so much respect did our ancestors bear to this noble profession. But now, since every restraint of modesty and reverence is broken down, and all distinctions levelled and confounded, the youth of our day are so far from waiting to be introduced, that they rudely rush in uninvited.

The audience that follow them are fit for such performers, a low rout of hired mercenaries ; they keep their appointment with the contractor ; in the middle of the court-house the dole<sup>a</sup> is dealt round to them as openly as if they were in a dining-room : and at this noble price they run from court to court ! Hence this sort of people are dubbed in Græek, wittily enough, *Sophocleses*, importing that they are applauders by profession,<sup>b</sup> and we call them in Latin *table-flatterers* ; yet the meanness stigmatized in both languages increases every day. It was but yesterday two of my remembrancers,<sup>c</sup> who are only just old enough to wear the toga, were hired to applaud at the price of three denarii apiece ; so cheaply may you buy the title of Most Eloquent ! Upon these terms, we fill any number of benches and gather a huge circle ; and thus it is those unmerciful shouts are raised, when the chorus-conductor gives the word. For you must know, these honest fellows, who understand nothing of what is said, and cannot even hear it, would be at a loss, without a signal, how to time their applause ; for most of them do not hear a syllable, and these are as clamorous as any of the rest. If at any time

<sup>a</sup> Romans of quality kept one or more slaves, called *nomenclatores*, whose business it was to know every one by sight, and prompt their master with the names of those who called on him, or saluted him abroad.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

quando transibis per basilicam et voles scire, quo modo quisque dicat, nihil est, quod tribunal ascendas, nihil, quod praebeas aurem; facilis divinatio: scito eum pessime dicere, qui laudabitur maxime.

Primus hunc audiendi morem induxit Larcus<sup>1</sup> Lænius, haecenus tamen, ut auditores corrogaret. Ita certe ex Quintiliano, praeceptore meo, audisse memini. Narrabat ille: ‘Adsectabar Domitium Afrum. Cum apud centumviros diceret graviter et lente (hoc enim illi actionis genus erat), audit ex proximo immodicum insolitumque clamorem. Admiratus reticuit. Ubi silentium factum est, repetiit, quod abruperat. Iterum clamor, iterum reticuit, et post silentium coepit idem tertio. Novissime, quis diceret, quaesivit. Responsum est, “Lænius.” Tum intermissa causa, “Centumviri,” inquit, “hoc artificium periit.”’ Quod alioqui perire incipiebat, cum perisse Afro videretur, nunc vero prope funditus extinctum et eversum est. Pudet referre, quae quam fracta pronuntiatione dicantur, quibus, quam teneris<sup>2</sup> clamoribus excipiantur. Plausus tantum ac potius sola cymbala et tympana illis canticis desunt; ululatus quidem (neque enim alio vocabulo potest exprimi theatri quoque indecora laudatio) large supersunt. Nos tamen adhuc et utilitas amicorum et ratio aetatis moratur ac retinet; vere-

<sup>1</sup> Larcus *Ricc. Fa, K*, Largius *MVD pr.*

<sup>2</sup> teneris *vulg. tætris Momms. K ii, Müll.*



you should happen to pass by the court-house, and would know the merit of any of our advocates, you have no occasion to give yourself the trouble of mounting the bench or of listening to them : here there is a simple method of divination : take it for a rule, he that has the loudest commendations is the worst orator.

Larcus Licinus was the first who gave rise to this custom ; but then he went no farther than to solicit an audience : so I remember to have heard my tutor Quintilian say. He used to relate this anecdote—“I was a follower of Domitius Afer. Pleading one day before the Centumviral Court, in his wonted grave and deliberate manner, he heard near by a most immoderate and unusual noise. Being a good deal surprised, he left off ; when the noise ceased, he began again ; he was interrupted a second time, and a third. At last he inquired who it was that was speaking ? He was told, Licinus. Thereupon, abandoning the suit, ‘Your Honours,’ says he, ‘it is all over with this profession.’” The truth is, it was only beginning to decline, when in Afer’s opinion it was entirely perished : whereas now it is almost utterly ruined and extinct. I am ashamed to say with what an unmanly elocution the orators deliver themselves, and with what a squeaking applause they are received ; nothing seems wanting to compleat this sing-song oratory, but the claps, or rather the cymbals and tambourines of Cybele’s votaries. Howlings (for I can call by no other term a sort of applause which would be indecent even in the theatre), we have enough of and to spare. Hitherto the interest of my friends, and the consideration of my early time of life, has retained me in this court : for it would be

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mur enim, ne forte non has indignitates reliquisse, sed laborem refugisse videamur. Sumus tamen solito rariores, quod initium est gradatim desinendi. Vale.

### XV

C. PLINIUS VALERIANO SUO S.

QUOMODO te veteres Marsi tui? quomodo emptio nova? Placent agri, postquam tui facti sunt? Rarum id quidem! Nihil enim aeque gratum est adeptis, quam concupiscentibus. Me praedia materna parum commode tractant, delectant tamen ut materna, alioqui longa patientia occallui. Habent hunc finem adsiduae querelae, quod queri pudet. Vale.

### XVI

C. PLINIUS ANNIO SUO S.

Tu quidem pro cetera tua diligentia admones me codicillos Aciliani, qui me ex parte instituit heredem, pro non scriptis habendos, quia non sint confirmati testamento; quod ius ne mihi quidem ignotum est,

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<sup>a</sup> A codicil, by the ancient civil law, was a less solemn kind of will, in which it was not necessary to observe so strictly the ceremonies prescribed by the law for a will. But

## BOOK II. xiv.-xvi

thought, I fear, rather an evasion of fatigues than a relinquishment of these indecencies, were I yet to leave it: however I come there less frequently than usual, and am thus preparing a gradual retreat. Farewell.

### XV

#### TO VALERIANUS

How goes on your old Marsian estate? and how do you approve of your new purchase? Has it as many beauties in your eye now, as before you bought it? That would be extraordinary indeed! for an object in possession never retains the same charms it had in pursuit. As for myself, the estate left me by my mother uses me but ill; however I value it for her sake, and am, besides, grown a good deal insensible by a long course of endurance. Thus constant complaints generally end at last in being ashamed of complaining any more.

### XVI

#### TO ANNIANUS

You act agreeably to your usual kind concern for my interest, when you advise me to look upon the codicil <sup>a</sup> of Acilianus (who has appointed me one of his co-heirs) as void, because it is not confirmed by his will. That the law in this case esteems it invalid, I well know; and it is a point to which even those

no legacy given by a codicil was valid, unless confirmed by the will, which was esteemed its basis. (Melm.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

cum sit iis etiam notum, qui nihil aliud sciunt. Sed ego propriam quandam legem mihi dixi, ut defunctorum voluntates, etiamsi iure deficerent, quasi perfectas tuerer. Constat autem codicillos istos Aciliani manu scriptos. Licet ergo non sint confirmati testamento, a me tamen ut confirmati observabuntur, praesertim cum delatori locus non sit. Nam, si verendum esset, ne, quod ego dedissem, populus criperet, cunctatior fortasse et cautior esse deberem; cum vero liceat heredi donare, quod in hereditate subsedit, nihil est, quod obstat illi meae legi, cui publicae leges non repugnant. Vale.

### XVII

C. PLINIUS GALLO SUO S.

MIRARIS, cur me Laurentinum, vel, si ita mavis, Laurens meum tantopere delectet. Desines mirari, cum cognoveris gratiam villae, opportunitatem loci, litoris spatium. Decem et septem milibus passuum ab urbe secessit, ut peractis, quae agenda fuerint, salvo iam et composito die possis ibi manere. Aditur non una via; nam et Laurentina et Ostiensis eodem

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. pass to the State treasury, under the laws relating to intestacy and void bequests.

## BOOK II. xvi.-xvii

who are ignorant of every other are usually no strangers. But I have as it were laid down a special law for myself, and that is, to carry out the intention of the dead, though it may not be legally binding, as if it were formally valid. This codicil, beyond all manner of doubt, is of Acilianus's own hand-writing: therefore though it is not confirmed by his will, I shall be guided by it as strictly as if it were: especially as there is no danger that any informer can take advantage of this mistake. If indeed there was any hazard, that what I give to the legatees in the codicil would be forfeited to the use of the public,<sup>a</sup> I ought perhaps to act with more caution and deliberation; but as the heir may dispose of what accrues to him as such, in the manner he thinks proper; nothing hinders, since the law of the land does not, my observing that law which I have laid down to myself. Farewell.

### XVII

#### TO GALLUS

You are surprised, it seems, that I am so fond of my Laurentinum, or (if you like the appellation better) my Laurens: but you will cease to wonder, when I acquaint you with the charm of the villa, the advantages of its situation, and the extensive prospect of the sea-coast. It is but seventeen miles distant from Rome; so that having finished your affairs in town, you can spend the night here after completing a full working-day. There are two different roads to it; if you go by that of Laurentum, you must turn off at the fourteenth mile-

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ferunt, sed Laurentina a quartodecimo lapide, Ostiensis ab undecimo relinquenda est. Utrunque excipit iter aliqua ex parte harenosum iunctis paulo gravius et longius, equo breve et molle. Varia hinc atque inde facies; nam modo occurrentibus silvis via coartatur, modo latissimis pratis diffunditur et patescit; multi greges ovium, multa ibi equorum boumque armenta, quae montibus hieme depulsa, herbis et tepore verno nitescent.

Villa usibus capax, non sumptuosa tutelā. Cuius in prima parte atrium frugi nec tamen sordidum, deinde porticus in D litterae similitudine circumactae, quibus parvula sed festiva area includitur. Egregium hae adversus tempestates receptaculum; nam specularibus ac multo magis imminentibus tectis muniuntur. Est contra medias cavaedium hilare, mox triclinium satis pulchrum, quod in litus excurrit ac, si quando Africo mare impulsus est, fractis iam et novissimis fluctibus leviter adluitur. Undique valvas aut fenestras non minores valvis habet atque ita a lateribus et a fronte quasi tria maria prospectat; a tergo cavaedium, porticum, aream, porticum rursus, mox atrium, silvas et longinquos respicit montes.

Huius a laeva retractius paulo cubiculum est

stone; if by Ostia, at the eleventh. Both of them are in some parts sandy, which makes it something heavy and tedious if you travel in a coach, but easy and pleasant to those who ride. The landscape on all sides is extremely diversified, the prospect in some places being confined by woods, in others extending over broad meadows, where numberless flocks of sheep and herds of horses and cattle, which the severity of the winter has drove from the mountains, fatten in the vernal warmth of this rich pasturage.

My villa is large enough for my convenience, without being expensive to maintain. The entrance-hall is plain, but not mean, through which you enter into a portico in the form of the Letter D, which includes a small, but agreeable area. This affords a capital retreat in bad weather, as it is sheltered by glazed windows, and much more by overhanging eaves. From the middle of this portico you pass into an inward hall, extremely pleasant, and from thence into a handsome enough dining-room which runs out towards the sea; so that when a south-west wind drives the sea shoreward, it is gently washed by the edge of the last breakers. On every side of this room there are either folding doors or windows equally large, by which means you have a view from the front and the sides, as it were of three different seas; from the back part you see the middle court, the portico and the area; and by another view you look through the portico into the atrium, from whence the prospect is terminated by the woods and mountains which are seen at a distance.

On the left-hand of this room, something retired from its façade, lies a large drawing-room,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

amplum, deinde aliud minus, quod altera fenestra admittit orientem, occidentem altera retinet, hac et subiacens mare longius quidem, sed securius intuetur. Huius cubiculi et triclinii illius obiectu includitur angulus, qui purissimum solem continet et accendit. Hoc hibernaculum, hoc etiam gymnasium meorum est; ibi omnes silent venti exceptis qui nubilum inducunt et serenum, ante quam usum loci eripiunt. Adnectitur angulo cubiculum in hapsida curvatum, quod ambitus solis fenestris omnibus sequitur. Parieti eius in bibliothecae speciem armarium insertum est, quod non legendos libros, sed lectitandos capit. Adhaeret dormitorium membrum transitu interiacente, qui suspensus et tubulatus conceptum vaporem salubri temperamento huc illucque digerit et ministrat. Reliqua pars lateris huius servorum libertorumque usibus detinetur plerisque tam mundis, ut accipere hospites possint.

Ex alio latere cubiculum est politissimum; deinde vel cubiculum grande vel modica cenatio, quae plurimo sole, plurimo mari lucet; post hanc cubiculum cum procoetone altitudine aestivum, munimentis hibernum; est enim subductum omnibus ventis.



and beyond that, a second, of a smaller size, which has one window to the rising, and another to the setting sun : this has likewise a prospect of the sea, but being at a greater distance, is less incommoded by it. The angle which the projection of the hall makes with this drawing-room, retains and increases the warmth of the sun ; this serves as a winter retreat, and also as a gymnasium for my household ; it is sheltered from all winds except those which are generally attended with clouds, so that nothing can render this place useless, but what at the same time destroys the fair weather. Contiguous to this, is a room forming the segment of a circle, the windows of which are so placed as to receive the sun the whole day ; in the wall is contrived a cupboard like a bookcase, which contains a collection of such authors whose works can never be read too often. From hence you pass into a bedchamber through a passage, which having a boarded floor over a stove which runs underneath, and pipes in the walls, tempers the heat which it receives and conveys to the adjacent rooms. The remainder of this side of the house is appropriated to the use of my slaves and freedmen, but however most of the apartments in it are neat enough to entertain guests.

In the opposite wing is a very elegant parlour ; next to which lies another room, which though large for a parlour, makes but a moderate dining-room ; it is exceedingly warmed and enlightened not only by the direct rays of the sun, but by their reflection from the sea. Beyond this is a chamber, together with its ante-chamber, the height of which renders it cool in summer, as its being sheltered on all sides from the winds makes it warm

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Huic cubiculo aliud et procoeton communi pariete iunguntur. Inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effusa, cuius in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria velut eiecta sinuantur, abunde capacia, si mare<sup>1</sup> in proximo cogites. : Adiacet unctorium, hypocauston, adiacet propnigeon balinei mox duae cellae magis elegantes quam sumptuosae ; cohaeret calida piscina mirifica, ex qua natantes mare aspiciunt, nec procul sphaeristerium, quod calidissimo soli inclinato iam die occurrit. Hinc turris erigitur, sub qua diaetae duae, totidem in ipsa, praeterea cenatio, quae latissimum mare, longissimum litus, amoenissimas villas prospicit. Est et alia turris. In hac cubiculum, in quo sol nascitur conditurque, lata post apotheca et horreum, sub hoc triclinium, quod turbati maris non nisi fragorem et sonum patitur eumque iam languidum ac desinentem ; hortum et gestationem videt, qua hortus includitur.

Gestatio buxo aut rore marino, ubi deficit buxus, ambitur ; nam buxus, qua parte defenditur tectis, abunde viret ; aperto caelo apertoque vento et quam-

<sup>1</sup> mare *MV Dr, K, Merr.*, sin mare *Ricc. Fp*, si innaře a, si nare *Catan., Otto, Müll.*

<sup>a</sup> i.e. there is no need for extra large cold baths, when you can get your plunge in the sea.

in winter. To this apartment another of the same sort is joined by one common wall. From thence you enter into the grand and spacious *cooling-room* belonging to the baths, from the opposite walls of which two basins curve outwards as though the wall were pressed into half-hoops; these are fully large enough, if you consider that the sea is close by.<sup>a</sup> Contiguous to this is the anointing room, the furnace adjoining, and boiler-room; then come two other little bathing-rooms, which are fitted up in an elegant rather than costly manner: annexed to this, is a warm bath of extraordinary workmanship, wherein one may swim, and have a prospect at the same time of the sea. Not far from hence stands the tennis-court, which lies open to the warmth of the afternoon sun. From thence you ascend a sort of turret, which contains two entire apartments below; there are the same number above, besides a dining-room which commands a very extensive prospect of the sea and coast, together with the beautiful villas that stand upon it. There is a second turret, containing a room which takes both the rising and setting sun. Behind this is a store-room and a larder, and underneath a spacious dining-room where the sea roaring in tempest is not felt, but only heard, and that faintly: it looks upon the garden and the *allée*, which surrounds the garden.

The *allée* is encompassed with a box-tree hedge, and where that is decayed, with rosemary; for the box in those parts which are sheltered by the buildings, preserves its verdure perfectly well: but where by an open situation it lies exposed to the winds and to the dashing sea-water, though at a great

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

quam longinqua aspergine maris inarescit. Adiacet gestationi interiore circuitu vinca tenera et umbrosa nudisque etiam pedibus mollis et cedens. Hortum morus et ficus frequens vestit, quarum arborum illa vel maxime ferax terra est, malignior ceteris. Hac non deteriore quam maris facie cœnatio remota a mari fruitur, cingitur diaetis duabus a tergo, quarum fenestris subiacet vestibulum villae et hortus alius pinguis et rusticus.

Hinc cryptoporticus prope publici operis extenditur. Utrisque fenestrae, a mari plures, ab horto singulae, et alternis pauciores. Hae, cum serenus dies et immotus, omnes, cum hinc vel inde ventus inquietus, qua venti quiescunt, sine iniuria patent. Ante cryptoporticum xystus violis odoratus. Teporem solis infusi repercussu cryptoporticus auget, quae ut tenet solem sic aquilonem inhibet summovetque, quantumque caloris ante tantum retro frigoris. Similiter Africum sistit atque ita diversissimos ventos alium alio latere, frangit et finit. Haec iucunditas eius hieme, maior aestate. Nam ante meridiem xystum, post meridiem gestationis hortique proximam partem umbra sua

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<sup>a</sup> *Cryptoporticus*, a portico walled on both sides, forming a corridor.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. a number on the seaward side, on the side towards the garden they are placed singly and are fewer by every other window (than those opposite).

distance, it entirely withers. Between the garden and this *allée* runs a shady walk of vines, soft and yielding to the tread, even when you walk bare-foot. The garden is thickly planted with fig and mulberry trees, to which this soil is as favourable as it is averse to all others. In this place is a banqueting room, which though it stands remote from the sea, enjoys however a prospect nothing inferior to that view: two apartments run round the back part of it, whose windows look respectively upon the entrance of the villa, and into a well-stocked kitchen garden.

From hence a gallery<sup>a</sup> extends itself, which by its size you might take for a public one. It has a range of windows on each side, but on that which looks towards the sea they are double the number of those next the garden.<sup>b</sup> When the weather is fair and serene, these are all thrown open; but if it blows, those on the side the wind sits are shut, while the others remained unclosed without any inconvenience. Before this gallery lies a terrace perfumed with violets, and warmed by the reflection of the sun from the gallery, which as it retains the rays, so it keeps off the north-east wind; and it is as warm on this side, as it is cool on the opposite: in the same manner it is a defence against the south-west, and thus in short, by means of its several sides, breaks the force of the winds from what point soever they blow. These are some of the winter advantages of this building, which however has still more considerable in the summer; for at that season it throws a shade upon the terrace during all the forenoon, as it defends the nearest part of the *allée* and garden from the afternoon sun, and casts a

temperat, quae, ut dies crevit decrevitve, modo brevior, modo longior hac vel illac cadit. Ipsa vero cryptoporticus tum maxime caret sole, cum ardentissimus culmini eius insistit. Ad hoc patentibus fenestris favonios accipit transmittitque nec unquam aëre pigro et manente ingravescit.

In capite xysti deinceps cryptoporticus, horti diaeta est, amores mei, revera amores; ipse posui. In hac heliocaminus quidem alia xystum, alia mare, utraque solem, cubiculum autem valvis cryptoporticum, fenestrâ prospicit mare. Contra parietem medium zotheca perquam eleganter recedit, quae specularibus et velis obductis reductisve modo adicitur cubiculo, modo aufertur. Lectum et duas cathedras capit; a pedibus mare, a tergo villae, a capite silvae. Tot facies locorum totidem fenestris et distinguit et miscet. Iunctum est cubiculum noctis et somni. Non illud voces servulorum, non maris murmur, non tempestatum motus, non fulgurum lumen ac ne diem quidem sentit nisi fenestris apertis. Tam alti abditique secreti illa ratio, quod interiacens andron parietem cubuli hortique distinguit atque ita omnem sonum media inanitate consumit.

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“ *Heliocaminus*, “sun-parlour.”

greater or less shade either way as the day either increases or decreases ; but the portico itself is then shadiest when the sun is most scorching, that is, when its rays fall directly upon the roof. To these advantages I must not forget to add, that by setting open the windows, the western breezes have a free draught, and by that means the enclosed air is prevented from stagnating.

Crowning the terrace, portico, and garden, stands a detached building, which I call my *favourite* : and in truth I am extremely fond of it, as I erected it myself. It contains a very warm winter-room,<sup>a</sup> one side of which looks upon the terrace, the other has a view of the sea, and both lie exposed to the sun ; and a chamber looking by folding-doors upon the enclosed portico and by a window on the sea. Against the middle wall stands a little elegant retired closet, which by means of glass doors and a curtain, is either laid into the adjoining room, or separated from it. It holds a couch and two chairs. As you lie upon this couch, from the feet you have a prospect of the sea ; if you look behind, you see the neighbouring villas ; and from the head you have a view of the woods : these three views may be seen either distinctly from so many different windows in the room, or blended together in one confused prospect. Adjoining to this, is a bed-chamber, which neither the voice of the servants, the murmur of the sea, nor even the roaring of a tempest can reach ; not lightening nor the day itself can penetrate it, unless you open the windows. This profound tranquillity is occasioned by a passage, which divides the wall of this chamber from that of the garden, and thus, by means of that void intervening

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Applicatum est cubiculo hypocauston perexiguum, quod angusta fenestra suppositum calorem, ut ratio exigit, aut effundit aut retinet. Procoeton inde et cubiculum porrigitur in solem, quem orientem statim exceptum ultra meridiem obliquum quidem, sed tamen servat. In hanc ego diaetam cum me recipio, abesse mihi etiam a villa mea videor magnamque eius voluptatem praecipue Saturnalibus capio, cum reliqua pars tecti licentia dierum festisque clamoribus personat; nam nec ipse meorum lusibus nec illi studiis meis obstrepunt.

Haec utilitas, haec amoenitas deficitur aquâ salienti, sed puteos ac potius fontes habet; sunt enim in summo. Et omnino litoris illius mira natura. Quocunque loco moveris humum, obvius et paratus umor occurrit isque sincerus ac ne leviter quidem tanta maris vicinitate salsus. Suggestunt adfatim ligna proximae silvae; ceteras copias Ostiensis colonia ministrat. Frugi quidem homini sufficit etiam vicus, quem una villa discernit. In hoc balinea meritoria tria, magna commoditas, si forte balineum domi vel subitus adventus vel brevior mora calefacere dissuadeat.

Litus ornant varietate gratissima nunc continua nunc intermissa tecta villarum, quae praestant mul-



space, every noise is drowned. Annexed, is a small stove-room, which, by opening a little window, warms the bed-chamber to the degree of heat required. Beyond this lie a chamber and ante-chamber which catch the rising sun and enjoy it, though obliquely indeed, till the afternoon. When I retire to this garden-apartment, I fancy myself a hundred miles from my own house, and take particular pleasure in it at the feast of the Saturnalia, when, by the licence of that season of joy, every other part of my villa resounds with the mirth of my domestics: thus I neither interrupt their diversions, nor they my studies.

Among the pleasures and conveniences of this situation, there is one disadvantage, and that is, the want of a running stream; but this defect is in a great measure supplied by wells, or rather I should call them springs, for they rise very near the surface. And indeed the quality of this coast is pretty remarkable; for in what part soever you dig, you meet, upon the first turning up of the ground, with a spring of pure water, not in the least salt, though so near the sea. The neighbouring forests afford an abundant supply of fuel; every other convenience of life may be had from Ostia: to a moderate man, indeed, even the next village (between which and my house there is only one villa) would furnish all common necessities. In that little place there are no less than three public baths; which is a great convenience if one happens to arrive home unexpectedly, or make too short a stay to allow time for preparing my own.

The whole coast is beautifully diversified by the joining or detached villas that are spread upon it,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tarum urbium faciem, sive mari sive ipso litore utare; quod non numquam longa tranquillitas mollit, saepius frequens et contrarius fluctus indurat. Mare non sane pretiosis piscibus abundat, soleas tamen et squillas optimas suggerit. Villa vero nostra etiam mediterraneas copias praestat, lac in primis; nam illuc e pascuis pecora conveniunt, si quando aquam umbramve<sup>1</sup> sectantur.

Justisne de causis eum tibi videor incolere, inhabitare, diligere secessum? quem tu nimis urbanus es nisi concupiscis. Atque utinam concupiscas! ut tot tantisque dotibus villulae nostrae maxima commendatio ex tuo contubernio accedat. Vale.

### XVIII

C. PLINIUS MAURICO SUO S.

QUID a te incundius mihi potuit iniungi, quam ut praeceptorem fratris tui liberis quaererem? Nam beneficio tuo in scholam redeo, illam dulcissimam aetatem quasi resumo; sedeo inter iuvenes, ut solebam, atque etiam experior, quantum apud illos auctoritatis ex studiis habeam. Nam proxime fre-

<sup>1</sup> umbramve *M Va*, umbramque *Ricc. H*.

which whether you are travelling along the sea or the shore, have the effect of a series of towns. The shore is sometimes, after a long calm, loose and yielding to the feet, though in general, by the winds driving the waves upon it, it is compact and firm. I cannot boast that our sea produces the more costly sorts of fish; however, it supplies us with exceeding fine soles and prawns; but as to provisions of other kinds, my villa pretends to equal even inland countries, particularly in milk; for thither the cattle come from the meadows in great numbers whenever they seek shade or water.

Tell me now, have I not just cause to bestow my time and my affection upon this agreeable retreat? Surely you are unreasonably attached to the pleasures of the town, if you have no hankering after it; as I much wish you had, that to so many charms with which my favourite villa abounds, it might have the very considerable addition of your presence to recommend it. Farewell.

## XVIII

## TO MAURICUS

WHAT can be more agreeable to me, than the office you have enjoined me, of finding a tutor for your nephews? It gives me an opportunity of revisiting the scene of my education, and of turning back again, as it were, to the most pleasing part of my life. I take my seat, as formerly, among the young lads, and have the pleasure to experience the respect my character in eloquence meets with from them. I lately came in upon them, while they were loudly

quenti auditorio inter se coram multis ordinis nostri clare loquebantur; <sup>1</sup> intravi, conticuerunt; quod non referrem, nisi ad illorum magis laudem quam ad meam pertineret, ac nisi sperare te vellem posse fratris tui filios probe discere. Quod superest, cum omnes, qui profitentur, audiero, quid de quoque sentiam, scribam efficiamque, quantum tamen epistula consequi potero, ut ipse omnes audisse videaris.

Debeo enim tibi, debeo memoriae fratris tui hanc fidem, hoc studium, praesertim super tanta re. Nam quid magis interest vestra, quam ut liberi (dicerem tui, nisi nunc illos magis amares) digni illo patre, te patruo reperiantur? quam curam mihi, etiamsi non mandasses, vindicassem. Nec ignoro suscipiendas offensas in eligendo praeceptore, sed oportet me non modo offensas, verum etiam simultates pro fratris tui filiis tam aequo animo subire quam parentes pro suis. Vale.

## XIX

C. PLINIUS CEREALI SUO S.

HORTARIS, ut orationem amicis pluribus recitem. Faciam, quia hortaris, quamvis vehementer addubitem. Neque enim me praeterit actiones, quae

<sup>1</sup> *M V, K: II*, iocabantur *R F Dpra, K<sup>1</sup>, Müll.*

conversing in presence of a large company of my own rank; the moment I appeared, they were silent. I mention this for their honour, rather than my own; and to let you see the just hopes you may conceive of your nephews obtaining a truly moral education. I purpose to hear all the several professors; and when I have done so, I shall write you such an account of them, as will make you (as far as a letter can do it) imagine you have heard them yourself.

The faithful and zealous execution of so important a commission, is what I owe to the friendship that subsists between us, and to the memory of your brother. Nothing, certainly, is more your concern, than that his children (I would have said *yours*, but that I know you now look upon them even with more tenderness than your own) may be found worthy of such a father, and such an uncle; and I should have claimed a part in that care, though you had not charged me with it. I am sensible, in choosing a preceptor I shall draw upon me the displeasure of all the rest of that profession: but when the interest of these young men is concerned, I esteem it my duty to hazard the displeasure, or even enmity of any man, with as much resolution as a parent would for his own children. Farewell.

XIX

To CEREALIS

You advise me to recite my late speech before an assembly of my friends. I shall do so, since you advise it, though I have many scruples about it. For speeches delivered in court lose, I well know,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

recitantur, impetum omnem caloremque ac prope nomen suum perdere, ut quas soleant commendare simul et accendere iudicum consessus, celebritas advocatorum, exspectatio eventus, fama non unius actoris diductumque in partes audientium studium, ad hoc dicentis gestus, incessus, discursus etiam omnibusque motibus animi consentaneus vigor corporis. Unde accidit, ut hi, qui sedentes agunt, quamvis illis maxima ex parte supersint eadem illa quae stantibus, tamen hoc, quod sedent, quasi debilitentur et deprimantur. Recitantium vero praecipua pronuntiationis adiumenta, oculi, manus praepediuntur. Quo minus mirum est, si auditorum intentio languescit nullis extrinsecus aut blandimentis capta aut aculeis excitata.

His accedit, quod oratio, de qua loquor, pugnax et contentiosa est. Porro ita natura comparatum est, ut ea, quae scripsimus cum labore, cum labore etiam audiri putemus. Et sane quotus quisque tam rectus auditor, quem non potius dulcia haec et sonantia quam austera et pressa delectent? Est quidem omnino turpis ista discordia, est tamen, quia<sup>1</sup> plerumque evenit, ut aliud auditores, aliud iudices exigant, cum alioqui iis<sup>2</sup> praecipue auditor adfici debeat, quibus idem, si foret iudex, maxime permoveretur.

<sup>1</sup> quia, *M V, K*, quae *Ricc. Fa*, quod *pr*.

<sup>2</sup> cum alioqui iis, *K*, his *M V*.

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<sup>a</sup> Cicero and Quintilian have laid down rules how far, and in what instances, this liberty was allowable. The latter mentions a witticism of Flavius Virginius, who asked one of

all their fire and force, and even almost their very name, by a recital. It is the array of jurors, the concourse of the bar, the suspense as to the event, the reputation of the rival orators concerned, the different parties formed amongst the audience in their favour; furthermore, it is the gestures, the gait, and even the striding to and fro of the speaker, whose energetic frame harmoniously interprets his every emotion,<sup>a</sup> which conspire to give a grace and spirit to what he delivers. Hence those who sit when they plead, though they have most of the advantages I just now mentioned in common with those who stand, yet from that single circumstance, weaken and depress the whole force of their eloquence. But when a speech is *read*, the eyes and hands of the reader, those important instruments of graceful elocution, being engaged, it is no wonder the hearer grows languid, while he has no external charms to captivate, or spurs to excite his attention.

To these general considerations, I must add that the speech in question is polemical and controversial, and, moreover, we instinctively suspect that what we wrote with labour will not be read with pleasure. For who is there so unprejudiced, as not to prefer the flowing and florid oration to one in the close and unornamented style? It is very unseemly there should be this discrepancy; however, there it is; the reason being that juries generally expect one manner of pleading, and audiences another; whereas in truth an audience ought to be affected only with those things which would strike them most were they in the place of the jury.

these orators "*Quot milia passuum declamasset?*" "How many miles he had declaimed." (Melm.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Potest tamen fieri, ut quamquam in his difficultatibus libro isti novitas lenocinetur, novitas apud nostros; apud Graecos enim est quiddam quamvis ex diverso, non tamen omnino dissimile. Nam, ut illis erat moris leges, quas ut contrarias prioribus legibus arguebant, aliarum collatione convincere, ita nobis inesse repetundarum legi, quod postularem, cum hac ipsa lege tum aliis colligendum fuit; quod nequaquam blandum auribus imperitorum tanto maiorem apud doctos habere gratiam debet, quanto minorem apud indoctos habet. Nos autem, si placuerit recitare, adhibitori sumus eruditissimum quemque. Sed plane adhuc, an sit recitandum, examina tecum, omnesque, quos ego movi, in utraque parte calculos pone idque elige, in quo vicerit ratio. A te enim ratio exigitur, nos excusabit obsequium. Vale.

### XX

C. PLINIUS CALVISIO SUO S.

ASSEM para et accipe auream fabulam, fabulas immo; nam me priorum nova admonuit, nec refert, a qua potissimum incipiam.

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<sup>a</sup> Some think this speech was that which Pliny delivered in the Senate against M. Priscus. See Letter xi. of this book. (Melm.)

<sup>b</sup> This seems to have been the cry of the wandering story-



Nevertheless it is possible the objections which lie against this piece may be got over, by the attraction of its novelty—novelty, I mean, with respect to us; for the Greek orators have a method, though inversely applied, not altogether unlike what I made use of. They, when they would throw out a law, as contrary to some former one, habitually proved this by the analogy of other laws: similarly, I endeavoured to prove that the indictment I was putting forward <sup>a</sup> came within the provisions of the law relating to public extortions, by inference not only from that law itself, but from others. Those who are not experts, can have no taste for reasonings of this kind; but those who are, ought to be so much the more pleased with them. I shall endeavour therefore, if you persist in my reciting it to collect a judicious audience. But before you determine this point, I entreat you thoroughly to weigh the difficulties I have laid before you, cast up both sides of the account, and then decide according to the balance. For *you* will be expected to render a reckoning, whereas obedience to your commands will be a sufficient apology for *me*. Farewell.

## XX

## TO CALVISIUS

“PAY a penny, and I’ll tell you a golden tale” <sup>b</sup>—nay, two or three, for one brings to my mind another. ’Tis no matter which I begin with, so take them as follows.

tellers who gained their livelihood by gathering an audience around them in public places, and amusing the gaping multitude by popular traditional tales, or wonderful stories of their own invention. (Melm.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Verania Pisonis graviter iacebat, huius dico Pisonis, quem Galba adoptavit. Ad hanc Regulus venit. Primum impudentiam hominis, qui venerit ad aegram, cuius marito inimicissimus, ipsi invisissimus fuerat! Esto, si venit tantum; at ille etiam proximus toro sedit, quo die, qua hora nata esset interrogavit. Ubi audiit, componit vultum, intendit oculos, movet labra, agitat digitos, computat; nihil. Ut diu miseram expectatione suspendit, 'Habes,' inquit, 'climactericum tempus, sed evades. Quod ut tibi magis liqueat, haruspicem consulam, quem sum frequenter expertus.' Nec mora, sacrificium facit, adfirmat exta cum siderum significatione congruere. Illa ut in periculo credula poscit codicillos, legatum Regulo scribit. Mox ingravescit; clamat moriens, 'O hominem nequam, perfidum, ac plus etiam quam periurum!' qui sibi per salutem filii peierasset. Facit hoc Regulus non minus scelerate quam frequenter, quod iram deorum, quos ipse quotidie fallit, in caput infelicis pueri detestatur.

Velleius Blaesus, ille locuples consularis, novissima valetudine conflictabatur. Cupiebat mutare testa-

## BOOK II. xx

Verania, the wife of that Piso who was adopted by Galba, lay extremely ill: upon this occasion Regulus made her a visit. By the way, mark the assurance of the man, to visit a sick lady to whom he was so extremely odious, and to whose husband he was a declared enemy! Even barely to enter her house would have been impudent enough; but he had the confidence to go much farther, and very familiarly placed himself by her bed's side. He began with inquiring what day and hour she was born? Being informed of these particulars, he composes his countenance, fixes his eyes, mutters something to himself, counts on his fingers; nothing comes of it. After keeping the poor lady on tenterhooks, "You are," says he, "in one of your climacterics; however, you will get over it. But for your greater satisfaction, I will consult with a certain diviner, whose skill I have frequently experienced." Accordingly away he goes, sacrifices, and returns with the strongest assurances that inspection of the victim's entrails confirmed what he had predicted by astrology. Upon this the good woman, made credulous by her dangerous state, calls for her will, and gives Regulus a handsome legacy. Some time afterwards her distemper increased; and in her last moments she exclaimed against this perfidious, worse than perjured, wretch, who had wished every curse might befall his son, if what he promised her was not true. But such sort of imprecations are as common with Regulus as they are impious; and he continually devotes that unhappy youth to the curses of those gods by whom he swears falsely every day.

Velleius Blaesus, a person of consular dignity and remarkable for his immense wealth, in his last sick-

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

mentum. Regulus, qui speraret aliquid ex novis tabulis, quia nuper captare eum coeperat, medicos hortari, rogare, quoquo modo spiritum homini prorogarent. Postquam signatum est testamentum, mutat personam, vertit adlocutionem isdemque medicis: 'Quousque miserum cruciatis? Quid invidetis bonam mortem, cui dare vitam non potestis?' Moritur Blaesus et, tamquam omnia audisset, Regulo ne tantulum quidem.

Sufficiunt duae fabulae, an scholastica lege tertiam poscis? est, unde fiat.

Aurelia, ornata femina, signatura testamentum sumpserat pulcherrimas tunicas. Regulus cum venisset ad signandum, 'Rogo,' inquit, 'has mihi leges.' Aurelia ludere hominem putabat, ille serio instabat; ne multa, coëgit mulierem aperire tabulas ac sibi tunicas, quas erat induta, legare; observavit scribentem, inspexit, an scripsisset. Et Aurelia quidem vivit, ille tamen istud tamquam morituram coëgit. Et hic hereditates, hic legata, quasi mereatur, accipit!

*Ἀλλὰ τί διατείνομαι* in ea civitate, in qua iampridem

<sup>a</sup> The rhetoricians of the period set the fashion of using triplets in composition.

<sup>b</sup> This was an act of great ceremony, and the gala dress of Roman ladies being exceedingly costly, the legacy Regulus had the impudence to ask must have been considerable. (Melm.)

## BOOK II. xx

ness had an inclination to make some alterations in his will. Regulus, who had lately endeavoured to insinuate himself into his friendship, hoped to receive some advantage by the intended change, and accordingly applies himself to his physicians, and conjures them to exert all their skill to prolong the poor man's life. But the moment the will was signed, his rôle and style were changed: "How long," says he to these very physicians, "do you design to keep this poor fellow in misery? Since you cannot preserve his life, why grudge him an easy death?" Blaesus is since dead; and as if he had overheard every word that Regulus had said, he has not left him one farthing.

Will two stories serve you, or must you have a third, according to the canon of the schools?<sup>a</sup> If so, Regulus will supply you.

You must know then, that Aurelia, a lady of property, designing to execute her will, had dressed herself for that purpose in a very splendid manner.<sup>b</sup> Regulus, who was present as a witness, turned about to the lady, and, "Pray," says he, "leave me these fine clothes." Aurelia at first thought him in jest; but he insisted upon it very seriously, and, to make a long story short, obliged her to open her will, and insert this legacy; and though he saw her write it, yet he would not be satisfied till he read the clause himself. However Aurelia is still alive; though Regulus forced her to make this bequest, as though her death were imminent. And yet legacies and estates are conferred upon this abandoned man as if he really deserved them!

But why should I fret myself at this in a city

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

non minora praemia, immo maiora nequitia et improbitas quam pudor et virtus habent? Aspice Regulum, qui ex paupere et tenui ad tantas opes per flagitia processit, ut ipse mihi dixerit, cum consuleret, quam cito sestertium, sescenties impleturus esset, invenisse se exta duplicia, quibus portendi, milies et ducenties habiturum. Et habebit, si modo, ut coepit, aliena testamenta, quod est improbissimum genus falsi, ipsis, quorum sunt illa, dictaverit. Vale.

where impudence and iniquity have long received the same, do I say, even greater encouragement than modesty and virtue? Regulus is a glaring instance of this truth, who, from a state of indigence, has, by a train of the most villainous actions, arrived to such immense riches, that he once told me himself, upon consulting the omens to know how soon he should be worth sixty millions of sesterces, he found a double liver within the sacrificial victim, which portended that he should possess double that sum. And so he will, if he continues thus to dictate wills for other people; a sort of forgery, in my estimation, of all others the most infamous. Farewell.





## BOOK III

## LIBER TERTIUS

### I

C. PLINIUS CALVISIO RUFO<sup>1</sup> SUO S.

NESCIO, an ullum iucundius tempus exegerim, quam quo nuper apud Spurinnam fui, adeo quidem, ut neminem magis in senectute, si modo senescere datum est, aemulari velim; nihil est enim illo vitae genere distinctius. Me autem ut certus siderum cursus ita vita hominum disposita delectat, senum praesertim. Nam iuvenes confusa adhuc quaedam et quasi turbata non indecent, senibus placida omnia et ordinata conveniunt, quibus industria sera, turpis ambitio est.

Hanc regulam Spurinna constantissime servat: quin etiam parva haec, parva, si non cotidie fiant, ordine quodam et velut orbe circumagit. Mane lectulo continetur, hora secunda calceos poscit, ambulat milia passuum tria nec minus animum quam corpus exercet. Si adsunt amici, honestissimi sermones explicantur; si non, liber legitur, interdum

<sup>1</sup> RUFO *add. Havet ex Ricc.*

## BOOK III

### I

TO CALVISIUS RUFUS

I NEVER spent my time more agreeably, I think, than I did lately with Spurinna. I was so much pleased with his way of life, that if ever I should arrive at old age, there is no man whom I would sooner choose for my model. I look upon order in human actions, especially at that advanced period, with the same sort of pleasure as I behold the settled course of the heavenly bodies. In youth, indeed, a certain irregularity and agitation is by no means unbecoming; but in age, when business is unseasonable, and ambition indecent, all should be calm and uniform.

Spurinna religiously pursues the above rule of life, nay even in the details I shall describe, which one might call minute and inconsiderable did they not occur every day, he observes a certain periodical season and method. The first part of the morning he keeps his bed; at eight he calls for his shoes, and walks three miles, in which he enjoys at once contemplation and exercise. Meanwhile, if he has any friends with him in his house, he enters upon some polite and useful topic of conversation; if he is alone, somebody reads to him; and sometimes, too, when

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

etiam praesentibus amicis, si tamen illi non gravantur. Deinde considit, et liber rursus aut sermo libro potior; mox vehiculum ascendit, adsumit uxorem singularis exempli vel aliquem amicorum, ut me proxime. Quam pulchrum illud, quam dulce secretum! quantum ibi antiquitatis! quae facta, quos viros audias! quibus praeceptis imbuare! quamvis ille hoc temperamentum modestiae suae indixerit, ne praecipere videatur. Peractis septem milibus passuum iterum ambulat mille, iterum residet vel se cubiculo ac stilo reddit. Scribit enim et quidem utraque lingua lyrica doctissime; mira illis dulcedo, mira suavitas, mira hilaritas, cuius gratiam cumulat sanctitas scribentis.

Ubi hora balinei nuntiata est (est autem hieme nona, aestate octava), in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus. Deinde movetur pila vehementer et diu; nam hoc quoque exercitationis genere pugnat cum senectute. Lotus accubat et paulisper cibum differt; interim audit legentem remissius aliquid et dulcius. Per hoc omne tempus liberum est amicis vel eadem

### BOOK III. i

he is not, if it is agreeable to his company. When this is over, he reposes himself, and again takes up a book, or else falls into discourse more improving than a book. He afterwards takes the air in his chariot, either with his wife (a lady of exemplary character) or with some friend; a happiness which lately was mine. How agreeable, how noble is the enjoyment of him in that hour of privacy! You would fancy you were hearing some worthy of ancient times, inflaming your breast with the most heroic examples, and instructing your mind with the most exalted precepts, which yet he delivers with such an infusion of his native modesty, that there is not the least appearance of dictating in his conversation. When he has thus taken a tour of seven miles, he gets out of his chariot and walks a mile more, after which he either reposes himself, or retires to his study and pen. For he is an accomplished writer of lyric verse, and that both in Greek and Latin. It is surprising what an ease and spirit of gaiety runs through his verses, which the moral virtue of the author renders still more acceptable.

When the baths are ready, which in winter is about three o'clock, and in summer about two, he undresses himself; and if there happens to be no wind, he walks about in the sun. After this he puts himself into prolonged and violent motion at playing ball: for by this sort of exercise, too, he combats the effects of old age. When he has bathed, he throws himself on his couch and waits dinner a little while, and in the meanwhile some agreeable and entertaining author is read to him. In this, as in all the rest, his friends are at full liberty to partake; or to employ themselves in any other manner more suitable

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

facere vel alia, si malint. Adponitur cena non minus nitida quam frugi in argento puro et antiquo ; sunt in usu et Corinthia, quibus delectatur nec adficitur. Frequenter comoedis cena distinguitur, ut voluptates quoque studiis condiantur. Sumit aliquid de nocte et aestate. Nemini hoc longum est ; tanta comitate convivium trahitur. Inde illi post septimum et septuagensimum annum aurium oculorumque vigor integer, inde agile et vividum corpus solaque ex senectute prudentia.

Hanc ego vitam voto et cogitatione praesumo ingressurus avidissime, ut primum ratio aetatis receptui canere permiserit. Interim mille laboribus conteror, quorum mihi et solacium et exemplum est idem Spurinna ; nam ille quoque, quoad honestum fuit, obiit officia, gessit magistratus, provincias rexit multoque labore hoc otium meruit. Igitur eundem mihi cursum, eundem terminum statuo idque iam nunc apud te subsigno, ut, si me longius evehi videris, in ius voces ad hanc epistulam meam et quiescere iubeas, cum inertiae crimen effugero. Vale.

### BOOK III. i

to their taste. You sit down to an elegant, yet frugal repast, which is served up in plain and antique plate. He uses likewise dishes of Corinthian bronze, which is his hobby, not his passion. At intervals of the repast he is frequently entertained with comedians, that even his very pleasures may be seasoned with letters; and though he continues there, even in summer, till the night is somewhat advanced, yet he prolongs the sitting over the wine with so much affability and politeness, that none of his guests ever think it tedious. By this method of living he has preserved his sight and hearing entire, and his body active and vigorous to his 78th year, without discovering any appearance of old age, but the wisdom.

This is the sort of life which I ardently aspire after; as I purpose to enjoy it, when I shall arrive at those years which will justify a retreat from business. In the meanwhile, I am harassed with a thousand affairs, in which Spurinna is at once my support and my example. For he too, as long as it became him, fulfilled the duties of public life, held the various offices of state, governed provinces, and by indefatigable toil merited the repose he now enjoys. I propose to myself the same course and the same term; and I give it to you under my hand that I do so, in order that, should you see me carried beyond that limit, you may produce this letter against me; and sentence me to repose whenever I can enjoy it without being charged with indolence. Farewell.

## II

C. PLINIUS VIBIO<sup>1</sup> MAXIMO SUO S.

Quod ipse amicis tuis obtulissem, si mihi eadem materia suppeteret, id nunc iure videor a te meis petiturus. Arrianus Maturus Altinatum est princeps; cum dico princeps, non de facultatibus loquor, quae illi large supersunt, sed de castitate, iustitia, gravitate, prudentia. Huius ego consilio in negotiis, iudicio in studiis utor; nam plurimum fide, plurimum veritate, plurimum intellegentia praestat. Amat me, nihil possum ardentius dicere, ut tu. Caret ambitu; ideo se in equestri gradu tenuit, cum facile posset ascendere altissimum.

Mihi tamen ornandus excolendusque est. Itaque magni aestimo dignitati eius aliquid adstruere inopinantis, nescientis, immo etiam fortasse nolentis, adstruere autem, quod sit splendidum nec molestum. Cuius generis, quae prima occasio tibi, conferas in eum rogo; habebis me, habebis ipsum gratissimum debitorem. Quamvis enim ista non adpetat, tam grate tamen excipit, quam si concupiscat. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> VIBIO *add. Havel ex Ricc.*

<sup>a</sup> Altinum was a town on the Adriatic coast, near Venice.



## II

## TO VIBIUS MAXIMUS

I THINK I may claim a right to ask the same services of you for my friends, as I would offer to yours if I were in your station. Arrianus Maturus is a person of great eminence among the *Altinates*.<sup>a</sup> When I call him so, it is not with respect to his fortunes (which, however, are very considerable); it is in view to the purity, the integrity, the prudence, and the gravity of his manners. His counsel steers me in my affairs, and his judgement directs me in my studies; for truth, honour and understanding, are the shining qualities which mark his character. He loves me (and I cannot express his affection in stronger terms) with a tenderness equal to yours. As he is a stranger to ambition, he has contentedly remained in the Equestrian order, when he might easily have advanced himself into the highest rank.

It behoves me, however, to take care he be advanced and ennobled; and I would fain without his knowledge or expectation, nay, even perhaps contrary to his inclination, add to his dignity. But the post I would obtain for him should be something very honourable, and attended with no trouble. I beg when anything of that nature offers, you would confer it on him; it will be an obligation, which both he and I shall ever remember with the greatest gratitude. For though he has no aspiring wishes to satisfy, he will be as sensible of the favour, as if he had received it in consequence of his own desires. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## III

### C. PLINIUS CORELLIAE HISPULLAE S.

CUM, patrem tuum, gravissimum et sanctissimum virum, suspexerim magis an amaverim, dubitem teque in memoriam eius et in honorem tuum unice diligam, cupiam necesse est atque etiam, quantum in me fuerit, enitar, ut filius tuus avo similis existat, equidem malo, materno; quamquam illi paternus etiam clarus spectatusque contigerit: pater quoque et patruus illustri lande conspicui. Quibus omnibus ita demum similis adulescet, si imbutus honestis artibus fuerit, quas plurimum refert a quo potissimum accipiat.

Adhuc illum pueritiae ratio intra contubernium tuum tenuit, praeceptores domi habuit, ubi est erroribus vel modica vel etiam nulla materia. Iam studia eius extra linen proferenda sunt, iam circumspiciendus rhetor Latinus, cuius scholae severitas, pudor, in primis castitas, constet. Adest enim adolescenti nostro cum ceteris naturae fortunaeque dotibus eximia corporis pulchritudo, cui in hoc lubrico aetatis non praeceptor modo, sed custos etiam rectorque quaerendus est.

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<sup>a</sup> Corellius Rufus. See i. 12.

## III

## TO CORELLIA HISPULLA

IT is not easy to determine whether my love or esteem were greater, for that grave and saintly man your father;<sup>a</sup> while both in respect to his memory, and your own virtues, I have the tenderest value for you. Can I fail then to wish, and by every means in my power endeavour, that your son may grow to resemble his paternal, or (better still, to my thinking) his maternal grandfather? Though I express this preference, I am well aware his *paternal* grandfather was a man of great note and celebrity, as his father and father's brother were also of the highest distinction. The one method to train him up in the likeness of these valuable men is early to season his mind with polite learning and useful knowledge: and it is of the last consequence from whom he receives these instructions.

Hitherto, as is the rule with children, he has lived in your society, and had teachers at home, where he is exposed to few, I should rather say to no temptations. But he is now of an age for outdoor schooling, and it is time to look about for some professor of Rhetoric whose discipline and method, but above all whose morals, are well known. Amongst the many advantages for which our dear lad is indebted to nature and fortune, he has that of a most beautiful person; it is necessary, therefore, at this dangerous period of life, to find out one who will not only be his tutor, but his guardian and his guide.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Videor ergo demonstrare tibi posse Iulium Genitorem. Amatur a me ; iudicio tamen meo non obstat caritas hominis, quae ex iudicio nata est. Vir est emendatus et gravis, paulo etiam horridior et durior ut in hac licentia temporum. Quantum eloquentia valeat, pluribus credere potes ; nam dicendi facultas aperta et exposita statim cernitur. Vita hominum altos recessus magnasque latebras habet ; cuius pro Genitore me sponsorem accipe. Nihil ex hoc viro filius tuus audiet nisi profuturum, nihil discet, quod nescisse rectius fuerit, nec minus saepe ab illo quam a te meque admonebitur, quibus imaginibus oneretur, quae nomina et quanta sustineat.

Proinde faventibus diis trade eum praeceptori, a quo mores primum, mox eloquentiam discat, quae male sine moribus discitur. Vale.

### IV

C. PLINIUS CAECILIO<sup>1</sup> MACRINO SUO S.

QUAMVIS et amici, quos praesentes habebam, et sermones hominum factum meum comprobasse videntur, magni tamen aestimo scire, quid sentias tu.

<sup>1</sup> CAECILIO *add. Havet ex Ricc.*

### BOOK III. iii.-iv

I will venture to recommend Julius Genitor to you under that character. I love him, I confess: but my affection does by no means prejudice my judgement, on the contrary, it is in truth the effect of it. His behaviour is grave, and his morals irreproachable; perhaps something too severe and rigid for the libertine manners of these times. His qualifications in his profession you may learn from many others; for eloquence, as it is open to all the world, is soon discovered: but character lies more concealed, and out of the reach of common observation; and it is on *that* side I undertake to be answerable for my friend. Your son will hear nothing from this worthy man, but what will be for his advantage to know, nor learn anything of which it would be fitter he should be ignorant. He will represent to him as often, and with as much zeal as you or I should, what a glorious weight of ancestral reputation he has to support.

Pray, then, under the happiest auspices, place him with a tutor whose first care will be to form his manners, and afterwards to instruct him in eloquence; an attainment ill-acquired if with the neglect of moral improvements. Farewell.

#### IV

#### TO CAECILIUS MACRINUS

THOUGH my friends here, as well as the town in general, seem to approve of my conduct in the affair I am going to mention, yet I set great store upon knowing your sentiments; and as I wished for your

Nam, cuius integra re consilium exquirere optassem, huius etiam peracta iudicium nosse mire concupisco.

Cum publicum opus mea pecunia inchoaturus in Tuscos excucurrissem accepto ut praefectus aerari commeatu, legati provinciae Baeticae questuri de proconsulatu Caecili Classici advocatum me a senatu petierunt. Collegae optimi meique amantissimi de communis officii necessitatibus praelocuti excusare me et eximere temptarunt. Factum est senatus consultum perquam honorificum, ut darer provincialibus patronus, si ab ipso me impetrassent. Legati rursus inducti iterum me iam praesentem advocatum postulaverunt implorantes fidem meam, quam essent contra Massam Baebium experti, adlegantes patrocinii foedus. Secuta est clarissima senatus adsensio, quae solet decreta praecurrere. Tum ego 'Desino,' inquam, 'patres conscripti, putare me iustas excusationis causas attulisse.' Placuit et modestia sermonis et ratio.

Compulit autem me ad hoc consilium non solum consensus senatus, quamquam hic maxime, verum etiam alii quidam minores, sed tamen numeri. Venie-

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<sup>a</sup> See x. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Now Andalusia.

<sup>c</sup> See iv. 33.

advice before I engaged in it, so I am vastly desirous of your judgement now it is over.

Having obtained leave to be absent from my office as head of the treasury, I went into Tuscany to look after a public work which I am carrying on there at my own expense.<sup>a</sup> In the interval, deputies from the Province of Baetica<sup>b</sup> arrived, to complain of some grievances they had suffered under the government of Caecilius Classicus; and applied to the Senate that I might be appointed counsel for them. My very worthy and obliging colleagues represented on my behalf, the necessary engagements of our office, and endeavoured all they could to get me excused. Upon this the Senate passed a decree greatly to my honour; they ordered that I should be counsel for the province, provided the deputies could obtain my consent. At my return they were again introduced into the Senate, and there renewed their petition in my presence. They asked my protection, which they had experienced when I was their counsel against Baebius,<sup>c</sup> and alleged their claim upon me as my clients. I perceived the Senate was inclined to grant this petition by that unmistakable applause which is the usual forerunner of all their decrees. Whereupon I rose up and told the house that I no longer insisted upon the reasonableness of the excuse I had alleged: and they were pleased alike with the purport and the respectful modesty of my answer.

I was determined in this resolution, not only because I found it agreeable to the inclinations of the Senate (which indeed had great weight with me), but for many other, though less important, considerations. I reflected that our ancestors thought

bat in mentem priores nostros etiam singulorum hospitum iniurias accusationibus voluntariis exsecutos; quo deformius arbitrabar publici hospitii iura neglegere. Praeterea cum recorderer, quanta pro isdem Baeticis priore advocacy etiam pericula subissem, conservandum veteris officii meritum novo videbatur. Est enim ita comparatum, ut antiquiora beneficia subvertas, nisi illa posterioribus cumules. Nam quamlibet saepe obligati, si quid unum neges, hoc solum meminerunt, quod negatum est. Ducebar etiam, quod decesserat Classicus, amotumque erat, quod in eiusmodi causis solet esse tristissimum, periculum senatoris. Videbam ergo advocacy meae non minorem gratiam, quam si viveret ille, propositam, invidiam nullam. In summa computabam, si munere hoc iam tertio fungerer, faciliorem mihi excusationem fore, si quis incidisset, quem non deberem accusare. Nam, cum est omnium officiorum finis aliquis, tum optime libertati venia obsequio praeparatur.

Audisti consilii mei motus; superest alterutra ex parte iudicium tuum, in quo mihi aequae iucunda erit simplicitas dissentientis quam comprobantis auctoritas. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> He had already prosecuted two provincial governors; Baebius Massa in 93 or 94 A.D., and Marius Priscus (see ii. II) in 100 A.D. The next year, the Baetici sought his assistance to impeach Claudius, on whose trial see iii. 9.



themselves obliged to engage voluntarily in defence of even particular persons, with whom they were united by the ties of hospitality, and that therefore it would be the more ungenerous to abandon a collective body, to whom I stood in the same relation. Besides, when I considered the danger as well as the fatigue I went through in the last cause I undertook for this province, I thought it fit to maintain the merit of my former services, by rendering a fresh one. For such is the disposition of mankind, you cancel all former benefits, unless you add to them a heap of subsequent favours; oblige people never so often, and, if you deny them on a single point, they remember nothing but that refusal. I considered likewise, that Classicus being dead, the great objection of imperilling a senator, was removed; and that in undertaking this defence, I should merit the same thanks as if he were alive, without the hazard of giving any offence. In a word, I reckoned if I now for the third time discharged such an office,<sup>a</sup> I could with a better grace excuse myself in future; should some one be impeached whom I might have personal reasons for declining to prosecute. For all our duties have their limits; and the best way of reserving to ourselves the liberty of refusing where we would, is to comply where we can.

Thus you have heard the motives which influenced me in this resolve; it now remains that you pronounce judgement for or against it; I shall be equally pleased by your sincerity, if you dissent from my view, and by the weight of your sanction, if you approve it. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## V

C. PLINIUS BAEBIO MACRO SUO S.

PERGRATUM est mihi, quod tam diligenter libros avunculi mei lectitas, ut habere omnes velis quaerasque, qui sint omnes. Fungar indicis partibus atque etiam, quo sint ordine scripti, notum tibi faciam; est enim haec quoque studiosis non iniucunda cognitio.

‘De iaculatione equestri unus’; hunc, cum praefectus alae militaret, pari ingenio curaue composuit. ‘De vita Pomponii Secundi duo’; a quo singulariter amatus hoc memoriae amici quasi debitum munus exsolvit. ‘Bellorum Germaniae viginti’; quibus omnia, quae cum Germanis gessimus bella, collegit. Inchoavit, cum in Germania militaret, somnio monitus. Adstitit ei quiescenti Drusi Neronis effigies, qui Germaniae latissime victor ibi periit, commendabat memoriam suam orabatque, ut se ab iniuria oblivionis adsereret. ‘Studiosi tres,’ in sex volumina propter amplitudinem divisi, quibus oratorem ab incunabilis instituit et perfecit.<sup>1</sup> ‘Dubii sermonis octo’ scripsit sub Nerone novissimis

<sup>1</sup> perfecit *Ricc. Fra*, Müller, perficit *vulg.*

<sup>a</sup> Consul 44 A.D. Wrote tragedies praised by Quintilian.

<sup>b</sup> Brother of Tiberius. Died, aged 30, from the effects of a fall from his horse.

## V

## TO BAEBIUS MACER

IT is with much pleasure I find you are so constant a reader of my uncle's works, as to wish to have a complete collection of them ; and for that purpose desire me to send you an account of all the treatises he wrote. I will fill the place of an index and even acquaint you with the order in which they were composed : for that, too, is a sort of information not at all unacceptable to men of letters.

The first book he published was a treatise concerning the *Art of using a javelin on horseback* : this he wrote when he commanded a troop of horse, and it is drawn up with equal accuracy and judgement. *The life of Pomponius Secundus*,<sup>a</sup> in two volumes : Pomponius had a very great affection for him, and he thought he owed this tribute to his memory. *The history of the wars in Germany*, in twenty books, in which he gave an account of all the campaigns we were engaged in against that nation. A dream which he had when he served in the army in Germany, first suggested to him the design of this work. The phantom of Drusus Nero<sup>b</sup> (who extended his conquests very far into that country, and there lost his life) appeared to him in his sleep, and conjured him not to suffer his memory to be buried in oblivion. He has left us likewise *The Students*, in three books, divided into six volumes, owing to their length. In this work he takes the orator from his cradle, and leads him on till he has carried him up to the highest point of perfection in this art. In the last years of Nero's reign, when

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

annis, cum omne studiorum genus paulo liberius et erectius periculosum servitus fecisset. 'A fine Aufidi Bassi triginta unus.' 'Naturae historiarum triginta septem,' opus diffusum, eruditum nec minus varium quam ipsa natura.

Miraris, quod tot volumina multaque in his tam scrupulosa homo occupatus absolverit, magis miraberis, si scieris illum aliquandiu causas actitasse, decessisse anno sexto et quinquagensimo, medium tempus distentum impeditumque qua officiis maximis qua amicitia principum egisse. Sed erat acre ingenium, incredibile studium, summa vigilantia. Lucubrare Vulcanalibus incipiebat non auspicandi causa, sed studendi, statim a nocte multa, hieme vero hora septima vel, cum tardissime, octava, saepe sexta. Erat sane somni paratissimi, non numquam etiam inter studia instantis et deserentis.

Ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem (nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur) inde ad delegatum sibi officium. Reversus domum, quod reliquum temporis, studiis reddebat. Post cibum saepe, quem interdum levem et facilem veterum more sumebat,

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<sup>a</sup> Died probably *circa* 60 A.D.

<sup>b</sup> This encyclopaedic work is extant.

<sup>c</sup> See iv. 24, n.

the tyranny of the times made it dangerous to engage in studies of a more free and elevated spirit, he published *Linguistic Queries*, in eight books; *A Continuation*, in one book, of the thirty books of Aufidius Bassus' <sup>a</sup> history; and thirty-seven books of a *Natural History* <sup>b</sup>: this is a work of great compass and learning, and as full of variety as nature herself.

You will wonder how a man so engaged as he was, could find time to compose such a number of books; and some of them too upon abstruse subjects. But your surprise will rise still higher, when you hear, that for some time he engaged in the profession of an advocate, that he died in his fifty-sixth year, that from the time of his quitting the bar to his death he was engaged and trammelled by the execution of the highest posts, and by the friendship of his sovereigns. <sup>c</sup> But he had a quick apprehension, incredible zeal, and a wakefulness beyond compare. He always began to work at midnight when the August festival of Vulcan came round; not for the good omen's sake, but for the sake of study; in winter generally at one in the morning, but never later than two, and often at midnight. No man ever slept more readily, insomuch that he would sometimes, without retiring from his book, take a short sleep, and then pursue his studies.

Before day-break he used to wait upon Vespasian; who likewise chose that season to transact business. When he had finished the affairs which that emperor committed to his charge, he returned home again to his studies. After a short and light repast at noon (agreeably to the good old custom of our ancestors) he would frequently in the summer, if he was

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

aestate, si quid otii, iacebat in sole, liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque. Nihil enim legit, quod non exciperet; dicere etiam solebat nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua parte prodesset. Post solem plerumque frigida lavabatur, deinde gustabat dormiebatque minimum; mox quasi alio die studebat in cenae tempus. Super hanc liber legebatur, adnotabatur et quidem cursim. Memini quendam ex amicis, cum lector quaedam perperam pronuntiasset, revocasse et repeti coëgisse; huic avunculum meum dixisse, 'Intellexeras nempe.' Cum ille adnuisset: 'Cur ergo revocabas? decem amplius versus hac tua interpellatione perdidimus.' Tanta erat parsimonia temporis. Surgebat aestate a cena luce, hieme intra primam noctis et tamquam aliqua lege cogente.

Haec inter medios labores urbisque fremitum; in sēcessu solum balinei tempus studiis eximebatur. Cum dico balinei, de interioribus loquor; nam, dum destringitur tergiturque, audiebat aliquid aut dictabat. In itinere quasi solutus ceteris curis huic uni vacabat; ad latus notarius cum libro et

disengaged from business, repose himself in the sun ; during which time some author was read to him, from whence he made extracts and observations, as indeed this was his constant method whatever book he read : for it was a maxim of his, that "no book was so bad but some profit might be gleaned from it." When this basking was over, he generally went into the cold bath, and as soon as he came out of it, just took a slight refreshment, and then reposed himself for a little while. Then, as if it had been a new day, he immediately resumed his studies till dinner-time, when a book was again read to him, upon which he would make some running notes. I remember once, his reader having pronounced a word wrong, somebody at the table made him repeat it again ; upon which my uncle asked his friend if he understood it ? Who acknowledging that he did ; "why then," said he, "would you make him go back again ? We have lost by this interruption of yours above ten lines : " so chary was this great man of time ! In summer he always rose from supper by day-light ; and in winter as soon as it was dark : and this was a sort of binding law with him.

Such was his manner of life amidst the noise and hurry of the town ; but in the country his whole time was devoted to study without intermission, excepting only while he bathed. But in this exception I include no more than the time he was actually in the bath ; for all the while he was rubbed and wiped, he was employed either in hearing some book read to him, or in dictating himself. In his journeys, as though released from all other cares, he found leisure for this sole pursuit. A shorthand writer, with book and tablets, constantly attended

pugillaribus, cuius manus hieme manicis muniebantur, ut ne caeli quidem asperitas ullum studiis tempus eriperet; qua ex causa Romae quoque sella vehebatur. Repeto me correptum ab eo, cur ambularem. 'Poteras,' inquit, 'has horas non perdere'; nam perire omne tempus arbitrabatur, quod studiis non impertiretur. Hac intentione tot ista volumina peregit, electorumque commentarios centum sexaginta mihi reliquit, opisthographos quidem et minutissime scriptos; qua ratione multiplicatur hic numerus. Referebat ipse potuisse se, cum procuraret in Hispania, vendere hos commentarios Larcio<sup>1</sup> Licino quadringentis milibus nummum, et tunc aliquanto pauciores erant.

Nonne videtur tibi recordanti, quantum legerit, quantum scripserit, nec in officiis ullis nec in amicitia principum fuisse, rursus, cum audis, quid studiis laboris impenderit, nec scripsisse satis nec legisse? Quid est enim, quod non aut illae occupationes impedire aut haec instantia non possit efficere? Itaque soleo ridere, cum me quidam studiosum vocant, qui, si comparer illi, sum desidiosissimus. Ego autem tantum, quem partim publica, partim amicorum officia distringunt? quis ex istis, qui tota vita litteris adsident,

<sup>1</sup> Larcio *Ricc. p.*, Müller, Largio *M V D*, *K.*



him in his chariot, who, in the winter, wore a particular sort of warm gloves, that the sharpness of the weather might not occasion any interruption to his studies; and for the same reason my uncle always used a sedan chair in Rome. I remember he once reproved me for walking; "You might," said he, "not have lost those hours:" for he thought all was time lost that was not given to study. By this extraordinary application he found time to write so many volumes, besides one hundred and sixty which he left me, consisting of a kind of common-place, written on both sides, in a very small character; so that one might fairly reckon the number considerably more. I have heard him say that when he was comptroller of the revenue in Spain, Larcus Licinus offered him four hundred thousand sesterces for these manuscripts: and yet they were not then quite so numerous.

When you reflect upon the books he has read, and the volumes he has written, are you not inclined to suppose that he never was an official or a courtier? On the other hand, when you are informed how painstaking he was in his studies, are you not disposed to think that he read and wrote too little? For, on one side, what obstacles would not the business of a court throw in his way? And on the other, what is it that such intense application might not perform? I cannot but smile therefore when I hear myself called a studious man, who in comparison to him am a mere loiterer. But why do I mention myself, who am diverted from these pursuits by numberless duties both public and private? Where is he, among those whose whole lives are spent in study, who must not blush under the consciousness of being but a

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collatus illi non quasi somno et inertiae deditus erubescat?

Extendi epistolam, quamvis hoc solum, quod requirebas, scribere destinassem, quos libros reliquisset; confido tamen haec quoque tibi non minus grata quam ipsos libros futura, quae te non tantum ad legendos eos, verum etiam ad simile aliquid elaborandum possunt aemulationis stimulis excitare. Vale.

### VI

C. PLINIUS ANNIO SEVERO SUO S.

Ex hereditate, quae mihi obvenit, emi proxime Corinthium signum modicum quidem, sed festivum et expressum, quantum ego sapio, qui fortasse in omni re, in hac certe perquam exiguum sapio; hoc tamen signum ego quoque intellego. Est enim nudum nec aut vitia, si qua sunt, celat aut laudes parum ostentat. Effingit senem stantem; ossa, muscoli, nervi, venae, rugae etiam ut spirantis apparent, rari et cedentes capilli, lata frons, contracta facies, exile collum, pendent lacerti, papillae iacent, recessit venter; a tergo quoque eadem aetas ut ante. Aerugo aes ipsum,<sup>1</sup> quantum verus color, indicat vetus et antiquum; talia denique omnia, ut

<sup>1</sup> ante. Aerugo aes ipsum *Stahl, Mus. Rhen. xxix. 365*, ut a tergo. Aes ipsum *codd., edd.*

"The making of the "Corinthian bronze," so much prized by Roman connoisseurs, had apparently long been a lost art. The story went that the alloy was produced by the fusing of gold, silver and bronze, when Mummius burnt Corinth, 146 B.C. It seems this bronze had a peculiar colour, and took a peculiar patina (*aerugo*).

sluggard and a dreamer, compared with this great scholar?

I have run out my letter, I perceive, beyond the extent I at first designed, which was only to inform you, as you desired, what treatises he has left behind him. But I trust this will not be less acceptable to you than the books themselves, as it may possibly not only raise your curiosity to read his works, but your emulation to copy his example by some attempts of the same nature. Farewell.

## VI.

## TO ANNIUS SEVERUS

I HAVE lately purchased with a legacy that was left me, a statue of Corinthian bronze. It is small, but pleasing, and finely executed, at least, if I have any taste; which most certainly in matters of this sort, as perhaps in all others, is extremely defective. However, I think even I have enough to discover the beauties of this figure; as it is naked, the faults, if there be any, as well as the perfections, are more observable. It represents an old man in a standing posture. The bones, the muscles, the veins, and wrinkles are so strongly expressed, that you would imagine the figure to be animated. The hair is thin and failing, the forehead broad, the face shrivelled, the throat lank, the arms languid, the breast fallen, and the belly sunk; and the back view gives the same impression of old age. It appears to be a genuine antique, alike from its tarnish and from what remains of the original colour of the bronze.<sup>a</sup> In short, it is a performance so highly finished as to fix

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

possint artificum oculos tenere, delectare imperitorum. Quod me quamquam tirunculum sollicitavit ad emendum. Emi autem, non ut haberem domi (neque enim ullum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo), verum ut in patria nostra celebri loco ponerem, ac potissimum in Iovis templo; videtur enim dignum templo, dignum deo donum.

Tu ergo, ut soles omnia, quae a me tibi iniunguntur, suscipe hanc curam et iam nunc iube basim fieri, ex quo voles marmore, quae nomen meum honoresque capiat, si hos quoque putabis addendos. Ego signum ipsum, ut primum invenero aliquem, qui non gravetur, mittam tibi vel ipse, quod mavis, adferam mecum. Destino enim, si tamen officii ratio permiserit excurrere isto. Gaudes, quod me venturum esse polliceor, sed contrahes frontem, cum adiecero ad paucos dies; neque enim diutius abesse me sinunt eadem haec, quae nondum exire patiuntur. Vale.

### VII

C. PLINIUS CANINIO RUFO SUO S.

Modo nuntiatus est Silius Italicus in Neapolitano suo inedia vitam finisse. Causa mortis valetudo. Erat illi natus insanabilis clavus, cuius taedio ad mortem irrevocabili constantia decucurrit usque ad

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<sup>a</sup> Author of the longest extant Latin poem, an Epic in 17 books on the Second Punic War. Died 101 A.D.

the attention of artists, and delight the least knowing observer; and this induced me, who am a mere novice in this art, to buy it. But I did so, not with any intent of placing it in my own house (for I have as yet no Corinthian bronzes there) but with a design of fixing it in some conspicuous place in my native province, preferably in the temple of Jupiter; for it is a present well worthy of a temple and a god.

Pray, then, undertake this, as readily as you do all my commissions, and give immediate orders for a pedestal to be made. I leave the choice of the marble to you, but let my name be engraven upon it, and, if you think proper, my titles. I will send the statue by the first opportunity; or possibly (which I am sure you will like better) I may bring it myself; for I intend, business permitting, to make an excursion to you. This is a promise which I know you will rejoice to hear; but you will change your countenance when I add that my visit will be only for a few days, for the same affairs that now detain me here will prevent my making a longer stay. Farewell.

## VII

## TO CANINIUS RUFUS

I AM just now informed that Silius Italicus<sup>a</sup> has starved himself to death, at his villa near Naples. Having been afflicted with an imposthume, which was deemed incurable, he grew weary of life under such uneasy circumstances, and therefore put an end to it with the most determined courage. He had

supremum diem beatus et felix, nisi quod minorem e liberis duobus amisit, sed maiorem melioremque florentem atque etiam consularem reliquit. Laeserat famam suam sub Nerone (credebatur sponte accusasse); sed in Vitelli amicitia sapienter se et comiter gesserat, ex proconsulatu Asiae gloriam reportaverat, maculam veteris industriae laudabili otio abluerat.

Fuit inter principes civitatis sine potentia, sine invidia; salutabatur, colebatur multumque, in lectulo iacens, cubiculo semper non ex fortuna frequenti doctissimis sermonibus dies transigebat, cum a scribendo vacaret. Scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio, non numquam iudicia hominum recitationibus experiebatur. Novissime ita suadentibus annis ab urbe secessit seque in Campania tenuit ac ne adventu quidem novi principis inde commotus est. Magna Caesaris laus, sub quo hoc liberum fuit, magna illius, qui hac libertate ausus est uti.

Erat φιλόκαλος usque ad emacitatis reprehensionem.

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<sup>a</sup> Trajan (98 A.D.). Not to offer him congratulations in person might have been construed as a mark of disaffection.

been extremely fortunate through the whole course of his days, excepting only the loss of his younger son; however, that was made up to him in the satisfaction of seeing his elder, who is of a more amiable character, attain the consular dignity, and of leaving him in a very flourishing situation. He suffered a little in his reputation in the time of Nero, having been suspected of forwardly joining in some of the informations which were carried on in the reign of that prince; but he made use of his intimacy with Vitellius, with great discretion and humanity. He acquired much honour by his administration of the government of Asia; and by his approved behaviour after his retirement from business, cleared his character from that stain which his former intrigues had thrown upon it.

He lived among the nobility of Rome without power, and consequently without envy. He was highly respected and much sought after, and though he was bedridden, his chamber was always thronged with visitors, who came not merely out of regard to his rank. He spent his time in philosophical discussion, when not engaged in writing verses; these he sometimes recited, in order to try the sentiments of the public, but he discovered in them more industry than genius. Lately, owing to declining years, he entirely quitted Rome, and lived altogether in Campania, from whence even the accession of the new Emperor<sup>a</sup> did not draw him. A circumstance which I mention as well to the honour of the prince, who permitted such a liberty, as of Italicus, who was not afraid to take it.

He carried his taste for objects of *virtù* so far as to incur reprehension for greedy buying. He had

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Plures isdem in locis villas possidebat adamatisque novis priores neglegebat. Multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo, verum etiam venerabatur, Vergili ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monimentum eius adire ut templum solebat.

In hac tranquillitate annum quintum et septuagensimum excessit delicato magis corpore quam infirmo; utque novissimus a Nerone factus est consul, ita postremus ex omnibus, quos Nero consules fecerat, decessit. Illud etiam notabile: ultimus ex Neronianis consularibus obiit, quo consule Nero periit. Quod me recordantem fragilitatis humanae miseratio subit. Quid enim tam circumcisum, tam breve quam hominis vita longissima? An non videtur tibi Nero modo modo fuisse? cum interim ex iis, qui sub illo gesserant consulatum, nemo iam superest. Quamquam quid hoc miror? nuper L. Piso, pater Pisonis illius, qui a Valerio Festo per summum facinus in Africa occisus est, dicere solebat neminem se videre in senatu, quem consul ipse sententiam rogavisset.

Tam angustis terminis tantae multitudinis vivacitas ipsa concluditur, ut mihi non venia solum dignae, verum etiam laude videantur illae regiae lacrimae.

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<sup>a</sup> 68 A.D.

<sup>b</sup> The number of senators, as fixed by Augustus, was 600. L. Piso was consul 27 A.D.



several villas in the same districts, and the last purchase was always the chief favourite, to the neglect of the rest. They were all furnished with large collections of books, statues and portraits, which he more than enjoyed, he even adored; above all the portrait of Virgil, whose birthday he celebrated with more solemnity than his own, especially at Naples, where he used to approach his tomb with as much reverence as if it had been a temple.

In this tranquillity he lived to the seventy-sixth year of his age, with a delicate, rather than a sickly, constitution. It is remarkable, that as he was the last person upon whom Nero conferred the consular office, so he was the last to die of all those who had been raised by him to that dignity; and again, that the last survivor of Nero's consuls was the one in whose year of office that prince was killed.<sup>a</sup> When I consider this, I cannot forbear lamenting the transitory condition of mankind. Is there anything in nature so short and limited as human life, even in its most extended period? Does it not seem to you, my friend, but yesterday that Nero was upon the throne? and yet not one of all those who were consuls in his reign now remains! But why should I wonder at a circumstance so common? Lucius Piso (the father of that Piso who was infamously assassinated by Valerius Festus in Africa) used to say he did not see one person<sup>b</sup> in the Senate whom he had called upon to speak on the motion before the house when he was consul.

Such multitudes, however strong their vitality, are swept away in so short a space! I am therefore so far from thinking those historic tears of Xerxes need

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Nam ferunt Xerxen, cum immensum exercitum oculis obisset, illacrimasse, quod tot milibus tam brevis immineret occasus. Sed tanto magis hoc, quidquid est temporis futilis et caduci, si non datur factis (nam horum materia in aliena manu), certe studiis proferamus et, quatenus nobis denegatur diu vivere, relinquamus aliquid, quo nos vixisse testemur. Scio te stimulis non egere; me tamen tui caritas evocat, ut currentem quoque instigem, sicut tu soles me. Ἀγαθὴ δ' ἔρις,<sup>1</sup> cum invicem se mutuis exhortationibus amici ad amorem immortalitatis exacuunt. Vale.

### VIII

C. PLINIUS SUETONIO TRANQUILLO SUO S.

FACIS pro cetera reverentia, quam mihi praestas, quod tam sollicite petis, ut tribunatum, quem a Neratio Marcello, clarissimo viro, impetravi tibi, in Caesennium Silvanum, propinquum tuum, transferam. Mihi autem sicut iucundissimum ipsum te

<sup>1</sup> Hes. "*Works and Days*," 24.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. in that of the Emperor, with whom rested all public appointments.

any apology, that in my judgement the story does honour to his character, which informs us, that when this prince had attentively surveyed his immense army, he could not refrain from weeping at the thought that so many thousand lives would so soon be extinct. Let us strive the more earnestly therefore to lengthen out our span of life—life that is poured out like water and falls as the leaf—if not by action (the means to which lie in another's power<sup>a</sup>), yet in any case by study and research; and since it is not granted us to live long, let us transmit to posterity some memorial that we *have* at least *lived*. I well know, you want not any incitement to virtue; but the warmth of my affection for you inclines me to forward you in the course you already pursue; as I have often found myself encouraged by your generous exhortations. "Good is the contention," when friends thus strive who shall animate each other most in their pursuit of immortal fame. Farewell.

## VIII

## TO SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS

THE obliging manner in which you desire me to confer the post of military tribune<sup>b</sup> upon your relation, which I had obtained of the most illustrious<sup>c</sup> Neratius Marcellus for yourself, is agreeable to that respect with which you always treat me. As it would have given me great pleasure to have seen

<sup>b</sup> There were six of these officers to each legion. The sons of Roman knights and senators commonly served with the army as tribunes before commencing their civil career.

<sup>c</sup> *clarissimus* was the official style of a Senator.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tribunum ita non minus gratum alium per te videre. Neque enim esse congruens arbitror, quem augere honoribus cupias, huic pietatis titulis invidere, qui sunt omnibus honoribus pulchriores. Video etiam, cum sit egregium et mereri beneficia et dare, utramque te laudem simul adsecuturum, si, quod ipse meruisti, aliis tribuas.

Praeterea intellego mihi quoque gloriae fore, si ex hoc tuo facto non fuerit ignotum amicos meos non gerere tantum tribunatus posse, verum etiam dare. Quare ego vero honestissimae voluntati tuae pareo. Neque enim adhuc nomen in numeros relatum est, ideoque liberum est nobis Silvanum in locum tuum subdere; cui cupio tam gratum esse munus tuum, quam tibi meum est. Vale.

### IX

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO MINICIANO SUO S.

Possum iam perscribere tibi, quantum in publica provinciae Baeticae causa laboris exhausserim. Nam fuit multiplex actaque est saepius cum magna varietate. Unde varietas? unde plures actiones?

Caecilius Classicus, homo foedus et aperte malus, proconsulatum in ea non minus violenter quam sordide

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<sup>a</sup> See ii. 4.

### BOOK III. viii.-ix

you in that post, so it will not be less acceptable to me to have it bestowed upon one whom you recommend. For hardly, I think, would it be consistent to wish a man advanced to honours, and yet envy him a title far nobler than any other he can receive, even that of a generous and an affectionate relation. To deserve and to grant favours is the fairest point of view in which we can be placed ; and this amiable character will be yours, if you resign to your friend what is due to your own merit.

Your action will also, I see, reflect credit on myself, as the world will learn from hence that my friends not only have it in their power to enjoy such an honourable post, but to *dispose* of it. I readily, therefore, comply with your generous request ; and as your name is not yet entered upon the roll, I can without difficulty insert Silvanus's in its stead ; and I wish your benefaction may be as acceptable to him as mine is to you. Farewell.

## IX

### TO CORNELIUS MINICIANUS

I AM now at leisure to inform you of the great fatigue I underwent in defence of the province of Baetica ;<sup>a</sup> a cause which turned upon a variety of issues, and took up several days for the separate counts. Why so, you ask ?

Caecilius Classicus was governor of Baetica, the year that Marius Priscus enjoyed the same honour in Africa. Caecilius was a man of a base, abandoned

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

gesserat eodem anno quo in Africa Marius Priscus. Erat autem Priscus ex Baetica, ex Africa Classicus. Inde dictum Baeticorum, ut plerumque dolor etiam venustos facit, non inlepidum ferebatur: 'Dedi malum, et accepi.' Sed Marium una civitas publice multique privati reum peregerunt, in Classicum tota provincia incubuit. Ille accusationem vel fortuita vel voluntaria morte praevertit. Nam fuit mors eius infamis, ambigua tamen; ut enim credibile videbatur voluisse exire de vita, cum defendi non posset, ita mirum pudorem damnationis morte fugisse, quem non puduisset damnanda committere. Nihilominus Baetica etiam in defuncti accusatione perstabat. Provisum hoc legibus, intermissum tamen et post longam intercapedinem tunc reductum. Addiderunt Baetici, quod simul socios ministrosque Classici detulerunt nominatimque in eos inquisitionem postulaverunt.

Aderam Baeticis mecumque Luceius Albinus, vir in dicendo copiosus, ornatus; quem ego cum olim mutuo diligerem, ex hac officii societate amare ardentius coepi. Habet quidem gloria, in studiis praesertim, quiddam ἀκοινωνόητον,<sup>1</sup> nobis tamen nullum

<sup>1</sup> ἀκοινωνόητον F, Müller, ἀκοινώνητον D a, Catan.

character, and exercised his authority with equal violence and rapacity. He was a native of Africa, as Priscus was of Baetica; in allusion to which the Baetici used archly to say (as resentment often gives a certain agreeable sprightliness), "we are paid in our own coin." But the difference between them was, that Marius was prosecuted by a single city, and several private persons; whereas the charge against Classicus was brought by the whole united province of Baetica. He escaped, however, the consequences of this impeachment, either by an accidental or voluntary death, I know not which. It is certain, at least, his end was disreputable, though the manner of it is doubtful; for as on the one hand it seems credible that he should have resolved to depart this life, in despair of being acquitted, so, on the other, it is surprising, that he who saw no disgrace in committing criminal offences, dies to escape the disgrace of a public conviction. Nevertheless, the Baetici persisted in going on with the prosecution, albeit of a deceased man. This form of procedure, of which the laws admit, was now, after long disuse, revived in the present instance. They went farther, and indicted the associates and the inferior officers of Classicus, and demanded an individual inquiry into the charges against each of them.

I was counsel for the province; Luceius Albinus was with me. He is a copious and elegant orator; and though we had long been mutually attached, yet being associated with him in this cause, has considerably heightened my affection for him. There is something in the pursuit of fame, especially oratorical fame, that is selfish, unsociable, and jealous of participation; but there was no rivalry

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certamen, nulla contentio, cum uterque pari iugo non pro se, sed pro causa niteretur; cuius et magnitudo et utilitas visa est postulare, ne tantum oneris singulis actionibus subiremus. Verebatur, ne nos dies, ne vox, ne latera deficerent, si tot crimina, tot reos uno velut fasce complecteremur; deinde ne iudicium intentio multis nominibus multisque causis non lassaretur modo, verum etiam confunderetur; mox ne gratia singulorum collata atque permixta pro singulis quoque vires omnium acciperet; postremo ne potentissimi vilissimo quoque quasi piaculari dato alienis poenis elaberentur. Etenim tum maxime favor et ambitio dominatur, cum sub aliqua specie severitatis delitescere potest. Erat in consilio Sertorianum illud exemplum, qui robustissimum et infirmissimum militem iussit caudam equi—reliqua nosti. Nam nos quoque tam numerosum agmen reorum ita demum videbamus posse superari, si per singulos carperetur.

Placuit in primis ipsum Classicum ostendere nocentem. Hic aptissimus ad socios eius et ministros transitus erat, quia socii ministrique probari nisi illo nocente non poterant; ex quibus duos

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<sup>a</sup> The story, as related by Valerius Maximus, is to this purpose: Sertorius being proscribed by Sylla, put himself at the head of the Lusitani. These people upon a certain occasion, were for attacking at once the whole Roman army, greatly superior to them in numbers. Sertorius endeavoured to dissuade them, by all the arguments in his power, from so rash a purpose; but finding his oratory prevailed nothing, he ordered two horses to be brought before him, and calling



between us, and we united our joint efforts in the management of this cause, without going into any separate or private views of our own. We thought the point in question was of too much importance, and of too complicated a nature, for each of us to be limited to a single speech. We were apprehensive we should neither have voice and breath, nor time to make good so many charges against so many parties, if we made one fagot of them, so to speak. Such a variety of persons and facts would be apt to confound, as well as weary, the attention of the judges. Again, by this collective indictment, all the defendants would benefit by the popularity of some of their number. Finally, the most powerful parties might get off by making scapegoats of their most inconsiderable co-defendants; for partiality never exerts itself with more success than when it is concealed under the specious appearance of severity. We remembered the well known advice of Sertorius, who directed the strongest soldier to tear off the horse's tail at once, and the weakest to pull it off hair by hair. But you know the rest of the story.<sup>a</sup> In the same manner we thought we had no other way to cope with such a numerous body of culprits, but by attacking them singly.

Our first and principal point was to prove Classicus guilty, which would prepare the way to his accomplices; for till that was done, it would not be possible to fix anything upon them. Amongst these

a young lusty soldier, and a worn-out veteran, he directed the former to pull off the horse's tail at once, and the other by degrees. The consequence was, the young man exerted all his strength in vain, while the old fellow performed his task. (Melm.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

statim Classico iunximus, Baebium Probum et Fabium Hispanum, utrumque gratia, Hispanum etiam facundia validum. Et circa Classicum quidem brevis et expeditus labor. Sua manu reliquerat scriptum, quid ex quaque re, quid ex quaque causa accepisset. Miserat etiam epistulas Romam ad amiculum quandam iactantes et gloriosas his quidem verbis: 'Io io, liber ad te venio; iam sestertium quadragies redege parte vendita Baeticorum.' Circa Hispanum et Probum multum sudoris. Horum ante quam crimina ingrederer, necessarium credidi elaborare, ut constaret ministerium crimen esse; quod nisi effecissem, frustra ministros probassem. Neque enim ita defendebantur, ut negarent, sed ut necessitati veniam precarentur; esse enim se provinciales et ad omne proconsulum imperium metu cogi.

Solet dicere Claudius Restitutus, qui mihi respondit, vir exercitatus et vigilans et quamlibet subitis paratus, numquam sibi tantum caliginis, tantum perturbationis offusum, quam cum praerepta et extorta defensionis suae cerneret, in quibus omnem fiduciam reponebat. Consilii nostri exitus fuit: bona Classici, quae habuisset ante provinciam, placuit senatui a reliquis separari, illa filiae, haec spoliatis relinqui. Additum est, ut pecuniae, quas

we singled out Baebius and Probus, and Fabius Hispanus, whom we thought proper to join with Classicus; these persons were considerable by their interest, and Hispanus in particular by his eloquence. There was no difficulty in proving the charge against Classicus, for there was found among his papers an account under his own hand of the several sums he had taken, and upon what occasions. A boastful, exultant letter was also produced which he sent to one of his mistresses at Rome, wherein he expresses himself in these words: "Huzza! Huzza! I am coming back to you solvent, having raised four millions of sesterces upon the Baetici." But it cost us much exertion to make good the articles against Hispanus and Probus. Before entering on the particular charges against them, I thought it needful to establish by argument that their having been accessories was in itself criminal, otherwise it would be useless to prove that they were accessories. Their defence was not based on denial of the fact, but on the plea of compulsion; they alleging that as provincials fear of the Proconsul obliged them to obey his orders.

Claudius Restitutus, their counsel, though experienced, vigilant, and equal to all emergencies, assures everyone he was never more perplexed and confounded than when he perceived I had forestalled and demolished the defence, in which he had placed all his confidence. The result of my plan was, the Senate decreed that the effects Classicus possessed before he went into his government should be deducted from his estate, and given to his daughter; the overplus to be divided among the victims of his spoliation. The decree added further that his

creditoribus solverat, revocarentur. Hispanus et Probus in quinquennium relegati. Adeo grave visum est, quod initio dubitabatur an omnino crimen esset.

Post paucos dies Claudium<sup>1</sup> Fuscum, Classici generum, et Stilonium Priscum, qui tribunus cohortis sub Classico fuerat, accusavimus dispari eventu; Prisco in biennium Italia interdictum, absolutus est Fuscus. Actione tertia commodissimum putavimus plures congregare, ne, si longius esset extracta cognitio, satietate et taedio quodam iustitia cognoscentium severitasque languesceret; et alioqui supererant minores rei data opera hunc in locum reservati, excepta tamen Classici uxore, quae sicut implicita suspicionibus ita non satis convinci probationibus visa est. Nam Classici filia, quae et ipsa inter reos erat, ne suspicionibus quidem haerebat. Itaque, cum ad nomen eius in extrema actione venissem (neque enim ut initio sic etiam in fine verendum erat, ne per hoc totius accusationis auctoritas minueretur), honestissimum credidi non premere immerentem idque ipsum dixi et libere et varie. Nam modo legatos interrogabam, docuissentne me aliquid, quod re probari posse confiderent, modo consilium a senatu petebam, putaretne debere me, si quam haberem in dicendo facultatem, in iugulum innocentis quasi telum aliquod intendere; postremo totum locum hoc fine conclusi:

<sup>1</sup> Claudium *Fp*, Müller, Clavium *a*, Cluvium *D*, *K*<sup>2</sup>.

creditors should refund whatever moneys they had received since his return. Hispanus and Probus were sentenced to be banished for five years; so very atrocious did that conduct now appear, which seemed at first to be doubted whether it was criminal at all.

A few days afterwards we proceeded against Cluvius Fuscus son-in-law to Classicus, and Stilonius Priscus, who commanded a troop under him; but the issue was unequal, for the former was acquitted, and the latter banished Italy for two years. At the third hearing, we thought it advisable to join several accomplices in one general charge, lest by protracting this inquiry any longer, the justice and firmness of the Court should flag through a sort of surfeit and disgust. And anyhow only the lesser defendants were left, having been designedly reserved for this stage; I must except, however, the wife of Classicus, but she, though strongly suspected, was not found guilty on the evidence. For as to his daughter, who was likewise among the defendants she was not even under suspicion. When, therefore, on the conclusion of my speech I was to take notice of her, I thought 'twas the honourable thing not to bear hard upon one who deserved it not, and expressed that opinion freely and in several ways, as there was now no danger that this would weaken my whole case, as it would have done if I had begun with it. For I inquired of the delegates, whether they could acquaint me with anything against her, which they thought they could prove; next appealed to the senate whether I ought to aim my eloquence, if in truth I had any, javelin-wise, at an innocent heart: and I concluded with saying,

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‘Dicet aliquis, “Iudicas ergo?” Ego vero non iudico, memini tamen me advocatum ex iudicibus datum.’

Hic numerosissimae causae terminus fuit quibusdam absolutis, pluribus damnatis atque etiam relegatis, aliis in tempus, aliis in perpetuum. Eodem senatus consulto industria, fides, constantia nostra plenissimo testimonio comprobata est, dignum solumque par pretium tanti laboris. Concipere animo potes, quam sinus fatigati, quibus totiens agendum, totiens altercandum, tam multi testes interrogandi, sublevandi, refutandi. Iam illa quam ardua, quam molesta, tot reorum amicis secreto rogantibus negare, adversantibus palam obsistere! Referam unum aliquid ex iis, quae dixi. Cum mihi quidam e iudicibus ipsis pro reo gratiosissimo reclamarent, ‘Non minus,’ inquam, ‘hic innocens erit, si ego omnia dixero.’ Coniectabis ex hoc, quantas contentiones, quantas etiam offensas subierimus dumtaxat ad breve tempus; nam fides in praesentia eos, quibus resistit, offendit, deinde ab illis ipsis suspicitur laudaturque.

Non potui magis te in rem praesentem perducere. Dices: ‘Non fuit tanti; quid enim mihi cum tam longa epistula?’ Nolito ergo identidem quaerere, quid Romae geratur. Et tamen memento esse non

"But perhaps I shall be asked if I take upon myself to act as a juror. By no means; I bear in mind, however, that I am an advocate appointed from amidst that venerable body."

Thus ended this cause, in which so many parties were concerned, some of whom were acquitted, but the greater number convicted, and, what is more, sentenced, some to perpetual, others to a term of exile. The Senate, in the same decree, amply testified their approbation of our diligent, honourable, and resolute conduct as counsel—the fit, and adequate reward for so laborious a task. You will easily conceive the fatigue we underwent in speaking and debating so long and so often, and in examining, assisting, and confuting such a number of witnesses; not to mention the difficulties and annoyance of withstanding the private solicitations, and public opposition of the defendants' friends. To give you only one instance: some of the jurors themselves, who thought I pressed too hard upon a defendant they favoured, called me to order; "Give me leave," said I, "to go on; for when I have said all I can, he will still be as innocent as he was before." From hence you will collect what a scene of contention I went through, and what enemies I brought upon myself. However, it is but for a short season. For though honesty may, for the time being, offend those it opposes; yet it will at last be justified and admired, even by the very persons who suffer from it.

Thus I have laid before you, in the clearest manner I am able, this whole transaction. You will regret, perhaps, the reading so long a letter, and tell me it was scarce worth the trouble. Ask me then no more what is doing at Rome! And yet remember

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

epistulam longam, quae tot dies, tot cognitiones, tot denique reos causasque complexa sit. Quae omnia videor mihi non minus breviter quam diligenter persecutus. Temere dixi 'diligenter'; succurrit, quod praeterieram, et quidem sero, sed, quamquam praepostere, reddetur. Facit hoc Homerus multique illius exemplo, est alioqui perdecorum, a me tamen non ideo fiet.

E testibus quidam sive iratus, quod evocatus esset invitus, sive subornatus ab aliquo reorum, ut accusationem exarmaret, Norbanum Licinianum, legatum et inquisitorem, reum postulavit, tamquam in causa Castae (uxor haec Classici) praevaricaretur. Est lege cautum, ut reus ante peragatur, tunc de praevaricatore quaeratur, quia optime ex accusatione ipsa accusatoris fides aestimatur. Norbano tamen non ordo legis, non legati nomen, non inquisitionis officium praesidio fuit; tanta conflagravit invidia homo alioqui flagitiosus et Domitiani temporibus usus ut multi electusque tunc a provincia ad inquirendum non tamquam bonus et fidelis, sed tamquam Classici inimicus. Erat ab illo relegatus.

Dari sibi diem et edi crimina<sup>1</sup> postulabat. Neutrum impetravit, coactus est statim respondere;

<sup>1</sup> diem et edi crimina, *Bipons, K*, diem edi cr. *D*, idem et edi cr. *MF*, diem ad diluenda cr. *Fpra, Müller*.

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<sup>a</sup> cf. Cic. *ad. Att.* i. 16: *respondebo tibi ὅσπερον πρότερον, Ὀμηρικῶς*. The allusion is to Homer's plunging in *medias res* (Horace, *Ars Poet.* 147) by beginning the *Iliad* with an episode in the 10th year of the siege, while previous events are told incidentally in later books. The rhetorical term for this device was ὅσπερον πρότερον.

<sup>b</sup> *Inquisitores* were persons officially appointed to get together the evidence in a case.



that considering how many days and inquiries, how many defendants and their several trials my letter deals with, it is not really a long one. I venture to think I have related the whole with as much brevity as exactness. Nay, I must recall that last word; for I perceive, a little too late indeed, that I have omitted something. However, I will mention it here, though in inverted sequence. This is the practice of Homer,<sup>a</sup> and imitated by many poets; and indeed this irregular manner has its beauties, not that I shall adopt it for that reason.

One of the witnesses whether angry at being called against his will, or suborned by a defendant to invalidate the charge, desired leave to impeach Norbanus Licinianus, a delegate and commissioner,<sup>b</sup> for having prevaricated<sup>c</sup> in his charge against Casta, the wife of Classicus. The law provides that a trial must be concluded before an action for prevarication can lie against the prosecutor, because his *bona fides* can best be judged from the prosecution itself. But so extremely odious was Norbanus, that neither the legal order of procedure, nor his being a delegate and commissioner, could protect him; for he was otherwise of infamous character, and, like many others, had taken advantage of the evils of Domitian's reign. He was chosen commissioner by the province, not because they had any opinion of his integrity, but as hostile to Classicus, by whom he had been banished.

Norbanus asked to have time allowed him, and a copy of the indictment. Both which were refused, and he was ordered to answer immediately to the

<sup>c</sup> i.e. wilfully defeated his own case, by collusion with the defendant. See i. 20, n.

respondit, malum pravumque ingenium hominis facit ut dubitem, confidenter an constanter, certe paratissime. Obiecta sunt multa, quae magis quam praevaricatio nocuerunt. Quin etiam duo consulares, Pomponius Rufus et Libo Frugi, laeserunt eum testimonio, tamquam apud iudicem sub Domitiano Salvii Liberalis accusatoribus adfuisset. Damnatus et in insulam relegatus est.

Itaque, cum Castam accusarem, nihil magis pressi, quam quod accusator eius praevaricationis crimine corruisset; pressi tamen frustra; accidit enim res contraria et nova, ut accusatore praevaricationis damnato rea absolveretur. Quaeris, quid nos, dum haec aguntur? Indicavimus senatui ex Norbano didicisse nos publicam causam rursusque debere ex integro discere, si ille praevaricator probaretur, atque ita, dum ille peragitur reus, sedimus. Postea Norbanus omnibus diebus cognitionis interfuit eandemque usque ad extremum vel constantiam vel audaciam pertulit.

Interrogo ipse me, an aliquid omiserim rursus, et rursus paene omisi. Summo die Salvius Liberalis reliquos legatos graviter increpuit, tamquam non omnes, quos mandasset provincia, reos peregissent, atque, ut est vehemens et disertus, in discrimen adduxit. Protexi viros optimos eosdemque gratissi-

charge. He did so; when I consider his depraved character, I know not whether I should say with assurance, or firmness, but undoubtedly with great readiness. There were many things alleged against him, much more damaging than the charge of prevarication. Two ex-consuls, Pomponius Rufus, and Libo Frugi, gave the damning evidence that in the reign of Domitian he was counsel for the prosecutors of Salvius Liberalis. He was found guilty, and sentenced to exile in an island.

When, therefore, I had to charge Casta, I laid the greatest stress on the fact that her accuser had broken down in his case by collusion. But I urged this to no purpose; for against all reason and precedent, the accused was acquitted, though her accuser had been convicted of collusion with her. You will be curious to be informed how we acted in this conjuncture. We acquainted the Senate, that as we had received our briefs in a public prosecution from Norbanus, we could not, if he should be convicted of collusion, proceed without new ones; and accordingly we sat through his trial without intervening. When this was over, Norbanus daily attended in Court, and preserved the same resolution, or impudence, to the last.

And here, upon interrogating myself, I find I have been almost guilty of another omission. I should have told you that on the last day Salvius Liberalis inveighed strongly against the rest of the delegates, on the ground that they had not brought to justice all the parties they were commissioned by the province to prosecute. As he is a man of great impetuosity and eloquence, he put them in a dangerous position. But I protected those worthy men, whom I found

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mos; mihi certe debere se praedicant, quod illum turbinem evaserint. Hic erit epistolae finis, re vera finis; litteram non addam, etiamsi adhuc aliquid praeterisse me sensero. Vale.

### X

C. PLINIUS VESTRICIO SPURINNAE SUO ET COTTIAE S.

COMPOSUISSE me quaedam de filio vestro non dixi vobis, cum proxime apud vos fui, primum quia non ideo scripseram, ut dicerem, sed ut meo amori, meo dolori satisfacerem, deinde quia te, Spurinna, cum audisses recitasse me, ut mihi ipse dixisti, quid recitassem, simul audisse credebam. Praeterea veritus sum, ne vos festis diebus confunderem, si in memoriam gravissimi luctus reduxissem. Nunc quoque paulisper haesitavi, id solum, quod recitavi, mitterem exigentibus vobis an adicerem, quae in aliud volumen cogito reservare. Neque enim adfectibus meis uno libello carissimam mihi et sanctissimam memoriam prosecui satis est, cuius famae latius consuletur, si dispensata et digesta fuerit.

Verum haesitanti mihi, omnia, quae iam composui, vobis exhiberem an adhuc aliqua differrem, simplicius

### BOOK III. ix.-x

most grateful, too ; for they declare I saved them from the storm with which they were threatened. And now, my friend, I will put an end to my letter in good earnest ; and will not detain you with adding a syllable more, even though I should find some circumstances have still escaped me. Farewell.

#### X

#### TO SPURINNA AND COTTIA

I DID not, it is true, acquaint you, at my last visit, that I had composed something in praise of your son ; because it was not written for the sake of ostentation, but merely as a private tribute of affection to his memory, and as a consolation to me in my concern for the loss of him. Besides, my dear Spurinna, as you told me you heard I had recited, I imagined you were informed at the same time of the subject ; and I was unwilling to cast a gloom upon your cheerfulness in that season of gaiety in which I found you, by recalling to your remembrance so severe a misfortune. I have even still some doubt, whether I should only send you both, upon your request, what I then recited, or join with it what I design for another essay : for a single tract was not only insufficient to give due scope to the sentiments of my heart, and to comprise the full offerings I would pay to one whose memory I so infinitely love and honour ; but it seemed also more for the interest of his fame, to have it thus spread by separate pieces.

But the consideration, that it will be treating you with a more friendly openness to transmit to you the whole now, rather than reserve part of it to another

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et amicus visum est omnia, praecipue cum adfirmetis intra vos futura, donec placeat emittere. Quod superest, rogo, ut pari simplicitate, si qua existimabitis addenda, commutanda, omittenda, indicetis mihi. Difficile est hucusque intendere animum in dolore; difficile, sed tamen, ut sculptorem, ut pictorem, qui filii vestri imaginem faceret, admoneretis, quid exprimere, quid emendare deberet, ita me quoque formate, regite, qui non fragilem et caducam, sed immortalem, ut vos putatis, effigiem conor efficere; quae hoc diuturnior erit, quo verior, melior, absolutior fuerit. Valete.

### XI

C. PLINIUS JULIO GENITORI SUO S.

Est omnino Artemidori nostri tam benigna natura, ut officia amicorum in maius extollat. Inde etiam meum meritum ut vera ita supra meritum praedicatione circumfert. Equidem, cum essent philosophi ab urbe summoti, fui apud illum in suburbano et, quo notabilius hoc periculosiusque esset, fui praetor. Pecuniam etiam, qua tunc ille. ampliore opus erat, ut aes alienum exsolveret contractum ex pulcherrimis

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<sup>a</sup> Nothing is known of him except from this letter.

<sup>b</sup> By Domitian, in 93 A.D.

time, has determined me to do so ; especially as you have assured me you will not part with it out of your hands, till I think proper to send it abroad. I beg you would give me an instance of the same unreserved freedom, by pointing out to me what you shall judge would be best altered, omitted, or added. It is difficult (and I know it by what I feel myself) for a mind in affliction to attend to such little cares. However, as you would direct a painter or statuary who was representing the figure of your son, what parts he should retouch or express, so I hope you will guide and inform my hand in this more durable, or (as you are pleased to think it) this immortal picture of his mind, which I am endeavouring to draw : for the nearer it shall resemble the original, and the more finished it shall be, so much the more lasting it is likely to prove. Farewell.

## XI

## TO JULIUS GENITOR

It is the generous disposition of Artemidorus<sup>a</sup> to heighten the good offices of his friends ; hence, though I have really obliged him, he gives people an exaggerated account of his obligation. It is true, indeed, when the philosophers were expelled Rome,<sup>b</sup> I went to see him at his house near the city, and I ran the greater hazard in paying him that visit, as I was at that time Praetor. I likewise presented him with a considerable sum to discharge some debts he had contracted upon very glorious occasions, though I was obliged to borrow the money myself ; while certain other friends, who both in power and fortune

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

causis, mussantibus magnis quibusdam et locupletibus amicis mutuatus ipse gratuitam dedi. Atque haec feci, cum septem amicis meis aut occisis aut relegatis, occisis Senecione, Rustico, Helvidio, relegatis Maurico, Gratilla, Arria, Fannia, tot circa me iactis fulminibus quasi ambustus mihi quoque impendere idem exitium certis quibusdam notis augurarer. Non ideo tamen eximiam gloriam meruisse me, ut ille praedicat, credo, sed tantum effugisse flagitium.

Nam et C. Musonium, socerum eius, quantum licitum est per aetatem, cum admiratione dilexi et Artemidorum ipsum iam tum, cum in Syria tribunus militarem, arta familiaritate complexus sum idque primum non nullius indolis dedi specimen, quod virum aut sapientem aut proximum simillimumque sapienti intellegere sum visus. Nam ex omnibus, qui nunc se philosophos vocant, vix unum aut alterum invenies tanta sinceritate, tanta veritate. Mitto, qua patientia corporis hiemes iuxta et aestates ferat, ut nullis laboribus cedat, ut nihil in cibo aut potu voluptatibus tribuat, ut oculos animumque contineat. Sunt haec magna, sed in alio, in hoc vero minima, si ceteris virtutibus comparentur, quibus meruit, ut a C. Musonio ex omnibus omnium ordinum adsectatoribus gener adsumeretur.

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<sup>a</sup> An eminent teacher of Stoicism, fragments of whose works are extant. He suffered banishment to an island under Nero (65 A.D.), but spent his later years in Rome, and was specially excepted when Vespasian banished all philosophers from the city (71 A.D.).



were capable of assisting him, dared not come forward. This I did though I had before my eyes the sufferings of seven of my friends; Senecio, Rusticus, and Helvidius being just then put to death, at the same time that Mauricus, Gratilla, Arria, and Fannia were sent into exile. And scorched as I was with the lightning of the State, which thus flashed round me, I had great reason to expect it would not be long before it destroyed me too. But I do not esteem myself upon that account as meriting the high encomiums my friend bestows upon me; all I pretend to is, that I was not guilty of the infamous meanness of abandoning him in his misfortunes.

I had, as far as the difference of our ages would admit, a friendship for his father-in-law Musonius,<sup>a</sup> whom I both loved and esteemed. Artemidorus himself I made acquaintance with when I was military tribune in Syria, where I entered into the strictest intimacy with him. And 'twas the first mark I gave of being not without parts, that I understood his character, who, if he is not a wise man,<sup>b</sup> is next door to one; I am sure at least, of all those who now call themselves philosophers, you will scarce find one so genuine and sincere. I forbear to mention how patient he is of heat and cold, how indefatigable in labour, how indifferent to the pleasures of the table; what strict guard he keeps over his eyes and thoughts; for these qualities, considerable as they would certainly be in any other, are eclipsed in him, by the superior lustre of those other virtues which recommended him to Musonius for a son-in-law, in preference to so many other suitors of all ranks.

<sup>a</sup> The Stoics held that their ideal of the Wise, or Perfect, Man had never been realised, even by Socrates.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Quae mihi recordanti est quidem iucundum, quod me cum apud alios tum apud te tantis laudibus cumulat, vereor tamen, ne modum excedat, quem benignitas eius (illuc enim, unde coepi, revertor) non solet tenere. Nam in hoc uno interdum vir alioqui prudentissimus honesto quidem, sed tamen errore versatur, quod pluris amicos suos, quam sunt, arbitratur. Vale.

### XII

C. PLINIUS CATILIO SEVERO SUO S.

VENIAM ad cenam, sed iam nunc paciscor, sit expedita, sit parca, Socraticis tantum sermonibus abundet, in his quoque teneat modum. Erunt officia antelucana, in quae incidere impune ne Catoni quidem licuit, quem tamen C. Caesar ita reprehendit, ut laudet. Scribit enim eos, quibus obvius fuerit,<sup>1</sup> cum caput ebrii retexissent, erubuisse; deinde adicit: 'Putares non ab illis Catonem, sed illos a Catone deprehensos.' Potuitne plus auctoritatis tribui Catoni, quam si ebrius quoque tam venerabilis erat? Nostrae tamen cenae ut apparatus et impen-

<sup>1</sup> fuerit *FD Ricc. a, K*, fuerat *M Vr*.

<sup>a</sup> Part of a client's duty towards his patron was to attend his *levée*, which was commonly held at daybreak. The story seems to have been that Cato, going home drunk, was stopped and recognised by persons bound on this errand.

I cannot therefore but be highly sensible of the advantageous terms in which he speaks of me to everybody, and particularly to you. But I am apprehensive (to return to the observation with which I set out) that the warmth of his generous benevolence may carry him beyond the bounds I deserve : for he, who is so free from all other errors, is extremely apt to fall into this good-natured one, of over-rating the merit of his friends. Farewell.

## XII

## TO CATILIUS SEVERUS

I ACCEPT of your invitation to supper ; but I must make this agreement beforehand, that you dismiss me soon, and treat me frugally. Let our table abound only in philosophical conversation, and let us enjoy even that within limits. There are those early morning callers to think of, whom Cato himself could not safely fall in with<sup>a</sup> ; though I must confess that Julius Caesar, when he reproaches him upon that head, exalts the character he endeavours to expose :<sup>b</sup> for he describes those persons who met this reeling patriot, as blushing when they discovered who he was ; and adds, “ you would have thought that Cato had detected them, and not they Cato.” Could he place the dignity of Cato in a stronger light, than by representing him thus venerable even in his cups ? As for ourselves nevertheless,

<sup>b</sup> Soon after Cato's suicide at Utica, Cicero published a panegyric on him, to which Caesar, though in the middle of a campaign, found time to write a rejoinder—the “ Anti-Cato,” in two books, depreciating Cato, while complimenting Cicero.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

dii sic temporis modus constet. Neque enim ii sumus, quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possint, nisi ut simul laudent. Vale.

### XIII

C. PLINIUS VOCONIO ROMANO SUO S.

LIBRUM, quo nuper optimo principi consul gratias egi, misi exigenti tibi missurus, etsi non exegisses. In hoc consideres velim ut pulchritudinem materiae ita difficultatem. In ceteris enim lectorem novitas ipsa intentum habet, in hac nota, vulgata dicta sunt omnia; quo fit, ut quasi otiosus securusque lector tantum elocutioni vacet, in qua satisfacere difficilius est, cum sola aestimatur. Atque utinam ordo saltem et transitus et figurae simul spectarentur! Nam invenire praeclare, enuntiare magnifice interdum etiam barbari solent, disponere apte, figurare varie nisi eruditis negatum est. Nec vero adfectanda sunt semper elata et excelsa. Nam, ut in pictura lumen non alia res magis quam umbra commendat, ita orationem tam summittere quam attollere decet.

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<sup>a</sup> See Introduction.

let temperance not only spread our table, but regulate our hours : for *we* are not arrived at so high a reputation, that our enemies cannot censure us but to our honour. Farewell.

## XIII

## To VOCONIUS ROMANUS

I HAVE sent you, as you desired, my late speech of thanks to our most excellent Emperor<sup>a</sup> on my appointment to the consulship ; and I intended to have done so, though you had not requested it. I could wish when you peruse it, you would consider the difficulty, as well as the dignity, of the subject. In other compositions, where the reader is not acquainted with the subject, the mere novelty of it engages his attention ; but in a topic so trite and hackneyed as this, he has nothing to divert him from considering the style and manner of his author, which he is at full leisure to contemplate : and the writer has a hard task to please his readers, when the whole force of their criticism is directed to that single point. But I should be glad they *would* have in view the disposition, the figures, and connections I have observed in this discourse. A strong imagination, and grandiose expression will sometimes break out in the most unpolished writer ; but regularity in the plan of a work, and propriety in the figures, are the distinguishing mark and particular privilege of an improved genius. And yet the lofty and the elevated are not always to be affected. For as shades in a picture best bring out the high lights, so the plain and simple style in writing is as effective as the sublime.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Sed quid ego haec doctissimo viro? quin potius illud: adnota, quae putaveris corrigenda. Ita enim magis credam cetera tibi placere, si quaedam displicuisse cognovero. Vale.

### XIV

C. PLINIUS ACILIO SUO S.

REM atrocem nec tantum epistula dignam Larcus<sup>1</sup> Macedo, vir praetorius, a servis suis passus est, superbus alioqui dominus et saevus, et qui servisse patrem suum parum, immo nimium meminisset.

Lavabatur in villa Formiana. Repente eum servi circumstant; alius fauces invadit, alius os verberat, alius pectus et ventrem, atque etiam, foedum dictu, verenda contundit; et, cum exanimem putarent, abiciunt in fervens pavimentum, ut experirentur, an viveret. Ille, sive quia non sentiebat, sive quia se non sentire simulabat, immobilis et extentus fidem peractae mortis implevit. Tum demum quasi aestu solutus effertur; excipiunt servi

<sup>1</sup> Larcus *D.*, *Mommsen*, *Largius vulg.*

But I forget that I am talking to one who is so complete a judge of these matters ! I should rather beg of you to point out to me what you shall think requires correction : for if I find you dislike some parts, I shall be more inclined to believe you approve of the rest. Farewell.

## XIV

## To ACILIUS

THE horrid barbarity which the slaves of Larcus Macedo, a person of Praetorian rank, lately exercised upon their master, is so extremely tragical, that it deserves to be the subject of something more considerable than a private letter ; though at the same time it must be acknowledged, there was a haughtiness and severity in his treatment of them, which shewed him little—nay, I should rather say, *too*—mindful that his own father was once in the same station.

They suddenly surrounded him as he was bathing at his villa near Formiae ; one seized him by the throat, another struck him on the face, yet others trampled upon his breast, his belly, and actually, shocking to relate, on a part I forbear to name. When they imagined him senseless, they threw him upon the boiling-hot pavement of the bath, to try if there was any remaining life left in him. He lay there stretched out, and motionless, either as really senseless, or counterfeiting to be so ; upon which they concluded him actually dead. In this condition they brought him out, pretending that he had fainted away by the heat of the bath. Some of his more trusty servants received him, and the alarm being

fideliore, concubinae cum ululatu et clamore concurrunt. Ita et vocibus excitatus et recreatus loci frigore sublatis oculis agitatoque corpore vivere se (et iam tutum erat) confitetur. Diffugiunt servi; quorum magna pars comprehensa est, ceteri requiruntur. Ipse paucis diebus aegre fucilatus non sine ultionis solacio decessit ita vivus vindicatus, ut occisi solent.

Vides, quot periculis, quot contumeliis, quot ludibriis simus obnoxii; nec est, quod quisquam possit esse securus, quia sit remissus et mitis; non enim iudicio domini, sed scelere perimuntur. Verum haec hactenus.

Quid praeterea novi? quid? nihil; alioqui subiungerem; nam et charta adhuc superest, et dies feriatus patitur plura contexi. Addam, quod opportune de eodem Macedone succurrit. Cum in publico Romae lavaretur, notabilis atque etiam, ut exitus docuit, ominosa res accidit. Eques Romanus a servo eius, ut transitum daret, manu leviter admonitus convertit se nec servum, a quo erat tactus, sed ipsum Macedonem tam graviter palma percussit, ut paene concideret. Ita balineum illi quasi per gradus quosdam primum contumeliae locus, deinde exitii fuit. Vale.



spread through the family, his mistresses ran to him with the most violent shrieks. The noise of their cries, together with the fresh air, brought him a little to himself, and he gave signs (as he now safely might) that he was not quite dead, by motion of his eyes and limbs. The slaves fled in various directions, but the greater part of them are taken, and search is being made for the rest. With much difficulty, he was kept alive for a few days, and then expired; but not before he had the consolation of seeing his murder avenged while he yet lived.

Thus you see to what indignities, outrages, and dangers we are exposed. Nor is lenity and good treatment any security from the villainies of your servants; for it is malice, and not reflection that arms such ruffians against their masters. So much for this piece of news.

But you will ask, I imagine, "Is this all the news?" In truth it is; otherwise, you should have it; for my paper and my time too (as it is a holyday with me) will allow me to add more. Upon recollection, however, I can tell you one farther circumstance relating to Macedo, which just now occurs to me. As he was once in a public bath at Rome, a remarkable, and (as it should seem by the manner of his death) an ominous accident happened to him. A slave of Macedo's, in order to make way for his master, laid his hand gently upon a Roman knight, who, suddenly turning round, by mistake gave not him, but Macedo so violent a cuff, that he almost knocked him down. Thus the bath seems to have been fatal to him by a kind of gradation; for first he received an indignity, and afterwards lost his life there. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XV

C. PLINIUS SILIO PROCULO SUO S.

PETIS, ut libellos tuos in secessu legam, examinemque, an editione sint digni, adhibes preces, adlegas exemplum; rogas etiam, ut aliquid subsecivi temporis studiis meis subtraham, impertiam tuis, adicis M. Tullium mira benignitate poëtarum ingenia fovisse. Sed ego nec rogandus sum nec hortandus; nam et poëticen ipsam religiosissime veneror et te validissime diligo. Faciam ergo, quod desideras, tam diligenter quam libenter.

Videor autem iam nunc posse rescribere esse opus pulchrum nec suppressendum, quantum aestimare licuit ex his, quae me praesente recitasti, si modo mihi non imposuit recitatio tua; legis enim suavissime et peritissime. Confido tamen me non sic auribus duci, ut omnes aculei iudicii mei illarum delenimentis refringantur; hebetentur fortasse et paululum retundantur, evelli quidem extorquerique non possunt. Igitur non temere iam nunc de universitate pronuntio, de partibus experiar legendo. Vale.

## TO SILIUS PROCULUS

You desire me to read your poems in my retirement, and to examine whether they are fit for a public view; you put in a petition, and quote a precedent; for after requesting me to turn some of my leisure hours from my own studies to yours, you remind me that Tully was remarkable for his generous encouragement and patronage of poetical geniuses. But you did not do me justice if you supposed I wanted either entreaty or example upon this occasion, who not only honour the Muse with the most religious regard, but have also the warmest friendship for yourself: I shall therefore do what you require, with as much pleasure as care.

But I believe I may venture to reply off-hand that your performance is extremely beautiful and ought by no means to be suppressed, so far as I could judge those parts which I heard you recite: if indeed your manner did not impose upon me; for the skill and harmony of your elocution is certainly superlative. I trust, however, I was not so enthralled by the pleasure my ear received, as that my critical faculty was wholly destroyed; it might possibly be a little weakened and blunted, but could not, at any rate, be completely extirpated. I think therefore I may now safely pronounce my opinion of your poems in general; what they are in their several parts, I shall judge when I read them. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XVI

C. PLINIUS NEPOTI SUO S.

ADNOTASSE videor facta dictaque virorum feminarumque illustrium alia clariora esse, alia maiora. Confirmata est opinio mea hesterno Fanniae sermone. Neptis haec Arriae illius, quae marito et solacium mortis et exemplum fuit. Multa referebat aviae suae non minora hoc, sed obscuriora; quae tibi existimo tam mirabilia legenti fore, quam mihi audienti fuerunt.

Aegrotabat Caecina Paetus, maritus eius, aegrotabat et filius, uterque mortifere, ut videbatur. Filius decessit eximia pulchritudine, pari verecundia et parentibus non minus ob alia carus, quam quod filius erat. Huic illa ita funus paravit, ita duxit exsequias, ut ignoraret maritus; quin immo, quotiens cubiculum eius intraret, vivere filium atque etiam commodiorem esse simulabat ac persaepe interroganti, quid ageret puer, respondebat, 'Bene quievit, libenter cibum sumpsit.' Deinde, cum diu cohibitae lacrimae vincerent prorumperentque, egrediebatur; tum se dolori dabat; satiata siccis oculis composito vultu redibat,

## XVI

## TO NEPOS

METHINKS I have observed, that amongst the actions and sayings of distinguished persons in either sex, those which have been most celebrated have not always been the most illustrious; and I am confirmed in this opinion, by a conversation I had yesterday with Fannia. This lady is granddaughter to that celebrated Arria, who gave her husband not only consolation, but an example, in the hour of death. She informed me of several particulars relating to Arria, not less heroical than this famous action of hers, tho' not so well-known; which I am persuaded will raise your admiration as much when you read, as they did mine when I heard them.

Arria's husband, Caecina Paetus, and her son, were both at the same time attacked with a seemingly mortal illness, of which the son died. This youth, who had a most beautiful person and was as modest as he was beautiful, had endeared himself to his parents no less by his other claims on their affection than by his relation to them. His mother managed his funeral so privately that Paetus did not know of his death; nay, more, whenever she came into his bed-chamber, she pretended her son was better; and as often as he inquired after his health, would answer that he had rested well, or had eaten with an appetite. When she found she could no longer restrain her grief, but her tears were gushing out, she would leave the room, and having given vent to her passion, return again with dry eyes and a serene countenance, as if she had dismissed every

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tamquam orbitatem foris reliquisset. Praeclarum quidem illud eiusdem, ferrum stringere, perfodere pectus, extrahere pugionem, porrigere marito, addere vocem immortalem ac paene divinam: 'Paete, non dolet.' Sed tamen ista facienti dicentique gloria et aeternitas ante oculos erant; quo maius est sine praemio aeternitatis, sine praemio gloriae abdere lacrimas, operire luctum amissoque filio matrem adhuc agere.

Scribonianus arma, in Illyrico contra Claudium moverat; fuerat Paetus in partibus, occiso Scriboniano Romam trahebatur. Erat ascensurus navem. Arria milites orabat, ut simul imponeretur. 'Nempe enim,' inquit, 'daturi estis consulari viro servulos aliquos, quorum e manu cibum capiat, a quibus vestiatur, a quibus calcietur: omnia sola praestabo.' Non impetravit; conduxit piscatoriam naviculam ingensque navigium minimo secuta est. Eadem apud Claudium uxori Scriboniani, cum illa profiteretur indicium, 'Ego,' inquit, 'te audiam, cuius in gremio Scribonianus occisus est, et vivis?' Ex quo manifestum est ei consilium pulcherrimae mortis non subitum fuisse.

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<sup>a</sup> Paetus had taken part in the military revolt raised by Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia (A.D. 42). It failed in four days, the troops refusing to march to Italy; S. fled, and was killed by one of his soldiers. Paetus was brought to Rome, tried and found guilty, and ordered to commit suicide in prison. When the last moment came, his wife took the dagger, plunged it into her own breast, and drawing it forth, gave it to him with the immortal words. Her attempted suicide in Thrasea's house, which Pliny presently

<sup>248</sup>  
*If Arria "plunged the dagger in her breast" in 42 (?) A.D., at the*

pang of bereavement at her entrance. The action was, no doubt, truly noble, when drawing the dagger she plunged it in her breast, and then presented it to her husband with that ever-memorable, I had almost said that divine expression, "It does not hurt, my Paetus." <sup>a</sup> It must however be considered, when she spoke and acted thus, she had the prospect of immortal glory before her eyes to encourage and support her. But was it not something much greater, without the view of such powerful motives, to hide her tears, to conceal her grief, and cheerfully play the mother when she was so no more?

Scribonianus had taken up arms in Illyria against Claudius, but being slain, Paetus, who was of his party, was brought prisoner to Rome. When they were going to put him on board a ship, Arria besought the soldiers that she might be permitted to go with him: "Of course," said she, "you mean to give a consular, as he is, a few slaves to wait upon him at his table and toilet; but if you will take me, I alone will perform their whole duties." This favour, however, she could not obtain; upon which she hired a small fishing-vessel, and pursued that great ship in a mere cockle-shell. At her return to Rome, she met the wife of Scribonianus in the emperor's palace, who had turned evidence for the prosecution: "What," said she, "am I to suffer you to address me, who saw your husband murdered even in your very arms, and yet survived him?" An expression which plainly shews, that the noble manner in which she put an end to her life, was no unpremeditated effect of sudden passion.

mentions, probably occurred when Paetus had been already found guilty, and was awaiting execution.

it that she is still alive in 249  
66 A.D. when Thrasea attempts to

looking like the fellows in green only  
I BELIEVE THIS IS THE PROPER EXPLANATION  
The young man  
attending

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Quin etiam, cum Thrasea, gener eius, deprecaretur, ne mori pergeret, interque alia dixisset: 'Vis ergo filiam tuam, si mihi pereundum fuerit, mori mecum?' respondit: 'Si tam diu tantaque concordia vixerit tecum, quam ego cum Paeto, volo.' Auxerat hoc responso curam suorum, attentius custodiebatur; sensit et 'Nihil agitis' inquit; 'potestis enim efficere, ut male moriar, ne moriar, non potestis.' Dum haec dicit, exsiluit cathedra adversoque parieti caput ingenti impetu impegit et corruit. Focilata 'Dixeram,' inquit 'vobis, inventuram me quamlibet duram ad mortem viam, si vos facilem negassetis.'

Videnturne haec tibi maiora illo, 'Paete, non dolet,' ad quod per haec perventum est? cum interim illud quidem ingens fama, haec nulla circumfert. Unde colligitur, quod initio dixi, alia esse clariora, alia maiora. Vale.

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"Twenty-four years later, Thrasea was condemned for treason, under Nero, and ordered to choose the manner of his death (66 A.D.). His wife, the younger Arria, sought to die with him, but he persuaded her to live for the sake of their daughter, Fannia (vii. 19).



When, too, Thrasea, who married her daughter, was dissuading her from her purpose of destroying herself, and among other arguments which he used, said to her, "Would you then advise your daughter to die with me, if my life were to be taken from me?"<sup>a</sup> "Most certainly I would," she replied, "if she had lived as long and in as much harmony with you as I have with my Paetus." This answer greatly heightened the alarm of her family, and made them observe her for the future more narrowly; which, when she perceived, "you are wasting your trouble," said she, "you can oblige me to die a painful death, but you cannot prevent me from dying." She had scarce said this, when she sprang from her chair, and running her head with the utmost violence against the wall, she fell down, in appearance dead. But being brought to herself, "I told you," said she, "if you would not suffer me to take the easy path to death, I should make my way to it through some more difficult passage."

Now, is there not, my friend, something much greater in all this, than the so-much-talked-of "Paetus, it is not painful," to which these actions led the way; and yet this last is the favourite topic of fame,<sup>b</sup> while all the former are passed over in profound silence. Whence we must infer, what I observed in the beginning of my letter, that the most famous actions are not always the most noble. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> cf. Martial's famous epigram (i. 14).

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XVII

C. PLINIUS IULIO SERVIANO SUO S.

RECTENE omnia, quod iam pridem epistolae tuae cessant? an omnia recte, sed occupatus es tu? an tu non occupatus, sed occasio scribendi vel rara vel nulla? Exime hunc mihi scrupulum, cui par esse non possum, exime autem vel data opera tabellario misso. Ego viaticum, ego etiam praemium dabo, nuntiet mihi modo, quod opto. Ipse valeo, si valere est suspensum et anxium vivere expectantem in horas timentemque pro capite amicissimo, quidquid accidere homini potest. Vale.

## XVIII

C. PLINIUS VIBIO<sup>1</sup> SEVERO SUO S.

OFFICIUM consulatus iniunxit mihi, ut reipublicae nomine principi gratias agerem. Quod ego in senatu cum ad rationem et loci et temporis exemplo fecissem, bono civi convenientissimum credidi eadem illa spatiosius et uberius volumine amplecti, primum ut imperatori nostro virtutes suae veris laudibus commendarentur, deinde ut futuri principes non quasi a magistro, sed tamen sub exemplo

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<sup>1</sup> VIBIO Mommsen, Müller, CURIO *Fpr*, K.

<sup>a</sup> See Letter xiii. of this book.

## XVII

TO JULIUS SERVIANUS

CAN all be well with you, when you have written me nothing for so long? Or is all well, but you are too busy to write? Or is it, perhaps, that you have leisure to write, but no few opportunities of conveying your letters? Free me, I entreat you, from this anxiety, which is more than I can bear; and do so, even though it be at the trouble of sending a mail-carrier; I will gladly bear his charges, and even reward him too, should he bring me the news I wish. As for myself, I am well, if to be well can mean to live in suspense and anxiety, under the hourly apprehension of all the accidents which can possibly befall the friend one most tenderly loves. Farewell.

## XVIII

TO VIBIUS SEVERUS

I WAS obliged, on attaining the consulship,<sup>a</sup> to return thanks to the emperor in the name of the Republic; but after I had performed that ceremony in the Senate in the usual manner, and as fully as the time and place would allow, I thought it the patriotic course to enlarge those, and amplify my remarks into a complete discourse. My principal view in doing so was, to confirm our emperor in his virtues, by paying that tribute of applause to them which they so justly deserve; and next to direct future princes, not in the formal way of lecture, and yet by the method of example, to those

praemonerentur, qua potissimum via possent ad eandem gloriam niti. Nam praecipere, qualis esse debeat princeps, pulchrum quidem, sed onerosum ac prope superbum est, laudare vero optimum principem ac per hoc posteris velut e specula lumen, quod sequantur, ostendere idem utilitatis habet, adrogantiae nihil.

Cepi autem non mediocrem voluptatem, quod, hunc librum cum amicis recitare voluissem, non per codicillos, non per libellos, sed 'si commodum' et 'si valde vacaret' admoniti (numquam porro aut valde vacat Romae aut commodum est audire recitantem) foedissimis insuper tempestatibus per biduum convenerunt, cumque modestia mea finem recitationi facere voluisset, ut adicerem tertium diem, exegerunt. Mihi hunc honorem habitum putem an studiis? studiis malo, quae prope extincta refoventur. At cui materiae hanc sedulitatem praestiterunt? nempe quam in senatu quoque, ubi perpeti necesse erat, gravari tamen vel puncto temporis solebamus, eandem nunc, et qui recitare et qui audire triduo velint, inveniuntur, non quia eloquentius quam prius, sed quia liberius ideoque etiam libentius scribitur. Accedet ergo hoc quoque laudibus prin-

paths they must pursue, if they would attain the same heights of glory. To instruct princes how to form their conduct, is a noble, but difficult task, and may, perhaps, be esteemed a presumption; but to applaud the character of an accomplished emperor, and to hold him out to posterity, as a light to guide succeeding monarchs, is a method equally useful, and much more modest.

It afforded me a very singular pleasure when I recited this panegyric, that my friends gave me their company, though I did not solicit them in the usual form of circular billets, but only desired their attendance, if it would be agreeable to them, and they were entirely disengaged (and, you know, either time or inclination is always wanting to men about town, when they receive invitations of this kind!) Yet, though the weather proved extremely bad, they attended the recital for two days together; and when I thought it would be immodest to detain them any longer, they insisted upon my going through with it the next day. Shall I consider this as an honour paid to myself, or to polite literature? Rather let me suppose to the latter, which though well-nigh extinct, seems to be now again reviving amongst us. Yet what was the subject which raised this uncommon attention? No other than what formerly, even in the Senate, where we were obliged to submit to it, we could not hear without *ennui*, though but for a few moments. But now, you see, we have patience to recite and attend to a topic of this nature for three days together; and the reason of the difference is not that we have more eloquence but more liberty than formerly, and consequently, write with more spirit. It is an additional glory

cipis nostri, quod res antea tam invisâ quam falsa nunc ut vera ita amabilis facta est.

Sed ego cum studium audientium tum iudicium mire probavi; animadverti enim, severissima quaeque vel maxime satisfacere. Memini quidem me non multis recitasse, quod omnibus scripsi, nihilominus tamen, tamquam sit eadem omnium futura sententia, hac severitate aurium laetor ac, sicut olim theatra male musicos canere docuerunt, ita nunc in spem adducor posse fieri, ut eadem theatra bene canere musicos doceant. Omnes enim, qui placendi causa scribunt, qualia placere viderint, scribent. Ac mihi quidem confido in hoc genere materiae laetioris stili constare rationem, cum ea potius, quae pressius et adstrictius, quam illa, quae hilarius et quasi exultantius scripsi, possint videri arcessita et inducta. Non ideo tamen segnius precor, ut quandoque veniat dies (utinamque iam venerit!), quo austeris istis severisque dulcia haec blandaque vel iusta possessione decedant.

Habes acta mea tridui; quibus cognitis volui tantum te voluptatis absentem et studiorum nomine

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* even where it can justifiably be used.

therefore, to our present emperor, that this sort of harangues, which were once as odious as they were false, are now as pleasing as they are sincere.

But it was not only the earnest attention of my audience which afforded me pleasure ; I was greatly delighted too with the justness of their taste ; for I observed, that even the more nervous parts of my discourse gave them much satisfaction. I am aware, indeed, this work, which was written for the perusal of the world in general, was read only to a few : however, I rejoice at their manly taste as an earnest of public approval. It was in eloquence as in music, the vitiated ears of the audience introduced a depraved style ; but now, I am inclined to hope, as a more refined judgement prevails in the public, our compositions of both kinds will improve too ; for those authors, whose only view is to please, will form their works upon the general taste of the people. I imagine, however, in subjects of this nature the florid style is most proper ; and am so far from thinking that the gay colouring I have used, will be esteemed foreign and unnatural, that I am most apprehensive that censure will fall upon those parts where I have been most plain and unornamented. Nevertheless I sincerely wish the time may come (and would to heaven it now were!) when the smooth and luscious manner which has infected our style, shall yield place even where it has a just title,<sup>a</sup> to severe and chaste composition.

Thus I have given you an account how I have been employed these last three days, that your absence might not deprive you of a pleasure, which, from your friendship to me, and the part you take in

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

et meo capere, quantum praesens percipere potuisses. Vale.

### XIX

C. PLINIUS CALVISIO RUFO SUO S.

ADSUMO te in consilium rei familiaris, ut soleo. Praedia agris meis vicina atque etiam inserta venalia sunt. In his me multa sollicitant, aliqua nec minora deterrent. Sollicitat primum ipsa pulchritudo iungendi, deinde quod non minus utile quam voluptuosum posse utraque eadem opera, eodem viatico invisere, sub eodem procuratore ac paene iisdem actoribus habere, unam villam colere et ornare, alteram tantum tueri. Inest huic computationi sumptus supellectilis, sumptus atriensium, topiariorum, fabrorum atque etiam venatorii instrumenti; quae plurimum refert unum in locum conferas an in diversa dispergas.

Contra vereor, ne sit incautum rem tam magnam iisdem tempestatibus, iisdem casibus subdere. Tutius videtur incerta fortunae possessionum varietatibus experiri. Habet etiam multum iucunditatis soli caelique mutatio ipsaque illa peregrinatio inter sua.



everything that concerns the interest of learning, I know you would have received, if you had been present. Farewell.

## XIX

TO CALVISIUS RUFUS.

I MUST have recourse to you, as usual, in an affair which concerns my finances. An estate is offered to be sold which lies contiguous to mine, and indeed is intermixed with it. There are several circumstances which strongly incline me to this purchase, as there are others no less weighty which deter me from it. The first recommendation it has is, that throwing both estates into one will make a really fine property; the next, the advantage as well as the pleasure of being able to visit it under one trouble and expense; to have it looked after by the same agent, and almost by the same under-bailiffs; and to have only one villa to maintain handsomely, as it will be sufficient to keep up the other just in common repair. I take into this account, cost of furniture, house-keepers, gardeners, workmen, and all the apparatus that relates to the game, as it saves a very considerable expense when you are not obliged to keep them at more houses than one.

On the other hand, I don't know whether it is prudent to venture so much of one's property under the same climate, and to the same casualties; it seems a more sure method of guarding against the caprices of fortune, to distribute one's possessions into different situations: besides, there is something extremely amusing in shifting the scene, and travelling from one estate to another. But to mention the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Iam, quod deliberationis nostrae caput est, agri sunt fertiles, pingues, aquosi, constant campis, vineis, silvis, quae materiam et ex ea redditum sicut modicum ita statum praestant. Sed haec felicitas terrae imbecillis cultoribus fatigatur. Nam possessor prior saepius vendidit pignora et, dum reliqua colonorum minuit ad tempus, vires in posterum exhaustit, quarum defectione rursus reliqua creverunt. Sunt ergo instruendi complures frugi mancipēs; nam nec ipse usquam vinctos habeo nec ibi quisquam.

Superest, ut scias, quanti videantur posse emi. Sestertio tricies, non quia non aliquando quinquagies fuerint, verum et hac penuria colonorum et communi temporis iniquitate ut redditus agrorum sic etiam pretium retro abiit. Quaeris, an hoc ipsum tricies facile colligere possimus. Sum quidem prope totus in praediis, aliquid tamen foenero, nec molestum erit mutuari; accipiam a socru, cuius arca non secus ac mea utor. Proinde hoc te non moveat, si cetera non refragantur, quae velim quam diligentissime examines. Nam cum in omnibus rebus tum in disponendis facultatibus plurimum tibi et usus et providentiae superest. Vale.

point of principal difficulty: the lands are rich, fertile and well watered, consisting chiefly of meadow-grounds, vineyards, and woods, the timber of which affords a moderate but regular profit: but then, the fertility of the soil has been reduced by poor husbandry. The person who was last in possession used frequently to seize and sell the tenants' stock for debt, by which means, though he lessened their arrears for the present, yet he exhausted their resources for the future, and the consequence was, that they were again in arrears. I shall be obliged therefore to contract for labourers with several decent employers of farm-hands, as there are no bond-slaves left upon the estate, neither have I any on my other properties.

And now it remains only to inform you of the price: I believe I may get it for three millions of sesterces. True, it has been formerly sold for five millions, but partly by the general calamity of the times, and partly by its being thus stripped of labourers, the income of this estate is reduced, and consequently its value. You will be inclined, perhaps, to inquire whether I can easily raise the purchase-money? It is true, indeed, my estate is chiefly in land; but I have some money placed out at interest, and I can borrow without difficulty. I have always a sure resource in the purse of my wife's mother, which I can use with the same freedom as my own; so that you need not give yourself any trouble as to that article, if you should have no other objections, which I beg you would very maturely consider: for as in every thing else, so particularly in matters of economy no man has more judgement and experience than yourself. Farewell.

## XX

C. PLINIUS MESSIO MAXIMO SUO S.

MEMINISTINE te saepe legisse, quantas contentiones excitavit lex tabellaria, quantumque ipsi latori vel gloriae vel reprehensionis attulerit? At nunc in senatu sine ulla dissensione hoc idem ut optimum placuit; omnes comitiorum die tabellas postulaverunt. Excesseramus sane manifestis illis apertisque suffragiis licentiam concionum. Non tempus loquendi, non tacendi modestia, non denique sedendi dignitas custodiebatur. Magni undique dissonique clamores, procurrebant omnes cum suis candidatis, multa agmina in medio multique circuli et indecora confusio; adeo desciveramus a consuetudine parentum, apud quos omnia disposita, moderata, tranquilla maiestatem loci pudoremque retinebant.

Supersunt senes, ex quibus audire soleo hunc ordinem comitiorum; citato nomine candidati silentium summum; dicebat ipse pro se, vitam suam

<sup>a</sup> The author of this law was one Gabinus, a tribune of the people, A.U.C. 614 (Melm.).

<sup>b</sup> One of the first acts of Tiberius was to transfer the election of magistrates from the *comitia centuriata* (the assembly of the whole people, arranged in "centuries," which met in the Campus Martius) to the Senate. *Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt . . . neque populus ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit.*—Tac. Ann. i. 15. What Pliny seems to regret as a good old

## XX

## TO MESSIUS MAXIMUS.

You remember, no doubt, to have often read what commotions were occasioned by the law which directs that the <sup>a</sup> elections of magistrates shall be by balloting, and how much the author of it was both approved and condemned. Yet this very rule the Senate lately unanimously adopted, and upon the election-day, with one consent, called for the ballots. It must be owned, the method by open votes had introduced into the Senate more riot and disorder than is seen even in the assemblies of the people; no regularity in speaking, no respectful silence, not even the decorum of remaining seated, was observed. It was universal dissonance and clamour; the several candidates running forward with their patrons, a serried throng in the middle of the senate-house, the rest broken up in small groups, created the most indecent confusion. Thus widely had we departed from the manners of our ancestors, who conducted these proceedings with a calmness and regularity suitable to the reverence which is due to the majesty of the place.

I have been informed by some aged persons who remember those times, that the method observed in their elections was this: <sup>b</sup> the name of the person who offered himself for any office being called over, a profound silence ensued; the candidate appeared, institution, was really the annihilation of the last vestige of the Roman people's power. The ballot had long been introduced into the Comitia, but the Senate had hitherto retained the practice of open voting.

explicabat, testes et laudatores dabat vel eum, sub quo militaverat, vel eum, cui quaestor fuerat, vel utrumque, si poterat, addebat quosdam ex suffragatoribus; illi graviter et paucis loquebantur. Plus hoc quam preces proderat. Non numquam candidatus aut natales competitoris aut annos aut etiam mores arguebat. Audiebat senatus gravitate censoria. Ita saepius digni quam gratiosi praevalabant.

Quae nunc immodico favore corrupta ad tacita suffragia quasi ad remedium decurrerunt; quod interim plane remedium fuit; erat enim novum et subitum. Sed vereor, ne procedente tempore ex ipso remedio vitia nascentur. Est enim periculum, ne tacitis suffragiis impudentia irrepāt. Nam quoto cuique eadem honestatis cura secreto quae palam? Multi famam, conscientiam pauci, verentur. Sed nimis cito de futuris; interim beneficio tabellarum habebimus magistratus, qui maxime fieri debuerunt. Nam ut in reciperatoriis iudiciis sic nos in his comitiis quasi repente adprehensi sinceri iudices fuimus.

Haec tibi scripsi, primum ut aliquid novi scriberem,

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" On *reciperatores*, see ii. 11 n.

and, after he had spoken for himself, and given an account to the Senate of his life and manners, called witnesses in support of his character. These were, either the person under whom he had served in the army, or to whom he had been Quaestor, or both (if the case admitted of it), to whom he also joined some of those friends who espoused his interest. They delivered what they had to say in his favour, in a few words, but with great dignity : and this had far more influence than humble solicitation. Sometimes the candidate would object either to the birth, or age, or character of his competitor ; to which the Senate would listen with a censorial gravity ; and thus was merit generally preferred to interest.

But partisan licence having corrupted this institution, recourse was had to balloting, as the most probable remedy for this evil. The method being new, and summarily adopted, it certainly has hitherto answered the purpose ; but, I am afraid, in process of time it will introduce new inconveniences ; as this silent way of voting seems to afford a loophole to effrontery. For how few are there who preserve the same delicacy of conduct in secret, as when exposed to the view of the world ? The truth is, the generality of mankind stand in awe of public opinion, while conscience is feared only by the few. But I am pronouncing too hastily upon a future contingency ; in the meanwhile, thanks to the ballot, we shall have such magistrates as best deserve office. For our election resembled a trial by special commissioners ; " we were unbiassed judges, because suddenly seized upon, as it were, to deliver judgement.

I have given you this incident not only as a piece

deinde ut non numquam de republica loquerer, cuius materiae nobis quanto rarior quam veteribus occasio tanto minus omittenda est. Et hercule quousque illa vulgaria 'Quid agis? ecquid commode valēs?' Habeant nostrae quoque litterae aliquid non humile nec sordidum nec privatis rebus inclusum. Sunt quidem cuncta sub unius arbitrio, qui pro utilitate communi solus omnium curas laboresque suscepit; quidam tamen salubri quodam temperamento ad nos quoque velut rivi ex illo benignissimo fonte decurrunt, quos et haurire ipsi et absentibus amicis quasi ministrare epistulis possumus. Vale.

## XXI

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO PRISCO SUO S.

AUDIO Valerium Martialem decessisse et moleste fero. Erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis nec candoris minus. Prosecutus eram viatico secedentem; dederam hoc amicitiae, dederam etiam versiculis, quos de me composuit. Fuit moris antiqui eos, qui vel singulorum laudes vel urbium scripserant, aut

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" A.D. 101-104; the exact date is unknown. Martial had retired, probably 98 A.D., to his native town Bilbilis in



of news, but because it affords me an opportunity to speak of the republic ; a subject which as we have fewer occasions of mentioning than our ancestors, so we ought to be more careful not to let any of them slip. In good earnest, I am tired with repeating over and over the same compliments, "How d'ye do?" and "I hope you are well." Why should our letters, too, for ever turn upon petty domestic concerns? It is true, indeed, the direction of the public weal is in the hands of a single person, who, for the general good, takes upon himself solely to ease us of the care and weight of government; but still that bountiful source of power permits, by a very wholesome dispensation, some streams to flow down to us : and these we may not only imbibe ourselves, but, as it were, administer them by letter to our absent friends. Farewell.

## XXI

### TO CORNELIUS PRISCUS

I HAVE just heard of the death<sup>a</sup> of poor Martial, which much concerns me. He was a man of an acute and lively genius, and his writings abound in both wit and satire, combined with equal candour. When he left Rome I complimented him by a present to defray the charges of his journey, not only as a testimony of my friendship, but in return for the little poem which he had written about me. It was the custom of the ancients to distinguish those poets with honours or pecuniary rewards, who had celebrated particular persons or cities in their verses ; Spain, whence he issued his last Book of Epigrams (xii) in 101 A.D.

honoribus aut pecunia ornare ; nostris vero temporibus ut alia speciosa et egregia ita hoc in primis exolevit. Nam, postquam desiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus. Quaeris, qui sint versiculi, quibus gratiam rettuli. Remitterem te ad ipsum volumen, nisi quosdam tenerem ; tu, si placuerint hi, ceteros in libro requires. Adloquitur Musam, mandat, ut domum meam Esquiliis quaerat, adeat reverenter :

Sed ne tempore non tuo disertam  
pulses ebria ianuam, videto.  
Totos dat tetricae dies Minervae,  
dum centum studet auribus virorum  
hoc, quod saecula posterique possint  
Arpinis quoque comparare chartis.  
Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas ;  
haec hora est tua, cum furit Lyaeus,  
cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli.  
Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

Meritone eum, qui haec de me scripsit, et tunc dimisi amicissime et nunc ut amicissimum defunctum esse doleo ? Dedit enim mihi, quantum maxime potuit, daturus amplius, si potuisset. Tametsi quid homini potest dari maius quam gloria et laus et aeternitas ? At non erunt aeterna, quae scripsit. Non erunt fortasse, ille tamen scripsit, tamquam essent futura. Vale.

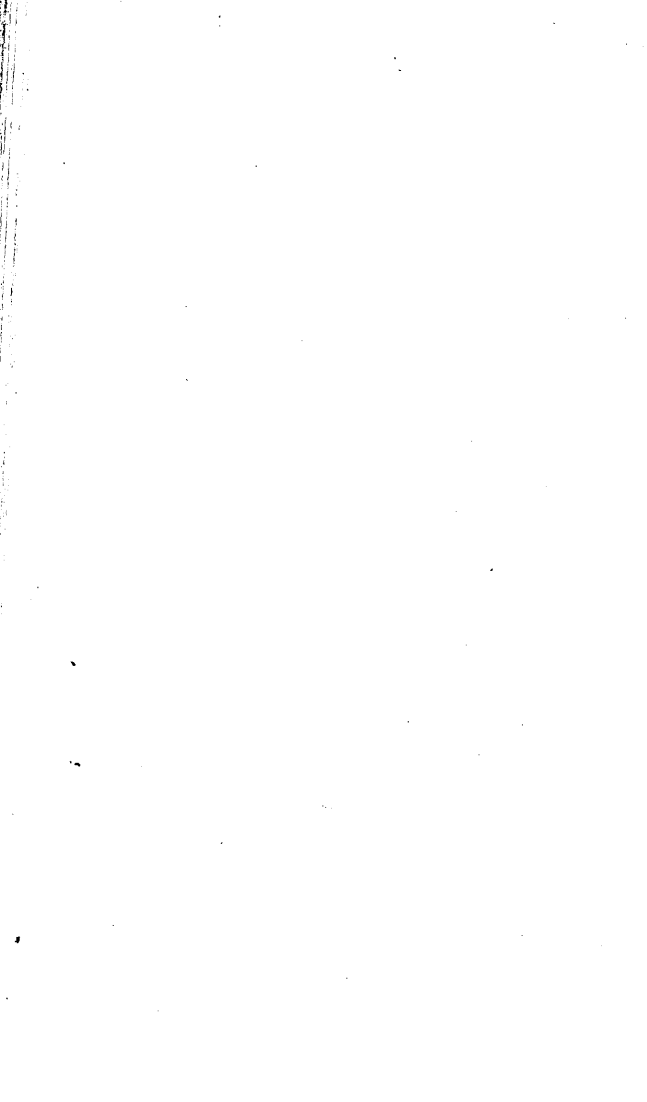
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" These words summarise the first eleven lines of the epigram (x. 19), the remainder of which Pliny quotes.

but this practice, with every other that is fair and noble, is now grown out of fashion; and in consequence of having ceased to act laudably, we consider applause as an impertinent and worthless tribute. You will be desirous, perhaps, to see the verses which merited this acknowledgement from me; and I believe I can, from my memory, partly satisfy your curiosity, without referring you to his works: but if you are pleased with this specimen of them, you must turn to his poems for the rest. He addresses himself to his Muse, whom he directs to seek my house upon the Esquiline, and to approach me with respect: “

“Go, wanton Muse, but go with care,  
Nor meet, ill-tim'd, my Pliny's ear.  
He, by sage Minerva taught,  
Gives the day to studious thought,  
And plans that eloquence divine,  
Which shall to future ages shine,  
And rival, wond'rous Tully! thine.  
Then, cautious, watch the vacant hour,  
When Bacchus reigns in all his power!  
When crown'd with rosy chaplets gay,  
E'en rigid Catos read my lay.”

Do you not think that the poet who wrote in such terms of me, deserved some friendly marks of my bounty *then*, and that he merits my sorrow *now*? For he gave me the most he could, and it was want of power only, if his present was not more valuable. But to say truth, what higher can be conferred on man than fame, and applause, and immortality? And though it should be granted, that his poems will not be immortal, still, no doubt, he composed them upon the contrary supposition. Farewell.



## BOOK IV

## LIBER QUARTUS

### I

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

CUPIS post longum tempus neptem tuam meque una videre. Gratum est utrique nostrum, quod cupis, mutuo mehercule. Nam invicem nos incredibili quodam desiderio vestri tenemur, quod non ultra differemus; atque adeo iam sarcinulas alligamus festinaturi, quantum itineris ratio permiserit. Erit una, sed brevis mora; deflectemus in Tuscos, non ut agros remque familiarem oculis subiciamus (id enim postponi potest), sed ut fungamur necessario officio.

Oppidum est praediis nostris vicinum (nomen Tifernum Tiberinum), quod me paene adhuc puerum patronum cooptavit tanto maiore studio quanto minore iudicio. Adventus meos celebrat, profectionibus angitur, honoribus gaudet. In hoc ego ut referrem gratiam (nam vinci in amore turpissimum est), templum pecunia mea extruxi, cuius dedica-

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" Calpurnia, Pliny's wife.

## BOOK IV

### I

#### TO FABATUS

You have long desired a visit from your granddaughter<sup>a</sup> and myself. Nothing, be assured, could be more agreeable to us both ; for we equally long to see you and are determined to delay that pleasure no longer. For this purpose our baggage is actually making ready, and we shall hasten to you with all the expedition the roads will permit. We shall stop only once, and that for a short time ; intending to turn a little out of the way in order to go into Tuscany ; not for the sake of looking upon our estate and into our personal property, for that we could defer to another opportunity ; but to perform an indispensable duty.

There is a town near my estate called Tifernum-upon-the-Tiber, which, making up in goodwill what it lacked in judgement, put itself under my patronage when I was yet almost a boy. These people celebrate my arrival among them, express the greatest concern when I leave them, and rejoice over every preferment I attain. That I may return their good offices (for nothing is baser than to be outdone in affection) I have built a temple in this place, at my

tionem, cum sit paratum, differre longius irreligiosum est.

Erimus ergo ibi dedicationis die, quem epulo celebrare constitui. Subsistemus fortasse et sequenti, sed tanto magis viam ipsam corripiemus. Contingat modo te filiamque tuam fortes invenire ! nam hilares certum est, si nos incolumes receperitis. Vale.

## II

C. PLINIUS ATTIO CLEMENTI SUO S.

REGULUS filium amisit hoc uno malo indignus, quod nescio an malum putet. Erat puer acris ingenii, sed ambigui, qui tamen posset recta sectari, si patrem non referret. Hunc Regulus emancipavit, ut heres matris exsisteret ; mancipatum (ita vulgo ex moribus hominis loquebantur) foeda et insolita parentibus indulgentiae simulatione captabat. Incredibile, sed Regulum cogita. Amissum tamen luget insane. Habebat puer mannulos multos et iunctos et solutos, habebat canes maiores minoresque, habebat luscin-

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<sup>a</sup> Calpurnia Hispulla. See iv. 19.

<sup>b</sup> A Roman citizen held the *patria potestas* over his legitimate children for life, unless he chose to emancipate them by a special legal process ; and while under *patria potestas* they were legally incapable of owning property.



own expense ; and as it is finished, it would be a sort of impiety to omit the dedication of it any longer.

We design therefore to be there on the day that ceremony is to be performed, and I have resolved to celebrate it with a general feast. We may possibly continue there all the next day, but we shall make so much the more expedition upon the road. May we have the happiness to find you and your daughter<sup>a</sup> in good health ! as I am sure we shall in good spirits, if you see us safely arrived. Farewell.

## II

## TO ATTIVS CLEMENS

REGULUS has lost his son ; the only undeserved misfortune which could have befallen him—and I much doubt whether he thinks it one. The boy was of a sprightly but ambiguous turn ; however, he seemed capable enough of steering right, if he could have avoided splitting upon his father's example. Regulus gave him his<sup>b</sup> freedom, in order to entitle him to the estate left him by his mother ; and then endeavoured (as the character of the man made it generally believed) to wheedle him out of the reversion to it<sup>c</sup> by the complaisance the most revolting and the most unusual in a parent. This perhaps you will scarce think credible ; but consider what Regulus is ! However, he now expresses his concern for the loss of this youth in a most outrageous manner. The boy had a great number of little coach and saddle horses ; dogs of large and small sorts together with parrots, black-birds and nightingales,

<sup>a</sup> *Captare (aliquem)* was the stock phrase for currying favour with a person in order to get a legacy.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ias, psittacos, merulas; omnes Regulus circa rogam trucidavit. Nec dolor erat ille, sed ostentatio doloris.

Convenitur ad eum mira celebritate. Cuncti detestantur, oderunt et, quasi probent, quasi diligant, cursant, frequentant, utque breviter, quod sentio, enuntiem, in Regulo demerendo Regulum imitantur. Tenet se trans Tiberim in hortis, in quibus latissimum solum porticibus immensis, ripam statuis suis occupavit, ut est in summa avaritia sumptuosus, in summa infamia gloriosus. Vexat ergo civitatem insaluberrimo tempore et, quod vexat, solacium putat. Dicit se velle ducere uxorem, hoc quoque sicut alia perverse. Audies brevi nuptias lugentis, nuptias senis; quorum alterum immaturum, alterum serum est. Unde hoc augurer, quaeris. Non quia adfirmat ipse, quo mendacius nihil est, sed quia certum est Regulum esse facturum, quidquid fieri non oportet. Vale.

### III

C. PLINIUS ARRIO ANTONINO SUO S.<sup>1</sup>

Quod semel atque iterum consul fuisti similis antiquis, quod proconsul Asiae, qualis ante te, qualis

<sup>1</sup> ARRIO *Ricc. K (1), Müller, om. vell.*

all these Regulus slew round the funeral pile of his son, in the ostentation of an affected grief.

He is visited upon this occasion by a surprising number of people, who, though they all detest and abhor him, yet are as assiduous in their attendance upon him as if they were influenced by real esteem and affection; and, to speak my sentiments in few words, endeavour, in courting his favour, to follow his example.<sup>a</sup> He is retired to his gardens across the Tiber; where he has covered a vast extent of ground with huge porticos, and crowded all the shore with his statues: for he blends prodigality with covetousness, and vain glory with infamy. By his continuing there, he lays society under the great inconvenience of coming to him at this unwholesome season; and he seems to consider the trouble he puts them to as a matter of consolation. He gives out with his usual wrongheadedness, that he designs to marry. You must expect, therefore, to hear shortly of the wedding of a man oppressed with affliction and years; that is, of one who marries both too soon and too late. Do you ask me why I conjecture thus? Certainly, not because he affirms it himself (for never was there such a liar) but because there is no doubt that Regulus will do everything he ought not. Farewell.

### III

#### TO ARRIUS ANTONINUS

THAT you have twice enjoyed the dignity of Consul, with a conduct equal to that of our ancient

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*, as an assiduous legacy hunter (cf. ii. 20). Pliny insinuates that these people had similar designs on the now childless Regulus. (Merrill.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

post te vix unus aut alter (non sinit enim me verecundia tua dicere nemo) quod sanctitate, quod auctoritate, aetate quoque princeps civitatis, est quidem venerabile et pulchrum; ego tamen te vel magis in remissionibus miror. Nam severitatem istam pari iucunditate condire summaeque gravitati tantum comitatis adiungere non minus difficile quam magnum est. Id tu cum incredibili quadam suavitate sermonum tum vel praecipue stilo adsequeris. Nam et loquenti tibi illa Homerici senis mella profluere et, quae scribis, complere apes floribus et nectare videntur.

Ita certe sum adfectus ipse, cum Graeca epigrammata tua, cum mimiambos<sup>1</sup> proxime legerem. Quantum ibi humanitatis, venustatis, quam dulcia illa, quam antiqua, quam arguta, quam recta! Callimachum me vel Heroden, vel si quid his melius, tenere credebam; quorum tamen neuter utrumque aut absolvit aut attigit. Hominemne Romanum tam Graece loqui? Non medius fidius ipsas Athenas tam Atticas dixerim. Quid multa? invideo Graecis, quod

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<sup>1</sup> mimiambos *D, Skutsch, Kukula, iambos vell.*

<sup>a</sup> Experienced Nestor, in persuasion skill'd;  
Words sweet as honey from his lips distill'd.

*Il. i. 247. (POPE.)*

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "mimic poems in iambics." The only extant specimens are the *Mimes* of Herodas (discovered 1891), "little scenes of real life dramatised in dialogue" (Jebb). Herodas, whom Pliny mentions below, lived probably c. 300-250 B.C.

worthies ; that few (your modesty will not suffer me to say none) ever have, or ever will come up to the integrity and wisdom of your Asiatic administration ; that in virtue, in authority, and even in years you are the first of Romans ; these, most certainly, are shining and august parts of your character : nevertheless, I own, it is in your retired hours that I most admire you. To season that severity of virtue with sprightliness, and to temper dignity with politeness, is as difficult as it is great : yet these uncommon qualities you have most happily united in those wonderful charms, which not only grace your conversation, but particularly distinguish your writings. Your lips, like the venerable old man's in Homer,<sup>a</sup> drop honey, and one would imagine the bee had diffused her sweetness over all you compose.

These were the sentiments I had when I lately read your Greek epigrams and mimes.<sup>b</sup> What elegance, what beauties shine in this collection ! how sweetly the numbers flow, and how exactly are they wrought up in the true spirit of the ancients ! what a vein of wit runs through every line, and how conformable is the whole to the rules of just criticism ! I fancied I had got in my hands Callimachus<sup>c</sup> or Herodas, or, if possible, some poet even superior to these : though, indeed, neither of those authors excelled in, or even attempted, both those species of poetry. Is it possible, that a Roman can write Greek in so much perfection ? I protest I do not believe Athens herself can be more Attic. In a

<sup>a</sup> *Fl.* 260 B.C., prince of the Alexandrian school of poetry. Besides mythological poems, we have 74 of his epigrams, to which Pliny refers here. One is familiar to English readers in Cory's lovely translation— "They told me, Heraclitus..."

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

illorum lingua scribere maluisti. Neque enim coniectura eget, quid sermone patrio exprimere possis, cum hoc insiticio et inducto tam praeclara opera perfeceris. Vale.

### IV

C. PLINIUS SOSIO SENECONI SUO S.

VARISIDIUM Nepotem validissime diligo, virum industrium, disertum, rectum, quod apud me vel potissimum est. Idem C. Calvisium, contubernalem meum, amicum tuum, arta propinquitate complexitur; est enim filius sororis. Hunc ergo rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorem et sibi et avunculo suo facias. Obligabis me, obligabis Calvisium nostrum, obligabis ipsum, non minus idoneum debitorem, quam nos putas. Multa beneficia in multos contulisti: ausim contendere nullum te melius, aequè bene vix unum aut alterum conlocasse. Vale.

### V

C. PLINIUS IULIO SPARSO SUO S.

AESCHINEM aiunt petentibus Rhodiis legisse orationem suam, deinde Demosthenis, summis utramque clamoribus. Quod tantorum virorum contigisse scriptis

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<sup>a</sup> See iii. 8, 11.

word, I cannot but envy the Greeks for the preference you have displayed for their language. And since you can write thus elegantly in an exotic and acquired tongue; it is past conjecture what you could have performed in your own. Farewell.

## IV

## To SOSIUS SENEIO

I HAVE a very singular value for Varisidius Nepos as indeed he is a man of industry, eloquence and (the chief merit with me) integrity. He is closely related to your friend and my comrade, C. Calvisius, being his sister's son. I beg therefore, you would do him and his uncle the honour of making him one of the military tribunes.<sup>a</sup> It will be an obligation to me, to our good Calvisius, and to himself; who is as solvent a debtor as you reckon *me* to be. You have bestowed numberless good offices upon many; but I will venture to say, you never conferred one that was better placed than here; and but few so well. Farewell.

## V

## To JULIUS SPARSUS

It is said that when Aeschines, at the request of the Rhodians, read to them one of his orations, together with that which Demosthenes had composed upon the same occasion, they were both received with the loudest applause. I am not surprised that the compositions of such eminent men should be thus warmly admired, when I con-

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

non miror, cum orationem meam proxime doctissimi homines hoc studio, hoc adsensu, hoc etiam labore per biduum audierint, quamvis intentionem eorum nulla hinc et inde collatio, nullum quasi certamen accenderet. Nam Rhodii cum ipsis orationum virtutibus tum etiam comparationis aculeis excitabantur, nostra oratio sine aemulationis gratia probabatur. An merito, scies, cum legeris librum, cuius amplitudo non sinit me longiore epistula prae loqui. Oportet enim nos in hac certe, in qua possumus, breves esse, quo sit excusatus, quod librum ipsum, non tamen ultra causae amplitudinem, extendimus. Vale.

### VI

C. PLINIUS IULIO<sup>1</sup> NASONI SUO S.

TUSCI grandine excussi, in regione Transpadana summa abundantia, sed par vilitas nuntiatur; solum mihi Laurentinum meum in reditu. Nihil quidem ibi possideo praeter tectum et hortum statimque arenas, solum tamen mihi in reditu. Ibi enim plurimum scribo nec agrum, quem non habeo, sed ipsum me

<sup>1</sup> IULIO Ricc. (Havet).



sider that an oration of mine, which I lately recited before a very learned audience, was heard with equal earnestness, approbation, and even fatigue for two days successively; though there was not the pleasure which arises from a comparison, and, as it were, duel between two rival pieces, to awaken their attention. The Rhodians, besides the particular merit of the orations, had the entertainment of comparing them together, to whet their interest; but mine pleased without having the recommendation of rivalry; whether deservedly or not, you will ascertain when you read the performance; the extent of which will not permit me to introduce it to you with a longer letter. For I must be brief here, where brevity is possible, in order to excuse the better the length of the speech itself: which, however, I have not enlarged beyond the bounds my subject requires. Farewell.

## VI

## TO JULIUS NASO

A STORM of hail, I am informed, has destroyed all the produce of my estate in Tuscany; while that which I have on the other side of the Po, though it has proved extremely fruitful this season, yet from the excessive cheapness of every thing, turns to small account. My Laurentine seat is the single possession which yields me any return. I have nothing there, indeed, but a house and gardens, and the sands lie just beyond; still, however, my sole profit comes thence. For there I cultivate, not my land (since I have none), but my mind, and form

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

studiis excolo; ac iam possum tibi ut aliis in locis horreum plenum sic ibi scrinium ostendere. Igitur tu quoque, si certa et fructuosa praedia concupiscis, aliquid in hoc litore para. Vale.

### VII

C. PLINIUS CATIO LEPIDO SUO S.

SAEPE tibi dico inesse vim Regulo. Mirum est, quam efficiat, in quod incubuit. Placuit ei lugere filium; luget ut nemo. Placuit statuas eius et imagines quam plurimas facere; hoc omnibus officinis agit, illum coloribus, illum cera, illum aere, illum argento, illum auro, ebore, marmore effingit. Ipse vero nuper adhibito ingenti auditorio librum de vita eius recitavit, de vita pueri, recitavit tamen; eundem librum in exemplaria mille transcriptum per totam Italianam provinciasque dimisit. Scripsit publice, ut a decurionibus eligeretur vocalissimus aliquis ex ipsis, qui legeret eum populo. Factum est.

Hanc ille vim, seu quo alio nomine vocanda est intentio, quidquid velis, obtinendi, si ad potiora vertisset, quantum boni efficere potuisset! Quamquam minor vis bonis quam malis inest, ac, sicut ἀμαθία

many a composition. As in other places I can shew you full barns; so there I can display a well-stocked bookcase. Let me advise you then, if you wish for an ever-productive farm, to purchase something upon this coast. Farewell.

## VII

## TO CATIUS LEPIDUS

I HAVE often told you that Regulus is a man of energy: 'tis surprising how he executes whatever he takes in hand. He chose lately to mourn for his son; accordingly he mourns as nobody ever mourned before. He took it into his head that he would have statues and busts of him by the dozen; immediately all the artisans in Rome are set to work. In colours, wax, bronze, silver, gold, ivory, marble, the young Regulus is depicted again and again. Not long ago he read, before a vast audience, a memoir upon the life of his son: the life, if you please, of a mere boy! Never mind, he did it. Then a thousand copies were written of the said memoir, which he dispersed all over the empire. He wrote likewise a sort of circular letter to the municipal corporations to desire they would each select one of their councillors who had a strong, clear voice, to read this eulogy to the people; and I am informed it has been done accordingly.

Had this energy (or whatever else we must call a pertinacity in gaining one's ends) been better applied, what infinite good might it have produced! The misfortune is, this active cast is generally stronger in the vicious than the virtuous, for as "ignorance

μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει, ita recta ingenia debilitat verecundia, perversa confirmat audacia. Exemplo est Regulus. Imbecillum latus, os confusum, haesitans lingua, tardissima inventio, memoria nulla, nihil denique praeter ingenium insanum, et tamen eo impudentia ipsoque illo furore pervenit, ut a plurimis orator habeatur. Itaque Herennius Senecio mirifice Catonis illud de oratore in hunc e contrario vertit: 'Orator est vir malus dicendi imperitus.' Non mehercule Cato ipse tam bene verum oratorem quam hic Regulum expressit.

Habesne, quo tali epistulae parem gratiam referas? Habes, si scripseris, num aliquis in municipio vestro ex sodalibus meis, num etiam ipse tu hunc luctuosum Reguli librum ut circulator in foro legeris, ἐπάρας scilicet, ut ait Demosthenes, τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων. Est enim tam ineptus, ut risum magis possit exprimere quam gemitum; credas non de puero scriptum, sed a puero. Vale.

## VIII

C. PLINIUS MATURO ARRIANO SUO S.

GRATULARIS mihi, quod acceperim auguratum. Iure gratularis, primum quod gravissimi principis

<sup>a</sup> *Thuc.* ii. 403.

<sup>b</sup> *Vir bonus dicendi peritus.* Cited by Quintilian, xii. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *Dem. de Corona*, 291.

begets daring, but reflection breeds hesitancy,"<sup>a</sup> so modesty is apt to depress and weaken the well-formed genius, whilst boldness supports and strengthens the perverse. Regulus is a strong instance of the truth of this observation: he has weak lungs, an indistinct delivery, a halting speech, a slow invention, and no memory; in a word, he has nothing but a talent run mad: and yet by dint of impudence and this same flighty turn, he passes with many for a finished orator. Herennius Senecio admirably reversed Cato's famous definition of an orator<sup>b</sup> with reference to Regulus: "An orator," said he, "is a bad man unskilled in the art of speaking." And, in good earnest, Cato's definition is not a more exact description of a true orator, than Senecio's is of the character of this man.

Can you make a suitable return to this letter? Yes, you can, by informing me if you, or any of my friends in your town, have read this doleful piece of his to the people, like a mountebank in the market-place, "lifting up his voice with a howl of exultation," as Demosthenes puts it.<sup>c</sup> For so absurd a performance rings more of laughter than lamentation. You would fancy the author, not the subject, was a boy. Farewell.

## VIII

## TO MATURUS ARRIANUS

It is with justice that you congratulate me on attaining to the dignity of Augur<sup>d</sup>; firstly as it is highly glorious to receive, even in the slighter

<sup>a</sup> Conferred on him by Trajan, probably 103 A.D. See x. 13, and Introduction.

iudicium in minoribus etiam rebus consequi pulchrum est, deinde quod sacerdotium ipsum cum priscum et religiosum tum hoc quoque sacrum plane et insigne est, quod non adimitur viventi. Nam cetera quamquam dignitate propemodum paria ut tribuuntur sic auferuntur, in hoc fortunae hactenus licet, ut dari possit. Mihi vero etiam illud gratulatione dignum videtur, quod successi Iulio Frontino, principi viro, qui me nominationis die per hos continuos annos inter sacerdotes nominabat, tamquam in locum suum cooptaret; quod nunc eventus ita comprobavit, ut non fortuitum videretur.

Te quidem, ut scribis, ob hoc maxime delectat auguratus meus, quod M. Tullius augur fuit. Laetaris enim, quod honoribus eius insistam, quem aemulari in studiis cupio. Sed utinam, ut sacerdotium idem, ut consulatum multo etiam iuvenior quam ille sum consecutus, ita senex saltem ingenium eius aliqua ex parte adsequi possim! Sed nimirum, quae sunt in manu hominum, et mihi et multis contigerunt, illud vero ut adipisci arduum sic etiam sperare nimium est, quod dari nisi a dis non potest. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> The Emperor's right to "recommend" a candidate virtually gave him the power of appointing his nominee.

<sup>b</sup> Vacancies in the College of Augurs were originally filled by co-option of its members, but under the Empire the College annually nominated a list of candidates, one of whom

instances, a mark of approbation from so wise and judicious a prince <sup>a</sup>; and secondly as the priesthood itself is not only an ancient and sacred institution, but has this high and hallowed peculiarity, that it is for life. Other Sacerdotal honours, though they may, perhaps, equal this in dignity, yet as they are given, so they may be taken away: but fortune has no farther power over *this*, than to bestow it. 'Tis a further subject for congratulation, in my eyes, that I have succeeded so eminent a man as Julius Frontinus. He for many years, upon the nomination-day of proper persons to be received into the sacred college, constantly proposed my name, as if he were co-opting me his successor; <sup>b</sup> and since it has actually proved so in the event, one may look upon it as something more than accident.

But the circumstance, you write to me, that most pleases you in my being appointed augur, is, that Tully enjoyed the same post; for you rejoice (you tell me) to find that I follow his steps along the path of office whom I long to emulate in oratory. I wish, indeed, as I have been admitted to the same sacred college, and have held the consulship at a much earlier age than Cicero, so I might, even late in life, catch some spark of his genius; But, to be sure, preferments which are in the gift of man, have fallen to me and to many; whereas what Heaven alone can bestow is not more difficult to attain than presumptuous to expect. Farewell.

was elected by the *Senate* to fill the next vacancy, and then formally co-opted by the College. Virginius Rufus had also regularly nominated Pliny (i. 8).

## IX

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO URSO SUO S.

CAUSAM per hos dies dixit Iulius Bassus, homo laboriosus et adversis suis clarus. Accusatus est sub Vespasiano a privatis duobus, ad senatum remissus diu pependit, tandemque absolutus vindicatusque. Titum timuit ut Domitiani amicus, a Domitiano relegatus est; revocatus a Nerva sortitusque Bithyniam rediit reus accusatus non minus acriter quam fideliter defensus. Varias sententias habuit, plures tamen quasi mitiores.

Egit contra eum Pomponius Rufus, vir paratus et vehemens; Rufo successit Theophanes, unus ex legatis, fax accusationis et origo. Respondi ego. Nam mihi Bassus iniunxerat, ut totius defensionis fundamenta iacerem, dicerem de ornamentis suis, quae illi et ex generis claritate et ex periculis ipsis magna erant, dicerem de conspiratione delatorum, quam in quaestu habebant, dicerem causas, quibus factiosissimum quemque ut illum ipsum Theophanem

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<sup>a</sup> See v. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Informers had a fourth part of the effects of the persons convicted. (Melm.)



## IX

## TO CORNELIUS URSUS

THE last few days have been occupied by the trial of Julius Bassus, a man constantly embarrassed, and rendered conspicuous by his misfortunes. In the reign of Vespasian, two private persons informed against him; and the affair being referred to the Senate, it depended there a considerable time, when at last he was honourably acquitted. During the reign of Titus, he was under continual apprehensions of his resentment, as being a known friend to Domitian; yet when the latter ascended the throne, Bassus was exiled. Being afterwards recalled by Nerva and having obtained by lot the Proconsulship of Bithynia, he was at his return from thence accused (of extortion); prosecuted with warmth, he has been defended with no less firmness. The sentiments of his judges were greatly divided; however, the majority leaned towards clemency.

Pomponius Rufus,<sup>a</sup> a speaker of great resource and vivacity, was counsel against him, seconded by Theophanes, one of the delegates from the province, and the chief promoter and inflamer of this prosecution. I followed on the other side; for Bassus insisted that the foundation of his defence should be laid by me. I was to represent the distinction which his illustrious birth and his very perils attached to him; to expose the informers against him as living on the profits of such conspiracies<sup>b</sup> and to display the true reasons which rendered him odious to the seditious generally, and particularly to

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

offendisset. Eundem me voluerat occurrere crimini, quo maxime premebatur. In aliis enim quamvis auditu gravioribus non absolutionem modo, verum etiam laudem merebatur, hoc illum onerabat, quod homo simplex et incautus quaedam a provincialibus ut amicis acceperat. Nam fuerat in provincia eadem quaestor. Haec accusatores furta ac rapinas, ipse munera vocabat; sed lex munera quoque accipi vetat.

Hic ego quid agerem, quod iter defensionis ingrederer? Negarem? verebar, ne plane furtum videretur, quod confiteri timerem. Praeterea rem manifestam infitiri auctoris erat crimen, non diluentis, praesertim cum reus ipse nihil integrum advocatis reliquisset. Multis enim atque etiam principi dixerat sola se munuscula dumtaxat natali suo aut Saturnalibus accepisse et plerisque misisse. Veniam ergo peterem? Ingulasset<sup>1</sup> reum, quem ita deliquisse concederem, ut servari nisi venia non posset. Tamquam recte factum tuerer? non illi profuissem, sed ipse impudens exstitissem. In hac difficultate placuit medium quiddam tenere. Videor tenuisse.

Actionem meam, ut proelia solet, nox diremit.

<sup>1</sup> ingulasset *M V, Bip., K*, iugularem *F Ricc. pra.*, iugulasset *D*.

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<sup>a</sup> *Furtum* as a legal term covered every species of fraud and dishonesty. The allegation was, that Bassus had given and received presents with corrupt intent.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* by its general tenor, not by specific enactment.

Theophanes; but above all, to meet the most damaging charge that was brought against him. For on all the other counts, however serious they might sound, he not only deserved to be acquitted, but highly commended; but the *gravamen* of the indictment was, that in the simplicity of his heart he had incautiously accepted certain things from the provincials on the strength of friendship with them (for he had been formerly Quaestor in that same province). These things, which his accusers called thefts<sup>a</sup> and plunder, Bassus called *presents*; but presents, too, are vetoed by the Law.<sup>b</sup>

Now, what was I to do, and what line of defence should I strike into upon this occasion? If I denied the fact, I was afraid it would look as if I dared not confess to a patent theft: besides to deny what was so notorious, would be to heighten, not to extenuate the charge, especially as the accused himself had cut the ground from under his counsel. For he had acknowledged to many persons, and actually to the Emperor, that he received, and sent to nearly every one, some merely trifling presents, albeit only upon his birthday, or at the feast of the Saturnalia. Should I then plead for indulgence? That would be cutting the defendant's throat at once, by confessing the nature of his offence was such, that nothing but indulgence could save him. Should I then justify the fact? In so doing I should have displayed my own impudence without rendering any service to Bassus. Under these difficulties I thought it would be best to steer a middle course; and I flatter myself I did so.

But the approach of night broke off my speech, even as it is wont to break off battles. I had spoken

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Egeram horis tribus et dimidia, supererat sesquihora. Nam, cum e lege accusator sex horas, novem reus accepisset, ita diviserat tempus reus inter me et eum, qui dicturus post erat, ut ego quinque horis, ille reliquis uteretur. Mihi successus actionis silentium finemque suadebat. Temerarium est enim secundis non esse contentum. Ad hoc verebar, ne mox corporis vires iterato labore deficerent; quem difficilius est repetere quam iungere. Erat etiam periculum, ne reliqua actio mea et frigus ut deposita et taedium ut resumpta pateretur. Ut enim faces ignem adsidua concussione custodiunt, dimissum aegerrime reparant, sic et dicentis calor et audientis intentio continuatione servatur, intercapedine et quasi remissione languescit. Sed Bassus multis precibus, paene etiam lacrimis obsecrabat, implerem meum tempus. Parui utilitatemque eius praetuli meae. Bene cessit; inveni ita erectos animos senatus, ita recentes, ut priore actione incitati magis quam satiati viderentur.

Successit mihi Luceius Albinus tam apte, ut orationes nostrae varietatem duarum, contextum unius habuisse credantur. Respondit Herennius Pollio

for three hours and a half, so that I had still an hour and a half remaining. For the law having allowed six hours to the plaintiff, and nine to the defendant, Bassus had so divided the allotted time between me and the advocate who was to speak after me, that I had five hours, and he the rest. But perceiving my speech had made a favourable impression, I thought it well to hold my peace and make an end; for it is rash, you know, to push one's success too far. Besides, I was apprehensive I should not have bodily strength to renew the struggle, as it is much easier to go on without intermission, than to begin again after having rested. There was also the danger that as the discontinuance of my speech would abate my own ardour, so the resumption of it might prove tiresome to my hearers. When a harangue is carried on in one continued course, the speaker best keeps up his own fire, and the attention of the audience, both which are apt to cool and grow languid upon a remission; just as a continued shaking preserves the light of a torch, which when once it is extinct, is not easily re-inflamed. But Bassus, with repeated prayers and almost with tears, besought me to use up my allotted time; which I accordingly did, preferring his interest to my own. And the event proved extremely favourable; for I found the attention of the senate as fresh and lively as if it had been rather animated, than fatigued by the former part of my speech.

I was seconded by Luceius Albinus, who entered so thoroughly into my reasoning, that our speeches, whilst they had the variety of different and distinct orations, had the connection and uniformity of one entire harangue. Herennius Pollio replied to us

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

instante et graviter, deinde Theophanes rursus. Fecit enim hoc quoque ut cetera impudentissime, quod post duos et consulares et disertos tempus sibi et quidem laxius vindicavit. Dixit in noctem atque etiam nocte illatis lucernis. Postero die egerunt pro Basso Titius Homullus et Fronto mirifice; quantum diem probationes occuparunt. Censuit Baebius Macer, consul designatus, lege repetundarum Bassum teneri, Caepio Hispo salva dignitate iudices dandos, uterque recte. 'Qui fieri potest' inquit 'cum tam diversa censuerint?' Quia scilicet et Macro legem intuenti consentaneum fuit damnare eum, qui contra legem munera acceperat, et Caepio, cum putaret licere senatui, sicut licet, et mitigare leges et intendere, non sine ratione veniam dedit facto vetito quidem, non tamen inusitato. Praevaluit sententia Caepionis, quin immo consurgenti ei ad censendum acclamatum est, quod solet residentibus. Ex quo potes aestimare quanto consensu sit exceptum, cum diceret, quod tam favorabile fuit, cum dicturus videretur. Sunt tamen ut in senatu ita in civitate in duas partes hominum iudicia divisa. Nam quibus sententia Caepionis placuit, sententiam Macri ut

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" See ii. 11 n.

with great spirit and solidity : and after him Theophanes spoke again : in this, as in every thing else, discovering his uncommon assurance, by presuming to take up the time of the Senate, and that somewhat freely, after two such eloquent persons, and of consular dignity, had spoken before him. He continued haranguing till evening, and even beyond it ; for they brought in lights. The next day Titius Homulus and Fronto spoke admirably in behalf of Bassus. The fourth day was employed in exhibiting the proofs. Baebius Macer, the consul-elect, pronounced Bassus guilty, under the law relating to extortion ; Caepio Hispo moved that, without prejudice to his status, the case should be referred to a commission<sup>a</sup> : both pronounced rightly. “ How can that be,” you ask, “ since their views were so extremely different ? ” Because, you will observe, Macer, looking to the strict letter of the law, might very reasonably condemn one who had taken presents contrary to the express prohibition of that law. On the other hand, Caepio, supposing that the Senate had a power (as undoubtedly it has) to moderate or extend the rigour of the laws, might upon very good grounds grant indulgence to a course of action which, though illegal, was not uncommon. The motion of Caepio prevailed ; nay, when he rose up to put it to the house, the same acclamations greeted him as usually follow when a speaker resumes his seat. You will easily judge, therefore, how warmly his speech was approved, when he was so favourably received on rising to make it. But I find the sentiments of the public, as well as of the Senate, are divided into two parties : they who approve of Caepio’s vote, condemn Macer’s as severe and hard :

duram rigidamque reprehendunt; quibus Macri, illam alteram dissolutam atque etiam incongruentem vocant; negant enim congruens esse retinere in senatu, cui iudices dederis.

Fuit et tertia sententia. Valerius Paulinus adensus Caepioni hoc amplius censuit referendum de Theophane, cum legationem renuntiasset. Arguebat enim multa in accusatione fecisse, quae illa ipsa lege, qua Bassum accusaverat, tenerentur. Sed hanc sententiam consules, quamquam maximae parti senatus mire probabatur, non sunt persecuti. Paulinus tamen et iustitiae famam et constantiae tulit. Misso senatu Bassus magna hominum frequentia, magno clamore, magno gaudio exceptus est. Fecerat eum favorem renovata discriminum vetus fama notumque periculis nomen et in procero corpore maesta et squalida senectus.

Habebis hanc interim epistulam ut πρόδρομον, expectabis orationem plenam onustamque, expectabis diu; neque enim leviter et cursim ut de re tanta retractanda est. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> Not, of course, the *lex repetundae* itself. Pliny seems to mean that in getting up the case, T. had had money dealings



on the other hand, the partisans of Macer's call the former lax and even incongruous. They assert, you cannot consistently send a man for trial and yet permit him to retain his seat in the Senate.

There was besides those I have mentioned, a third opinion. Valerius Paulinus, who agreed with Caepio, was for adding further that the Senate should proceed against Theophanes, after he had finished his commission as deputy from the province. For he insisted that Theophanes as prosecutor, had repeatedly infringed the very law under which he had impeached Bassus.<sup>a</sup> But though this proposal was in general highly approved by the Senate, yet the consuls thought proper to drop it: Paulinus, however, had the full credit of so just and resolute a motion. At the breaking up of the house, Bassus was received by great crowds of people with the loudest demonstrations of joy. This new difficulty which he had fallen into, had recalled the remembrance of his former troubles; and a name which had never been mentioned but in conjunction with some misfortune, together with the appearance of a fine person broken with sorrow and age, had raised general sympathy towards him.

You may look upon this letter as the *fore-runner* of the full and pregnant speech which you are to expect, but not too soon; for it is a subject of too much importance to be revised in haste. Farewell.

with the provincials which laid him open to a charge he had specially urged against Bassus, *furtum* (see note p. 292).

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## X

C. PLINIUS STATIO SABINO SUO S.

SCRIBIS mihi Sabinam, quae nos reliquit heredes, Modestum servum suum nusquam liberum esse iussisse, eidem tamen sic adscripsisse legatum: 'Modesto, quem liberum esse iussi.' Quaeris, quid sentiam. Contuli cum prudentibus. Convenit inter omnes nec libertatem deberi, quia non sit data, nec legatum, quia servo suo dederit. Sed mihi manifestus error videtur, ideoque puto nobis, quasi scripserit Sabina, faciendum, quod ipsa scripsisse se credidit. Confido accessurum te sententiae meae, cum religiosissime soleas custodire defunctorum voluntatem, quam bonis heredibus intellexisse pro iure est. Neque enim minus apud nos honestas quam apud alios necessitas valet. Moretur ergo in libertate sinentibus nobis, fruatur legato, quasi omnia diligentissime caverit. Cavit enim, quae heredes bene elegit. Vale.

## XI

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO MINICIANO SUO S.

AUDISTINE Valerium Licinianum in Sicilia profiteri? nondum te puto audisse; est enim recens nuntius.

## X

## To STATIUS SABINUS

YOUR letter informs me, that Sabina, who appointed you and me her heirs, though she has nowhere expressly directed that her slave Modestus shall have his freedom, yet has left him a legacy in the following words—"I give, etc., to Modestus, whom I have ordered to be made free"; upon which you desire my sentiments. I have consulted upon this occasion with experts, and they all agree Modestus is not entitled to his liberty, since it is not *expressly* given, and consequently that the legacy is void, as being devised to a slave. But it appears plainly to be a mistake in the testatrix; and therefore I think we ought to act in this case as if Sabina had written in so many words, what it is clear she imagined she had. I am persuaded you will join with me in these sentiments, who always so religiously regard the intentions of the deceased; which indeed, where they can be discovered, will always be *law* to honest legatees. Honour is to you and me as strong an obligation, as necessity to others. Let us then allow Modestus to enjoy his legacy in as full a manner, as if Sabina had made all her dispositions in due form. For every testator virtually does so, who makes a good choice of heirs. Farewell.

## XI

## To CORNELIUS MINICIANUS

YOU have scarce, I imagine, yet heard (for the news is but just arrived) that Licinianus professes rhetoric in Sicily. This ex-Praetor, who was lately

Practorius hic modo inter eloquentissimos causarum actores habebatur, nunc eo decedit, ut exsul de senatore, rhetor de oratore fieret. Itaque ipse in praefatione dixit dolenter et graviter, 'Quos tibi, Fortuna, ludos facis? facis enim ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores.' Cui sententiae tantum bilis, tantum amaritudinis inest, ut mihi videatur ideo professus, ut hoc diceret. Idem, cum Graeco pallio amictus intrasset (carent enim togae iure, quibus aqua et igni interdictum est), postquam se composuit circumspexitque habitum suum, "Latine," inquit, "declamaturus sum."

Dices tristia et miseranda, dignum tamen illum, quia haec ipsa studia incesti scelere maculaverit. Confessus est quidem incestum, sed incertum, utrum quia verum erat, an quia graviora metuebat, si negasset. Fremebat enim Domitianus aestuabatque in ingenti<sup>1</sup> invidia destitutus. Nam, cum Corneliam, Vestalium maximam,<sup>2</sup> defodere vivam concupisset, ut qui illustrari saeculum suum eiusmodi exemplis arbitraretur, Pontificis maximi iure seu potius immanitate tyranni, licentia domini reliquos pontifices non in Regiam, sed in Albanam villam convocavit. Nec minore scelere, quam quod ulcisci videbatur, absentem inauditamque damnavit incesti, cum ipse fratris

<sup>1</sup> in ingenti *Ricc. F D, K, in om. M V pra.*

<sup>2</sup> Vestalium maximam *M V, maximillam vestalem F Ricc. pra.*

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "those interdicted from the use of fire and water." The old formula of banishment was a sort of excommunication.

esteemed the most eloquent of our advocates, is now fallen from a senator to an exile, from an orator to a teacher of rhetoric. Licinianus himself alluded to this sad change in strong and poignant terms, when making the prefatory remarks at the opening to a lecture. "O Fortune," said he, "how capriciously dost thou sport with mankind! Thou makest rhetoricians of senators, and senators of rhetoricians!" a sarcasm so full of gall, that I fancy he turned rhetorician on purpose to utter it. On entering his class-room in a Grecian cloak (for exiles<sup>a</sup> are denied the privilege of the Roman gown), "Tis in *Latin*," says he, adjusting and looking upon his habit, "that I am going to declaim."

You will say, this situation, wretched and deplorable as it is, is what he well deserves for having sullied his profession by the crime of incest.<sup>b</sup> And indeed, he confessed to the charge; but whether because he was guilty, or because he apprehended worse consequences if he denied it, is not clear. For Domitian was raging with baffled fury under the intense odium that he had recently incurred. He had set his heart on having Cornelia, the Head of the Vestal Virgins, buried alive, from an extravagant notion that those kind of exemplary severities did honour to his reign. Accordingly, in the character of high-priest, or rather indeed in that of a cruel tyrant, he convened the Sacred College, not in the pontifical court where they usually assemble, but at his villa near Alba; and there (by a sentence no less wicked, as it was passed when Cornelia was not present to defend herself, than the action he professed to avenge), he condemned her on the

<sup>b</sup> i.e. by an amour with a Vestal Virgin. See next note.

filiam incesto non polluisset solum, verum etiam occidisset; nam vidua abortu periit.

Missi statim pontifices, qui defodiendam necandamque curarent. Illa nunc ad Vestam, nunc ad ceteros deos manus tendens multa, sed hoc frequentissime clamitabat: 'Me Caesar incestam putat, quia sacra faciente vicit, triumphavit?' Blandiens haec an irridens, ex fiducia sui an ex contemptu principis dixerit, dubium est. Dixit, donec ad supplicium, nescio an innocens, certe tamquam innocens ducta est. Quin etiam, cum in illud subterraneum cubiculum demitteretur, haesissetque descendenti stola, vertit se ac recollegit, cumque ei carnifex manum daret, aversata est et resiliit foedumque contagium quasi plane a casto puroque corpore novissima sanctitate reiecit omnibusque numeris pudoris πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχευεν εὐσχήμων πεσεῖν.

Praeterea Celer, eques Romanus, cui Cornelia obiciebatur, cum in comitio virgis caederetur, in hac voce perstiterat: 'Quid feci? nihil feci.'

<sup>a</sup> Unchastity in a Vestal Virgin was regarded as incest by Roman Law, since the Vestals were in theory daughters of the State, and sisters to all citizens.

<sup>b</sup> Meaning her guilt would have brought disaster to his arms.

<sup>c</sup> Domitian twice celebrated a triumph after victories over barbarians, which were popularly but unjustly regarded as imaginary. See Merrill, p. 306.

<sup>d</sup> Eurip. *Hec.* 569.

charge of incest.<sup>a</sup> Yet he himself had not only incestuously debauched his brother's daughter, but was also accessory to her death : for that lady being a widow, endeavoured to procure an abortion and by that means lost her life.

However, the priests were immediately dispatched to see the sentence of death by burying alive performed. As for Cornelia, she implored now Vesta, now the rest of the Gods ; and amongst other exclamations, frequently cried out, "Is it possible that Caesar can think me polluted, during whose exercise of sacred functions he has conquered and triumphed?"<sup>b</sup> Whether she said this in flattery or derision ; from a consciousness of her innocence, or contempt of the emperor, is not certain ;<sup>c</sup> but she continued exclaiming in this manner, if perhaps not guiltless, at least with every appearance of innocence, until she was carried off to execution. . As she was sent down into the subterraneous cell, her gown hung upon something in the way ; on her turning back to disengage it, the executioner offered her his hand, which she, starting back with averted face, refused, as if by a last impulse of chastity warding off his polluting touch from her pure and spotless person. Thus she observed every point of modesty in the concluding scene of her life—

"And took much forethought decently to fall."<sup>d</sup>

Celer likewise, a Roman knight, who was accused of being her gallant, during the whole time his sentence of death by scourging was executing upon him, in the square near the Senate-house, persisted in saying, "What have I done? I have done nothing."

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Ardebat ergo Domitianus et crudelitatis et iniquitatis infamia. Arripit Licinianum, quod in agris suis occultasset Corneliae libertam. Ille ab iis, quibus erat curae, praemonetur, si comitium et virgas pati nolle, ad confessionem confugeret quasi ad veniam; fecit. Locutus est pro absente Herennius Senecio tale quiddam, quale est illud, *Κεῖται Πάτροκλος*. Ait enim: 'Ex advocato nuntius factus sum: recessit Licinianus.' Gratum hoc Domitiano adeo quidem, ut gaudio proderetur diceretque: 'Absolvit nos Licinianus.' Adiecit etiam non esse verecundiae eius instandum; ipsi vero permisit, si qua posset, ex rebus suis raperet, antequam bona publicarentur exsilium molle, velut praemium, dedit. Ex quo tamen postea clementia divi Nervae translatus est in Siciliam, ubi nunc profitetur seque de fortuna praefationibus vindicat.

Vides, quam obsequenter paream tibi, qui non solum res urbanas, verum etiam peregrinas tam sedulo scribo, ut altius repetam. Et sane putabam te, quia tunc afuisti, nihil aliud de Liciniano audisse quam relegatum ob incestum. Summam enim rerum nuntiat fama, non ordinem. Mereor, ut vicissim, quid in oppido tuo, quid in finitimis agatur (solent

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<sup>a</sup> Antilochus thus announces his death to Achilles, *Il.* xviii. 20.



Hence Domitian lay under an imputation of cruelty and injustice, which extremely exasperated him. Licinianus then, being arrested by his orders on the charge of having concealed a freed-woman of Cornelia's on his country estate, was advised by the Emperor's emissaries, to seek mercy by a confession if he wished to avoid the last punishment; which he accordingly did. Herennius Senecio spoke for him in his absence, something in the style of that well-known Homeric phrase, "Dead is Patroclus!"<sup>a</sup> "Instead of an advocate," said he, "I must turn messenger: Licinianus offers no defence." This news was so agreeable to Domitian, that he could not forbear betraying his satisfaction: "Then," says he, "Licinianus has acquitted us." And went so far as to add, "We must not bear too hardly on him in his disgrace." He accordingly permitted him to carry off such of his effects as he could secure before they were confiscated, and, as it were, rewarded him, by the mild penalty of banishment. Licinianus was afterwards, by the clemency of the late emperor Nerva, transferred to Sicily, where he now gives lessons in rhetoric, and takes his revenge on Fortune by his prefatory remarks.

You see how obedient I am to your commands, by my ferreting out and sedulously communicating not only domestic but foreign news. I imagined, to be sure, as all this happened in your absence, that you had heard nothing about Licinianus beyond the fact of his banishment for incest. For rumour usually reports the upshot, not the course of an affair. I think I deserve in return a full account of all that happens in your town<sup>b</sup> and its neighbourhood; for

<sup>b</sup> Apparently Milan.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

enim notabilia quaedam incidere), perscribas, denique, quidquid voles, dum modo non minus longa epistula, nunties. Ego non paginas tantum, sed versus etiam syllabasque numerabo. Vale.

### XII

C. PLINIUS MATURO ARRIANO SUO S.

AMAS Egnatium Marcellinum atque etiam mihi saepe commendas; amabis magis commendabisque, si cognoveris recens eius factum. Cum in provinciam quaestor exisset scribamque, qui sorte obtigerat, ante legitimum salarii tempus amisisset, quod acceperat scribae daturus, intellexit et statuit subsidere apud se non oportere. Itaque reversus Caesarem, deinde Caesare auctore senatum consuluit, quid fieri de salario vellet. Parva, sed tamen quaestio. Heredes scribae sibi, praefecti aerari populo<sup>1</sup> vindicabant. Acta causa est; dixit heredum advocatus, deinde populi, uterque percommode. Caecilius Strabo aerario censuit inferendum, Baebius Macer heredibus dandum; obtinuit Strabo.

Tu lauda Marcellinum, ut ego statim feci. Quamvis enim abunde sufficiat illi, quod est et a principe et a senatu probatus, gaudebit tamen testimonio tuo.

<sup>1</sup> aerari populo *K*, aerario populoque *Fpra*, aerario populo *D*.

occurrences constantly arise there worth relating ; however, write anything, provided you send me a letter as long as mine. But take notice, I shall count not only the pages, but even the very lines and syllables. Farewell.

## XII

## TO MATURUS ARRIANUS

I KNOW you love Marcellinus ; as indeed you have frequently mentioned him to me with approbation ; but he will rise still higher in your affection and esteem when you learn what he has lately done. When he went Quaestor into one of the provinces, the secretary assigned to him by lot happening to die before his salary became due, Marcellinus saw, and decided, that he ought not to keep in his pocket the sum which had been given him in order to pay that salary. At his return therefore he applied to Caesar, who referred the consideration of what should be done with this money to the Senate. It was a question indeed of no great importance : however, a question it was. The heirs of the secretary claimed it for themselves, and the Prefects of the Treasury for the public. The cause was tried ; and counsel were heard, who spoke extremely well on both sides. Caecilius Strabo moved that the money be paid into the Treasury ; Baebius Macer, that it be given to the heirs ; Strabo's motion was carried.

Pray compliment Marcellinus on this action, as I did immediately ; for though he is amply satisfied by the approval of the Emperor and the Senate, yet he will rejoice over a token of yours. Those who are

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Omnes enim, qui gloria famaue ducuntur, mirum in modum adsensio et laus a minoribus etiam profecta delectat. Te vero Marcellinus ita reveretur, ut iudicio tuo plurimum tribuat. Accedit his, quod, si cognoverit factum suum isto usque penetrasse, necesse est laudis suae spatio et cursu et peregrinatione laetetur. Etenim nescio quo pacto vel magis homines iuvat gloria lata quam magna. Vale.

### XIII

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO <sup>1</sup> TACITO SUO S.

SALVUM te <sup>2</sup> in urbem venisse gaudeo ; venisti autem si quando alias, nunc maxime mihi desideratus. Ipse pauculis adhuc diebus in Tusculano <sup>3</sup> commorabor, ut opusculum, quod est in manibus, absolvam. Vereor enim, ne, si hanc intentionem iam in finem laxavero, aegre resumam. Interim, ne quid festinationi meae pereat, quod sum praesens petiturus, hac quasi praecursoria epistula rogo. Sed prius accipe causas rogandi, deinde ipsum, quod peto.

Proxime cum in patria mea fui, venit ad me salutandum municipis mei filius praetextatus. Huic ego 'Studes?' inquam. Respondit, 'Etiam.'

<sup>1</sup> CORNELIO *Ricc. (Havet), Bipons, om. vell.*

<sup>2</sup> te *pra, om. vell.*

<sup>3</sup> Tusculano *codd. edd., Tuscano Mommsen, sed cf. v. 6, 45.*

actuated by the desire of fame and glory are amazingly gratified by approbation and praise, even though it comes from their inferiors ; but Marcellinus has so high an esteem of you, as to attach the highest value to your judgement. Besides all which, when he finds that the news of his action has penetrated to your distant retreat, he cannot but exult for that his fame has travelled so widely and so far. For, I know not how it is, mankind are generally more pleased with an extensive than even a great reputation. Farewell.

## XIII

## TO CORNELIUS TACITUS

I REJOICE that you are safely arrived in Rome ; for though I am always desirous to see you, I am more particularly so now. I purpose to continue a few days longer at my Tusculum estate in order to finish a little work which I have upon my hands. For I am afraid, should I put a stop to this design, now that it is so nearly completed, I should find it difficult to resume it. Meanwhile, that I may strike while the iron is hot, I send this letter, like an *avant-courier*, to request a favour of you, which I mean shortly to ask in person. But before I inform you what my request is, I must let you into the occasion of it.

Being lately at my native place, a young lad, son to one of my fellow-townsmen, made me a visit. "Do you go to school?" I asked him. "Yes," said he. "And where?" He told me, "At Milan." <sup>a</sup> "And

<sup>a</sup> About eighty miles from Comum, his own and Pliny's native town.

‘Ubi?’ ‘Mediolani.’ ‘Cur non hic?’ Et pater eius (erat enim una atque etiam ipse adduxerat puerum): ‘Quia nullos hic praeceptores habemus.’ ‘Quare nullos? nam vehementer interest vestra, qui patres estis’ (et opportune complures patres audiebant), ‘liberos vestros hic potissimum discere. Ubi enim aut iucundius morarentur quam in patria aut pudicius continerentur quam sub oculis parentum aut minore sumptu quam domi? Quantulum est ergo collata pecunia conducere praeceptores, quodque nunc in habitationes, in viatica, in ea, quae peregre emuntur (omnia autem peregre emuntur), impenditis, adicere mercedibus? ✓Atque adeo ego, qui nondum liberos habeo, paratus sum pro republica nostra quasi pro filia vel parente tertiam partem eius, quod conferre vobis placebit, dare. ✓Totum etiam pollicerer, nisi timerem, ne hoc munus meum quandoque ambitu corrumperetur, ut accidere multis in locis video, in quibus praeceptores publice conducuntur. Huic vitio uno remedio occurri potest, si parentibus solis ius conducendi relinquatur, iisdemque religio recte iudicandi necessitate collationis addatur. Nam, qui fortasse de alieno negligentes, certe de suo diligentes erunt dabuntque operam, ne a me pecuniam [non]<sup>1</sup> nisi dignus accipiat, si accepturus et ab ipsis erit.

<sup>1</sup> [non] *incl. Bipons, K (Gesnero auct.), “aut non aut nisi delendum” Müller.*

why not here?" "Because" (said his father, who was present, and had in fact brought the boy with him), "we have no teachers." "How is that?" said I; "surely it nearly concerns you who are fathers" (and very opportunely several of the company were so) "that your sons should receive their education here, rather than any where else. For where can they be placed more agreeably than in their own country, or maintained in more modest habits and at less expense, than at home and under the eye of their parents? Upon what very easy terms might you, by a general contribution, procure teachers, if you would only apply towards raising a salary for them what you now spend on your sons' lodging, journeys, and whatever a man has to pay for when abroad (which means, paying for everything). Why, I, who have as yet no children myself, am ready to give a third part of any sum you shall think proper to raise for this purpose, for the benefit of our Commonwealth, whom I regard as a daughter or a parent. I would take upon myself the whole expense, were I not apprehensive that my benefaction might hereafter be abused and perverted to private ends; as I have observed to be the case in several places where teachers are engaged by the local authorities. The single means to prevent this mischief is, to leave the choice of the professors entirely in the breast of the parents, who will be so much the more careful to determine properly, as they shall be obliged to share the expense of maintaining them. ||| For though they may be careless in disposing of another's bounty, they will certainly be cautious how they apply their own; and will see that none but those who deserve it shall receive my money, when they must at the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Proinde consentite, conspirete maioremque animum ex meo sumite, qui cupio esse quam plurimum, quod debeam conferre. Nihil honestius praestare liberis vestris, nihil gratius patriae potestis. Educentur hic, qui hic nascuntur, statimque ab infantia natale solum amare, frequentare consuescant. Atque utinam tam claros praeceptores inducatis, ut finitimis<sup>1</sup> oppidis studia hinc petantur, utque nunc liberi vestri aliena in loca ita mox alieni in hunc locum confluant !'

Haec putavi altius et quasi a fonte repetenda, quo magis scires, quam gratum mihi foret, si susciperes, quod iniungo. Iniungo autem et pro rei magnitudine rogo, ut ex copia studiosorum, quae ad te ex admiratione ingenii tui convenit, circumspicias praeceptores, quos sollicitare possimus, sub ea tamen condicione, ne cui fidem meam obstringam. Omnia enim libera parentibus servo; illi iudicent, illi eligant; ego mihi curam tantum et impendium vindico. Proinde, si quis fuerit repertus, qui ingenio suo fidat, eat illuc ea lege, ut hinc nihil aliud certum quam fiduciam suam ferat. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> ut fin. *RMV*, Müller, ut in fin. *FDpa*, ut a fin. *r*, etiam fin. *coni. K*.



same time receive theirs too. Let my example then encourage you to unite heartily in this design; and be assured the greater the sum my share shall amount to, the more agreeable it will be to me. You can undertake nothing more advantageous to your children, nor more acceptable to your country. They will by this means receive their education where they receive their birth, and be accustomed from their infancy to inhabit and affect their native soil. May you be able to procure professors of such distinguished abilities, that the neighbouring towns shall be glad to draw their learning from hence; and as you now send your children to foreigners for education, may foreigners hereafter flock hither for their instruction."

I thought proper thus to lay open to you the rise of this affair, that you might be the more sensible how agreeable it will be to me, if you undertake the office I request. I entreat you, therefore, with all the earnestness a matter of so much importance deserves, to look out, amongst the great numbers of men of letters which the reputation of your genius brings to you, teachers to whom we may apply for this purpose; but it must be understood that I cannot make a binding agreement with any of them. For I would leave it entirely free to the parents to judge and choose as they shall see proper: all the share I pretend to claim is, that of contributing my care and my money. If therefore any one shall be found who relies upon his own talents, he may repair thither; but under the proviso that the said reliance is all he can count upon, so far as I am concerned. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XIV

C. PLINIUS PATERNO SUO S.

Tu fortasse orationem, ut soles, et flagitas et exspectas, at ego quasi ex aliqua peregrina delicataque merce lusus meos tibi prodo. Accipies cum hac epistula hendecasyllabos nostros, quibus nos in vehiculo, in balineo, inter cenam oblectamus otium temporis. His iocamur, ludimus, amamus, dolemus, querimur, irascimur, describimus aliquid modo pressius, modo elatius atque ipsa varietate tentamus efficere, ut alia aliis, quaedam fortasse omnibus placeant. Ex quibus tamen si non nulla tibi paulo petulantiora videbuntur, erit eruditionis tuae cogitare summos illos et gravissimos viros, qui talia scripserunt, non modo lascivia rerum, sed ne verbis quidem nudis abstinuisse; quae nos refugimus, non quia severiores (unde enim?), sed quia timidiores sumus. Scimus alioqui huius opusculi illam esse verissimam legem, quam Catullus expressit:

Nam castum esse decet pium poëtam  
ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est,  
qui tunc denique habent salem et leporem,  
si sunt molliculi et parum pudici.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Catull.* xvi. 5.

## XIV

## TO PATERNUS

You expect and demand, perhaps, as usual, an oration ; but I am going to put into your hands, as if they were some choice bits of foreign merchandise, some of my poetical amusements. You will receive then with this letter a collection of my hendecasyllabic verses, which I write to while away an idle hour upon the road, in the bath, or at table. They express different moods—jesting, frivolous, amorous, melancholy, plaintive, or irate ; or give descriptions, in a style sometimes concise, and sometimes lofty. I endeavoured by this variety to hit different tastes with different pieces, and provide a few, perhaps, of general relish. If you should meet with any passages which may seem too free, your reading will supply you with my apology, in the example of those great and venerable names who have gone before me in the same kind of writing, who without scruple have employed not only the warmest descriptions, but the plainest terms. This, however, is a liberty I have not allowed myself ; not as pretending to more austerity (for why should I ?) but because, in truth, I have less courage. Nevertheless, I entirely approve of the rule which Catullus lays down for this kind of compositions :

“ Let the poet’s conduct be  
 Free from wanton levity :  
 Not so his Muse—her sportive lay  
 Pleases most, when most she’s gay.”

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Ego quanti faciam iudicium tuum, vel ex hoc potes aestimare, quod malui omnia a te pensitari quam electa laudari. Et sane quae sunt commodissima, desinunt videri, cum paria esse coeperunt. Praeterea sapiens subtilisque lector debet non diversis conferre diversa, sed singula expendere nec deterius alio putare, quod est in suo genere perfectum. Sed quid ego plura? nam longa praefatione vel excusare vel commendare ineptias, ineptissimum est. Unum illud praedicendum videtur, cogitare me has nugas meas inscribere 'hendecasyllabos,' qui titulus sola metri lege constringitur. Proinde, sive epigrammata sive idyllia sive eclogas sive, ut multi, poëmatia seu quod aliud vocare malueris, licebit voces, ego tantum hendecasyllabos praesto.

A simplicitate tua peto, ut, quod de libello meo dicturus es aliis, mihi dicas; neque est difficile, quod postulo. Nam, si hoc opusculum nostrum aut potissimum esset aut solum, fortasse posset durum videri dicere: 'Quaere, quod agas'; molle et humanum est: 'Habes, quod agas.' Vale.

You must look upon it as an instance of the great value I set upon your judgement, that I venture to submit the whole to your examination, rather than select out of them some of the more finished pieces for your approbation. And, indeed, poems which are really excellent no longer seem so when they appear in company. But a sensible and discerning reader ought not to compare pieces of distinct sorts with one another, but examine each performance apart; and if a poem is perfect in its kind, not reckon it inferior to another of a different class. But I will say nothing more; for to excuse or recommend my foolish verses by a long preface, would be the excess of folly. I will only therefore premise farther, that I design to call these trifles of mine *Hendecasyllables*, a title which will cover any sort of poem composed in that measure. Call them, if you think proper, Epigrams, Idylls, Eclogues (as many others have), Little Poems; in a word, give them what name you please, I offer them only as *Hendecasyllables*.<sup>a</sup>

What I beg of your sincerity is, that you would speak your opinion of them to me, with the same freedom that you would to others. When I ask this, I think, I lay you under no difficulty. If, indeed, these little poetical essays were my only or chief productions, it might sound, perhaps, a little harsh to advise me to find something else to do; but you may with great delicacy and politeness tell me, I have something else to do. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> The eleven-syllabled metre (made famous by Catullus) had been so largely employed for one theme, that "hendecasyllabics" became a synonym for erotic poetry.

## XV

C. PLINIUS MINICIO<sup>1</sup> FUNDANO SUO S.

Si quid omnino, hoc certe iudicio facio, quod Asinium Rufum singulariter amo. Est homo eximius et bonorum amantissimus. Cur enim non me quoque inter bonos numerem? Idem Cornelium Tacitum (scis, quem virum) arta familiaritate complexus est. Proinde, si utrumque nostrum probas, de Rufo quoque necesse est idem sentias, cum sit ad connectendas amicitias vel tenacissimum vinculum morum similitudo. Sunt ei liberi plures. Nam in hoc quoque functus est optimi civis officio, quod fecunditate uxoris large frui voluit eo saeculo, quo plerisque etiam singulos filios orbitatis praemia graves faciunt; quibus ille despectis, avi quoque nomen adsumpsit. Est enim avus, et quidem ex Saturio Firmo, quem diliges ut ego, si ut ego propius inspexeris.

Haec eo pertinent, ut scias, quam copiosam, quam numerosam domum uno beneficio sis obligaturus; ad quod petendum voto primum, deinde bono quodam omine adducimur. Optamus enim tibi ominamurque in proximum annum consulatum; ita nos virtutes

<sup>1</sup> MINICIO *solus Ricc.*

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "the rewards attaching to childlessness."

## XV

## TO MINICIUS FUNDANUS

IF I can pretend to judgement in any thing, it is undoubtedly in the singular affection which I have for Asinius Rufus. He is a person of the highest merit, and a devoted friend to good men—for why may I not venture to include myself among the good? He and Tacitus (to whose eminent virtues you are no stranger) are united in the strictest intimacy. If therefore you esteem Tacitus and myself, you cannot but have the same favourable sentiments of Rufus; for a similitude of manners is, you know, the strongest cement of friendship. He has several children. For in this, as in other respects, he has fulfilled the duty of a good citizen, that he has chosen to reap the full blessing of a fruitful marriage; and this in an age when even one child is thought a burthen, as it prevents that lucrative adulation which is usually paid to those who have none.<sup>a</sup> But he scorns such low views, and has added the title of grandfather to his paternal dignity; for which he is indebted to Saturius Firmus, a person whom you would esteem as much as I do, if you knew him as well.

My design in all this detail, is, to let you see, what a numerous family you may oblige by conferring a single favour: a favour which I am induced to solicit both by the wish of my heart, and a certain good omen for its fulfilment. For I wish, and augur too, that you shall be Consul the approaching year: and in this presage I am confirmed both by your own

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tuae, ita iudicia principis augurari volunt. Concurrit autem, ut sit eodem anno quaestor maximus ex liberis Rufi, Asinius Bassus, iuvenis (nescio, an dicam, quod me pater et sentire et dicere cupit, adolescentis verecundia vetat) ipso patre melior. Difficile est, ut mihi de absente credas, quamquam credere soles omnia, tantum in illo industriae, probitatis, eruditionis, ingenii, studii, memoriae denique esse, quantum expertus invenies. Vellem tam ferax saeculum bonis artibus haberemus, ut aliquos Basso praeferre deberes; tum ego te primus hortarer moneremque, circumferres oculos ac diu pensitares, quem potissimum eligeres. Nunc vero—sed nihil volo de amico meo adrogantius dicere, hoc solum dico, dignum esse iuvenem, quem more maiorum in filii locum adsumas.

Debent autem sapientes viri ut tu tales quasi liberos a republica accipere, quales a natura solemus optare. Decorus erit tibi consuli quaestor patre praetorio, propinquis consularibus, quibus iudicio ipsorum quamquam adolescentulus adhuc iam tamen invicem ornamento est. Proinde indulge precibus meis, obsequere consilio et ante omnia, si festinare videor, ignosce, primum quia votis suis amor plerumque praecurrit, deinde quod in ea civitate, in qua



conspicuous merit, and the distinguishing judgement of the emperor. It is a further coincidence, that Asinius Bassus, the eldest son of Rufus, should attain the Quaestorship in the same year. I know not whether I ought to say (which, however, the father would have me both say and think, though the youth is too modest to allow of it) that he is an even better man than his father. Were I to represent his abilities, his probity, his learning, his genius, his application and his parts as great as you will most certainly experience them, you, who never yet suspected my veracity, would scarce conceive, not having yet met him, that he deserved the character. I wish our age so abounded in merit, as to supply some whom you might justly prefer to him. In that case I should be the first to advise you to look about and to consider for a long time where to fix your choice: but as it is—however I will not speak of my friend in too arrogant a strain. I will only say, he is a young man, who deserves you should look upon him in the same relation, as our ancestors used to consider their Quaestors, that is, as your son.

Men of your character for wisdom should choose their political children of the same cast they would wish nature to form their real ones. It will be an honour to your Consulship to have a Quaestor whose father has been Praetor, and whose relations Consuls, yet who, though but a youth, reflects back to his family (and that by their own confession) as much credit as he derives from it. Let me entreat you then to comply with my petition and my advice. Above all, if I seem premature, I beg you will pardon me, when you consider that affection commonly runs ahead of its wishes; again, that in a State where

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

omnia quasi ab occupantibus aguntur, quae legitimum tempus exspectant, non matura, sed sera sunt, deinde, quod rerum, quas adsequi cupias, praesumptio ipsa iucunda est.

Revereatur iam te Bassus ut consulem, tu dilige eum ut quaestorem, nos denique utriusque vestrum amantissimi duplici laetitia perfruamur. Etenim, cum sic te, sic Bassum diligamus, ut et illum cuiuscumque et tuum quemcumque quaestorem in petendis honoribus omni ope, labore, gratia simus iuvaturi, perquam iucundum nobis erit, si in eundem iuvenem studium nostrum et amicitiae meae et consulatus tui ratio contulerit, si denique precibus meis tu potissimum adiutor accesseris, cuius et suffragio senatus libentissime indulgeat et testimonio plurimum credat. Vale.

### XVI

C. PLINIUS VALERIO PAULINO SUO S.

GAUDE meo, gaude tuo, gaude etiam publico nomine; adhuc honor studiis durat. Proxime cum dicturus apud centumviros essem, adeundi mihi locus nisi a tribunali, nisi per ipsos iudices non fuit; tanta stipatione cetera tenebantur. Ad hoc quidam ornatus adulescens scissis tunicis, ut in frequentia

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*, in this case, the following year; when Minicius would be Consul, and Bassus would attain the age (twenty-

every office is held on the principle of *first come first served*, appointments are not seasonable, but overdue when deferred until the legitimate time <sup>a</sup>; finally, that to antedate the achievement of one's desires is in itself a pleasure.

Allow Bassus then to revere you as already Consul, and do you in return esteem him as your Quaestor; and let me, who fervently love you both, enjoy a twofold happiness. For, as I so equally value Bassus and yourself that I shall assist with all my assiduity and credit both *him*, to whomsoever he may be Quaestor, and *your* Quaestor, be he who he may, when they stand for higher office; so it will be extremely agreeable to me if my twofold regard for my own friend, and for your Consular dignity, should centre my endeavours upon one and the same young man; if, in fine, my solicitations have *your* support, in whose suffrage the Senate most gladly acquiesces, and to whose testimony they attach the utmost value. Farewell.

## XVI

## TO VALERIUS PAULINUS

REJOICE, my friend, not only upon my account, but your own, and that of the public; for oratory is still held in honour! Being lately engaged to plead in a cause before the Centumviri, the crowd was so great that I could not get to my place, but by way of the tribunal and the very seats of the jury. And I have to add, that a young nobleman having got his tunic seven) at which a Roman became legally eligible for the office of Quaestor—the first step in the *cursus honorum*.

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solet, sola velatus toga perstitit et quidem horis septem. Nam tam diu dixi magno cum labore, sed maiore cum fructu. Studeamus ergo nec desidia nostrae praetendamus alienam. Sunt, qui audiant, sunt qui legant, nos modo dignum aliquid auribus dignum chartis elaboremus. Vale.

### XVII

C. PLINIUS ASINIO GALLO SUO S.

Et admones et rogas, ut suscipiam causam Corelliae absentis contra C. Caccilium, consulem designatum. Quod admones, gratias ago, quod rogas, queror. Admoneri enim debeo, ut sciam, rogari non debeo, ut faciam, quod mihi non facere turpissimum est. An ego tueri Corelli filiam dubitem? Est quidem mihi cum isto, contra quem me advocas, non plane familiaris, sed tamen amicitia. Accedit huc dignitas hominis atque hic ipse, cui destinatus est, honor; cuius nobis hoc maior agenda<sup>1</sup> reverentia est, quod iam illo functi sumus. Naturale est enim, ut ea, quae quis adeptus est, ipse quam amplissima existimari velit. Sed mihi cogitanti adfuturum me Corelli filiae omnia ista frigida et inania videntur.

<sup>1</sup> agenda *Ricc. FDpra*, K, habenda *MV*.

torn, as will happen in a crowd, stood in nothing but his toga to hear me for seven hours together. For so long I was speaking; and with a success greater than my great fatigue. Come on then, my friend, and let us earnestly pursue our studies, nor screen our own indolence under pretence of that of the public. We shall find no lack, rest assured, of either hearers or readers, if only we elaborate compositions worth the hearing, and worth committing to parchment. Farewell.

## XVII

TO GALLUS

You acquaint me that Caecilius, the consul elect, has commenced a suit against Corellia, and earnestly beg me to undertake her cause in her absence. As I have reason to thank you for your information, so I have to complain of your entreaties: without the first, indeed, I should have been ignorant of this affair, but I want no solicitations to comply, where it would be most base in me to refuse; for can I hesitate a moment to defend a daughter of Corellius? It is true, indeed, you are calling me to oppose a man with whom I am on friendly, though not intimate, terms. He has further claims in his high rank, and in the mere fact of his prospective office, which I am the more bound to revere as having already filled it myself. For it is natural for a man to wish those offices should be reckoned illustrious, which he himself once possessed. Yet all these objections seem feeble and inane when I reflect that it is the daughter of Corellius whom I am to defend.

Obversatur oculis ille vir, quo neminem aetas nostra graviolem, sanctiorem, subtiliorem denique tulit; quem ego cum ex admiratione diligere coepissem, quod evenire contra solet, magis admiratus sum, postquam penitus inspexi. Inspexi enim penitus; nihil a me ille secretum, non ioculare, non serium, non triste, non laetum. Adolescentulus eram, et iam mihi ab illo honor atque etiam (audebo dicere) reverentia ut aequali habebatur. Ille meus in petendis honoribus suffragator et testis, ille in inchoandis deductor et comes, ille in gerendis consiliator et rector, ille denique in omnibus officiis nostris, quamquam et imbecillus et senior, quasi iuvenis et validus conspiciebatur.

Quantum ille famae meae domi, in publico, quantum etiam apud principem adstruxit! Nam, cum forte de bonis iuvenibus apud Nervam imperatorem sermo incidisset, et plerique me laudibus ferrent, paulisper se intra silentium tenuit, quod illi plurimum auctoritatis addebat; deinde gravitate, quam noras, 'Necesse est,' inquit, 'parcius laudem Secundum, quia nihil nisi ex consilio meo facit.' Qua voce tribuit mihi, quantum petere voto immodicum erat, nihil me facere non sapientissime, cum omnia ex consilio sapientissimi viri facerem. Quin etiam

The image of that excellent person, than whom this age has not produced a man of greater dignity, rectitude, and penetration, rises on my mental vision. I began to love him out of admiration; and contrary to what is usually the case, my admiration increased after I came to know him thoroughly. Which indeed I did; for he had no merry or earnest thought, no mood grave or gay, that he concealed from me. When I was but a youth, he respected, and (I will even venture to say) revered me, as if I had been his equal. When I solicited any office, *he* supported me with his interest, and recommended me by his testimony; when I entered upon it, *he* was my introducer and my escort; while I exercised it, *he* was my guide and my counsellor. In a word, during my whole official career, though he was both infirm and elderly, he displayed the energy of a young man in robust health.

In private, in public, and at Court, how often has he advanced my reputation! It happened once, that the conversation before the Emperor Nerva turned upon the hopeful young men of that time, and several of the company were pleased to mention me with applause; Corellius sat for a little while silent, which gave what he said the greater weight; and then with that air of dignity, to which you are no stranger, "I must be reserved," said he, "in my praises of Pliny, because he does nothing without my advice." By which single sentence he gave me a greater character than I would presume even to wish for, as he represented my conduct to be always such as wisdom must approve, since it was wholly under the direction of one of the wisest of men. Even in his last moments he said to his

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moriens filiae suae, ut ipsa solet praedicare : ‘ Multos quidem amicos,’ inquit, ‘ tibi in longiore vita paravi, praecipuos tamen Secundum et Cornutum.’ [ Quod dum recordor, intellego mihi laborandum, ne qua parte videar hanc de me fiduciam providentissimi viri destituisse.

Quare ego vero Corelliae adero promptissime nec subire offensas recusabo; quamquam non solum veniam me, verum etiam laudem apud istum ipsum, a quo, ut ais, nova lis fortasse ut feminae intenditur, arbitror consecuturum, si haec eadem in actione, latius scilicet et uberius, quam epistularum angustiae sinunt, contigerit mihi vel in excusationem vel etiam in commendationem meam dicere. Vale.

### XVIII

C. PLINIUS ARRIO ANTONINO SUO S.

QUEMADMODUM magis adprobare tibi possum, quantopere mirer epigrammata tua Graeca, quam quod quaedam aemulari Latine et exprimere temptavi? in deterius quidem. Accidit hoc primum imbecillitate ingenii mei, deinde inopia ac potius, ut Lucretius ait, ‘ egestate patrii sermonis.’<sup>1</sup> Quodsi haec, quae sunt et Latina et mea, habere tibi aliquid venustatis videbuntur, quantum putas inesse iis gratiae, quae mihi et a te et Graece proferuntur? Vale.

<sup>1</sup> *Lucr.* i. 832.



daughter (as she often mentions), "I have in the course of a long life raised up many friends to you; but there is none that you may more assuredly depend upon, than Pliny and Cornutus." A remark I cannot call to mind without perceiving how earnestly I must endeavour not to belie in any wise the forecast of one so gifted with prevision.

I shall therefore most readily appear for Corellia in this affair; nor shrink from the risk of giving offence by doing so. Though I think the very man who is bringing what you call "this novel form of suit" (possibly as it is against a woman), will not only excuse but applaud me, if I have the opportunity of stating these same reasons, by way of apology or maybe recommendation (more at large, of course, than the limits of a letter permit), in my speech to the jury. Farewell.

## XVIII

## TO ARRIUS ANTONINUS

CAN I give you a stronger proof how much I admire your Greek epigrams, than by having endeavoured to imitate and express some of them in Latin?—to their detriment, I confess. This inferiority results firstly from the weakness of my poetic genius; secondly from the poverty, or, rather, as Lucretius has it, "the destitution of our mother-tongue." But if these poems, even when translated, and translated by me, retain for you some measure of their beauty, what must their charms be, do you imagine, when they are presented to me in Greek, and in Greek composed by you? Farewell.

## XIX

C. PLINIUS CALPURNIAE HISPULLAE SUAE S.

CUM sis pictatis exemplum fratremque optimum et amantissimum tui pari caritate dilexeris filiamque eius ut tuam diligas nec tantum amitae ei, verum etiam patris amissi adfectum repraesentes, non dubito maximo tibi gaudio fore, cum cognoveris dignam patre, dignam te, dignam avo evadere. Summum est acumen, summa frugalitas, amat me, quod castitatis indicium est. Accedit his studium litterarum, quod ex mei caritate concepit. Meos libellos habet, lectitat, ediscit etiam. Qua illa sollicitudine, cum videor acturus, quanto, cum egi, gaudio adficitur! Disponit, qui nuntient sibi, quem adsensum, quos clamores excitarim, quem eventum iudicii tulerim. Eadem, si quando recito, in proximo discreta velo sedet laudesque nostras avidissimis auribus excipit. Versus quidem meos cantat etiam formatque cithara non artifice aliquo docente, sed amore, qui magister est optimus.

His ex causis in spem certissimam adducor perpetuam nobis maioremque in dies futuram esse concordiam. Non enim aetatem meam aut corpus, quae paulatim occidunt ac senescunt, sed gloriam diligit. Nec aliud decet tuis manibus educatam, tuis prae-

<sup>a</sup> Calpurnia, Pliny's wife.<sup>b</sup> Fabatus.

## XIX

## TO CALPURNIA HISPULLA

As you are an exemplary instance of tender regard to your family in general, and to your late excellent brother in particular, whose warm attachment you returned with an equal fondness: and have not only shewn the affection of an aunt, but supplied that of a lost father, to his daughter<sup>a</sup>; you will hear, I am persuaded, with infinite pleasure, that she behaves worthy of her father, her grandfather,<sup>b</sup> and yourself. She is incomparably discerning, incomparably thrifty; while her love for her husband betokens a chaste nature. Her affection to me has given her a turn to books; and my compositions, which she takes a pleasure in reading, and even getting by heart, are continually in her hands. How full of solicitude is she when I am entering upon any cause! How kindly does she rejoice with me when it is over! When I am pleading, she stations messengers to inform her from time to time how I am heard, what applauses I receive, and what success attends the cause. When at any time I recite my works, she sits close at hand, concealed behind a curtain, and greedily overhears my praises. She sings my verses and sets them to her lyre, with no other master but Love, the best instructor.

From these circumstances I draw my most assured hopes, that the harmony between us will increase with our days, and be as lasting as our lives. For it is not my youth or my person, which time gradually impairs; it is my glory of which she is enamoured. But what else could be expected from one who was

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ceptis institutam, quae nihil in contubernio tuo viderit nisi sanctum honestumque, quae denique amare me ex tua praedicatione consueverit. Nam, cum matrem meam parentis loco vereris, me a pueritia statim formare, laudare talemque, qualis nunc uxori meae videor, ominari solebas. Certatim ergo tibi gratias agimus, ego, quod illam mihi, illa, quod me sibi dederis, quasi invicem elegeris. Vale.

### XX

C. PLINIUS NONIO MAXIMO SUO S.

Quid senserim de singulis libris tuis, notum tibi, ut quemque perlegeram, feci; accipe nunc, quid de universis generaliter iudicem. Est opus pulchrum, validum, acre, sublime, varium, elegans, purum, figuratum, spatiosum etiam et cum magna tua laude diffusum, in quo tu ingenii simul dolorisque velis latissime vectus es; et horum utrumque invicem adiumento fuit. Nam dolori sublimitatem et magnificentiam ingenium, ingenio vim et amaritudinem dolor addidit. Vale.

### XXI

C. PLINIUS VELIO CEREALI SUO S.

TRISTEM et acerbum casum Helvidiarum sororum! Utraque a partu, utraque filiam enixa decessit.

trained by your hands, and formed by your instructions; who was surrounded under your roof with all that is pious and moral, and had learned to love me from your account of my character? For while you honoured my mother as if she were your own, so you formed and encouraged me from infancy, presaging that I should become all that my wife now thinks I am. Accept therefore of our mutual thanks, that you have given us to each other; and, as it were, chosen the one for the other. Farewell.

## XX

## TO NONIUS MAXIMUS

I HAVE already acquainted you with my opinion of each separate part of your work, as I perused it; I must now tell you my general thoughts of the whole. It is a strong and beautiful performance; it is vigorous, sublime, diversified, elegant, chaste, and full of imagery: moreover, its copious and diffusive eloquence raises a very high idea of the author. You seem borne away on the full sails of a strong imagination and deep sorrow, which mutually assist and heighten each other; for your genius gives sublimity and majesty to your sorrow; and your sorrow adds strength and poignancy to your genius. Farewell.

## XXI

## TO VELIUS CEREALIS

How severe a fate has attended the daughters of Helvidius! These two sisters are both dead in child-bed, after having each of them been delivered

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Adficior dolore nec tamen supra modum doleo ; ita mihi luctuosum videtur, quod puellas honestissimas in flore primo fecunditas abstulit. Angor infantium sorte, quae sunt parentibus statim, et dum nascuntur, orbatae, angor optimorum maritorum, angor etiam meo nomine. Nam patrem illarum defunctum quoque perseverantissime diligo, ut actione mea librisque testatum est ; cui nunc unus ex tribus liberis superest domumque pluribus adminiculis paulo ante fundatam desolatus fulcit ac sustinet.

Magno tamen fomento dolor meus acquiescet, si hunc saltem fortem et incolumem paremque illi patri, illi avo fortuna servaverit. Cuius ego pro salute, pro moribus hoc sum magis anxius, quod unicus factus est. Nosti in amore mollitiam animi mei, nosti metus ; quo minus te mirari oportebit, quod plurimum timeam, de quo plurimum spero. Vale.

### XXII

C. PLINIUS SEMPRONIO RUFO SUO S.

INTERFUI principis optimi cognitioni in consilium adsumptus. Gymnicus agon apud Viennenses ex cuiusdam testamento celebrabatur. Hunc Trebonius

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<sup>a</sup> See ix. 13.      <sup>b</sup> The famous Helvidius Priscus, put to death in exile under Vespasian.

of a girl. This misfortune pierces me with keen, yet not excessive sorrow; for indeed, to see two such amiable young ladies fall a sacrifice to their fruitfulness in the prime and flower of their years, is a misfortune which I cannot too greatly lament. I grieve for the unhappy condition of the poor infants, who are thus become orphans from their birth; I grieve for the sake of the excellent husbands of these ladies; and I grieve, too, for my own. The affection I bear to the memory of their late father, is inviolable, as my defence of him in the Senate,<sup>a</sup> and all my writings will witness for me. Of three children which survived him there now remains but one; and his family that had lately so many noble supports, rests only upon a single mourner!

It will, however, be a great mitigation of my affliction, if Fortune shall kindly spare that *one*, and render him worthy of his father, and grandfather<sup>b</sup>; and I am so much the more anxious for his welfare and good conduct, as he is the only scion of the family remaining. You know the softness and solicitude of my heart where I have any tender attachments: you must not wonder then, that I have many fears, where I have great hopes. Farewell.

## XXII

To SEMPRONIUS RUFUS

I LATELY attended our excellent Emperor as one of his assessors, in a cause wherein he himself presided. A certain person left by his will a fund for the establishment of gymnastic games at Vienna.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> In Gallia Narbonensis, now Vienne.

Rufinus, vir egregius nobisque amicus, in duumviratu suo<sup>1</sup> tollendum abolendumque curavit. Negabatur ex auctoritate publica fecisse. Egit ipse causam non minus feliciter quam diserte. Commendabat actionem, quod tamquam homo Romanus et bonus civis in negotio suo mature et graviter loquebatur. Cum sententiae perrogarentur, dixit Iunius Mauricus, quo viro nihil firmitus, nihil verius, non esse restituendum Viennensibus agona; adiecit: 'Vellem etiam Romae tolli posset.'

Constanter, inquis, et fortiter. Quidni? sed hoc a Maurico novum non est. Idem apud Nervam imperatorem non minus fortiter. Cenabat Nerva cum paucis; Veiento proximus atque etiam in sinu recumbebat. Dixi omnia, cum hominem nominavi. Incidit sermo de Catullo Messalino, qui luminibus orbatus<sup>2</sup> ingenio saevo mala caecitatis addiderat. Non verebatur, non erubescibat, non miserebatur; quo saepius a Domitiano non secus ac tela, quae et ipsa caeca et improvida feruntur, in optimum quemque contorquebatur. De huius nequitia sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super cenam loquebantur, cum ipse imperator, 'Quid putamus passurum fuisse, si viveret?' Et Mauricus: 'Nobiscum cenaret.'

<sup>1</sup> suo *Ricc. Fpa, Müller, om. MVD, K.*

<sup>2</sup> orbatus *Ricc. Fa, K, Kukula, Merrill, captus MV, Müller.*

<sup>a</sup> The Duumviri were two magistrates who exercised in their respective corporations the same functions as the Consuls at Rome; they were chosen out of the body of Decuriones, or local senators.

<sup>b</sup> An infamous sycophant and informer under Domitian.

<sup>c</sup> Another notorious informer, whom Juvenal couples with Veiento.



These my worthy friend Trebonius Rufinus, when he exercised the office of Duumvir,<sup>a</sup> had ordered to be totally abolished; and it was now alleged that he had no official power to do so. He pleaded his own cause as successfully as eloquently; and what particularly recommended his speech was, that he delivered it with the deliberate gravity proper to a true Roman and a good citizen in dealing with a personal matter. When the sentiments of the assessors were taken, Junius Mauricus (who in resolution and integrity has no superior) pronounced that these games should not be restored to the people of Vienna; "and I would," added he, "they could be abolished at Rome too!"

This, you will say, was an instance of great firmness and courage, but it is nothing new in Mauricus. He gave as strong a proof of his courage before the Emperor Nerva. Being at supper one evening with that prince and a few select friends, Veiento<sup>b</sup> was placed next to the Emperor, and actually reclined upon his bosom. To name the man is to say all! The discourse happened to turn upon Catullus Messalinus,<sup>c</sup> who had a soul as dark as his body; for he was not only cursed with want of sight, but want of humanity. As he was uninfluenced either by fear, shame, or compassion, Domitian all the more frequently used him to fling against every man of worth, precisely as a dart, that flies sightless and senseless to its mark. The company were talking of the sanguinary counsels and infamous practices of this creature. "And what," said the Emperor, "would have been his fate had he lived till now?" "He would be supping with us," replied Mauricus.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Longius abii, libens tamen. Placuit agona tolli, qui mores Viennensium infecerat ut noster hic omnium. Nam Viennensium vitia intra ipsos residunt, nostra late vagantur, utque in corporibus sic in imperio gravissimus est morbus, qui a capite diffunditur. Vale.

### XXIII

C. PLINIUS POMPONIO BASSO SUO S.

MAGNAM cepi voluptatem, eum ex communibus amicis cognovi te, ut sapientia tua dignum est, et disponere otium et ferre, habitare amoenissime et nunc terra, nunc mari corpus agitare, multum disputare, multum audire, multum lectitare, eumque plurimum scias, cotidie tamen aliquid addiscere. Ita senescere oportet virum, qui magistratus amplissimos gesserit, exercitus rexit totumque se reipublicae, quam diu decebat, obtulerit. Nam et prima vitae tempora et media patriae, extrema nobis impertire debemus, ut ipsae leges monent, quae maiorem annis [LX]<sup>1</sup> otio reddunt. Quando mihi licebit, quando per aetatem honestum erit imitari istud pulcherrimae quietis exemplum? quando secessus mei non desidiae nomen, sed tranquillitatis accipient? Vale.

<sup>1</sup> LX *add. Bipons, et ed. qua usus est Melmoth.*

<sup>a</sup> A senator was not obliged to attend the business of the house, after that age. (Melmoth.)

But to return from this long digression, into which, however, I did not fall undesignedly. It was determined these games should be suppressed, which had greatly infected the manners of the people of Vienna; as they have universally had the same effect among us. But the vices of the Viennenses are confined within their own walls; ours spread far and wide; and it is in the body politic, as in the natural, those disorders are most dangerous that flow from the head. Farewell.

## XXIII

## TO POMPONIUS BASSUS

I HAVE heard with great pleasure from our common friends, that you support and dispose of your leisure in retirement, as becomes a man of your distinguished wisdom; that you inhabit a most delightful spot, take exercise by land and sea, and mix learned conferences with much reading; and are daily increasing that immense fund of knowledge you already possess. To grow old in this way behoves one who has discharged the highest civil offices, commanded an army, and who gave himself wholly up to the service of the Commonwealth, as long as it became him to do so. Our youth and manhood we owe to our country, but our declining age is due to ourselves; as the laws themselves seem to suggest, which consign us to retirement, when we are arrived beyond our sixtieth year.<sup>a</sup> How do I long for the time when I shall enjoy that happy privilege! When my years will justify my following the example of your honourable repose! When my retirement shall not be termed indolence, but calm! Farewell.

## XXIV

C. PLINIUS FABIO VALENTI SUO S.

PROXIME cum apud centumviros in quadruplici iudicio dixissem, subiit recordatio egisse me iuvenem aequae in quadruplici. Processit animus, ut solet, longius; coepi reputare, quos in hoc iudicio, quos in illo socios laboris habuissem. Solus eram, qui in utroque dixissem. Tantas conversiones aut fragilitas mortalitatis aut fortunae mobilitas facit. Quidam ex iis, qui tunc egerant, decesserunt, exsulant alii, huic aetas et valetudo silentium suasit, hic sponte beatissimo otio fruitur, alius exercitum regit, illum civilibus officiis principis amicitia exemit.

Circa nos ipsos quam multa mutata sunt! Studiis processimus, studiis periclitati sumus rursusque processimus. Profuerunt nobis bonorum amicitiae, bonorum obfuerunt iterumque prosunt. Si computes annos, exiguum tempus, si vices rerum, aevum putes; quod potest esse documento nihil desperare, nulli rei fidere, cum videamus tot varietates tam volubili orbe circumagi. Mihi autem familiare est omnes cogitationes meas tecum communicare iisdemque

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<sup>a</sup> See i. 18 n.

<sup>b</sup> The term *amicitia Caesaris* or *principis*, denoted a semi-official relation, involving personal attendance on the Emperor. Cf. iii. 5.

<sup>c</sup> By rendering Pliny suspect to Domitian (iii. 11, vii. 27).

## XXIV

TO FABIVS VALENS

AFTER pleading the other day before the Centumviri sitting as one court, I recollected having pleaded as a youngster before the same fourfold court,<sup>a</sup> I could not forbear, as usual, to pursue the reflection my mind had started; I began to reckon up the advocates who had shared my labours in the present and in the former cause, and I found I was the only person remaining who had been counsel in both: such changes does the fragile nature of mortals, or the vicissitudes of Fortune, produce! Death had removed some; banishment others; age and infirmities had silenced those, while these had voluntarily withdrawn to enjoy the blessings of retirement; *one* was at the head of an army; and the position of friend to the emperor<sup>b</sup> had exempted *another* from civil employments.

What turns of fortune have I experienced in my own person! It was my profession that first raised me; it was my profession that endangered me; and it was my profession that advanced me again. Once the friendships of good men did me much service; they proved afterward extremely prejudicial to my interest,<sup>c</sup> and now they benefit me again. If you compute the years in which all this has happened, it is but a little while; if you number the vicissitudes, it seems an age. This should teach us to check both our despair and presumption, when we observe such a variety of events roll round in so swift and narrow a circle. It is my custom to communicate to you all my thoughts, and to set before

te vel praeceptis vel exemplis monere, quibus ipse me moneo; quae ratio huius epistulae fuit. Vale.

XXV

C. PLINIUS MESSIO MAXIMO SUO S.

SCRIPSERAM tibi verendum esse, ne ex tacitis suffragiis vitium aliquod existeret. Factum est. Proximis comitiis in quibusdam tabellis multa iocularia atque etiam foeda dictu, in una vero pro candidatorum nominibus suffragatorum nomina inventa sunt. Excanduit senatus magnoque clamore ei, qui scripsisset, iratum principem est comprecatus. Ille tamen fefellit et latuit, fortasse etiam inter indignantes fuit.

Quid hunc putamus domi facere, qui in tanta re tam serio tempore tam scurriliter ludat, qui denique omnino in senatu dicax et urbanus et bellus est? Tantum licentiae pravis ingeniis adicit illa fiducia: quis enim sciet? Poposcit tabellas, stilum accepit, demisit caput, neminem veretur, se contemnit. Inde ista ludibria scaena et pulpito digna. Quo te vertas? quae remedia conquiras? ubique vitia remediis fortiora. Ἀλλὰ τὰυτα τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς μελήσει, cui

you the same rules and examples by which I regulate my own conduct: and such was my design in this letter. Farewell.

## XXV

## TO MESSIUS MAXIMUS

I MENTIONED to you in a former<sup>a</sup> letter, that I apprehended the method of voting by ballot would lead to some abuse, and so it has proved. At the last election of magistrates, upon some of the tablets were written several pieces of pleasantry, and even indecencies; in one particularly, instead of the names of the candidates, was inserted the names of their supporters. The Senate was extremely exasperated, and clamorously threatened the vengeance of the Emperor upon the author. But he lay concealed, and possibly might be in the number of those who expressed their indignation.

What must one suppose of such a man's private conduct, who upon so important an affair, and at so solemn a time, could indulge in ribald drollery; who, finally durst play the prater, witling, and exquisite, in the very Senate? "Nobody will know," is the argument that emboldens depraved minds to commit these indecencies. This person called for the tablets, took up the pen, and bent his head to write, undeterred by fear of others or by self-respect. Hence arise these buffooneries, fit only for the boards of a theatre. Whither is one to turn, what remedies may one search out? Our disorders everywhere prove irremediable; but "all this will be the care of

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multum cotidie vigiliarum, multum laboris adicit  
haec nostra iners sed tamen effrenata petulantia.  
Vale.

### XXVI

C. PLINIUS METILIO NEPOTI SUO S.

PETIS, ut libellos meos, quos studiosissime comparasti, legendos recognoscendosque curem. Faciam. Quid enim suscipere libentius debeo, te praesertim exigente? Nam, cum vir gravissimus, doctissimus, disertissimus, super haec occupatissimus, maximae provinciae praefuturus tanti putes scripta nostra circumferre tecum, quanto opere mihi providendum est, ne te haec pars sarcinarum tamquam supervacua offendat? Adnitar ergo, primum ut comites istos quam commodissimos habeas, deinde ut reversus invenias, quos istis addere velis. Neque enim mediocriter me ad nova opera tu lector hortaris. Vale.

### XXVII

C. PLINIUS POMPEIO FALCONI SUO S.

TERTIUS dies est, quod audiavi recitantem Serium<sup>1</sup> Augurinum cum summa mea voluptate, immo etiam admiratione. Poëmatia appellat. Multa tenuiter, multa sublimiter, multa venuste, multa tenere, multa

<sup>1</sup> Serium *Mommsen, Müller, Sentium vulg.*



that superior Power," who by our futile, but unbridled effrontery, has daily fresh occasion of exerting all his pains and vigilance. Farewell.

## XXVI

## TO METILIUS NEPOS

YOU request me to supervise the revision of my works, which you have most diligently collected. I shall do so ; for what task ought I to undertake more willingly, especially at your instance? When a man of consummate dignity, learning and eloquence (who is, moreover, deep in affairs and governor designate of an important province), thinks it worth while to carry my writings about with him, must I not earnestly see to it that this part of his baggage may not prove a superfluous incumbrance? My first care therefore shall be, that these companions of yours may be as agreeable as possible ; and my next, that you may find others on your return, whom you will gladly add to your present *suite*. For to have such a reader as you are is no small inducement to attempt fresh compositions. Farewell.

## XXVII

## TO POMPEIUS FALCO

I HAVE been attending these three days the recital of Augurinus's poems, which I heard not only with great pleasure, but even admiration. He calls them "Poems in Little." They are conceived with much delicacy and elegance, and abound with numberless

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

dulciter, multa cum bile. Aliquot annis puto nihil generis eiusdem absolutius scriptum, nisi forte me fallit aut amor eius, aut quod me ipsum laudibus vexit. Nam lemma sibi sumpsit, quod ego interdum versibus ludo. Atque adeo iudicii mei te iudicem faciam, si mihi ex hoc ipso lemmate secundus versus occurrerit; nam ceteros teneo, et iam explicui.

Canto carmina versibus minutis,  
his olim quibus et meus Catullus  
et Calvus veteresque. Sed quid ad me?  
unus Plinius est mihi priores;  
mavult versiculos foro relicto  
et quaerit, quod amet, putatque amari.  
Ille o Plinius, ille quot Catones!  
I nunc, qui sapias,<sup>1</sup> amare noli.

Vides, quam acuta omnia, quam apta, quam expressa. Ad hunc gustum totum librum repromitto, quem tibi, ut primum publicaverit, exhibebo. Interim ama iuvenem et temporibus nostris gratulare pro ingenio tali, quod ille moribus adornat. Vivit cum

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<sup>1</sup> qui sapias *a*, Müller, quisquis sapias *Fpr*, quisquis amas *MD, K, Bipons*.

<sup>a</sup> *lemma* (Gr. λήμμα) "theme"; but in the next sentence used of the epigram itself.

strokes of tenderness and sublimity, of wit and satire. I am of opinion, there has not any thing for these many years appeared more finished of the kind; if indeed my great affection for him and the praises he bestows upon me, do not bias my judgement. For he has made it the subject of an epigram<sup>a</sup> that I sometimes amuse myself with writing verses. If I can recollect the second line of this epigram (for the rest I remember and have already got correctly) you shall judge if my sentiments are just :

“ Sweetly flow my tender lays,  
 Like Calvus’ or Catullus’ strains,  
 (Bards approv’d of ancient days !)  
 Where Love in all its softness reigns.

“ But wherefore *ancient* poets name?  
 Let Pliny my example be :  
 Him the sacred Nine inflame ;  
 Yet strict as any Cato he !

“ To mutual love he tunes the lay,  
 While from the noisy bar he flies:  
 Say then ye grave, ye formal say,  
 Who shall gentle Love despise?”

You see with what sprightliness of imagination, what propriety of sentiment, what clearness of expression the whole is wrought up; and in this taste I will venture to assure you, you will find his performance in general, which I will send you as soon as it shall be published. In the meanwhile, admit this excellent youth into a share of your affection, and congratulate our age on the production of such a genius, whose virtues render him still more illustrious. He spends his time partly with Spurinna, and partly

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Spurinna, vivit cum Antonino, quorum alteri adfinis, utrique contubernalis est. Possis ex hoc facere coniecturam, quam sit emendatus adulescens, qui a gravissimis senibus sic amatur. Est enim illud verissimum :

γινώσκων, ὅτι  
τοιούτος ἐστίν, οἷσπερ ἦδεται συνών.<sup>1</sup>

Vale.

### XXVIII

C. PLINIUS VIBIO SEVERO SUO S.

HERENNIUS SEVERUS, vir doctissimus, magni aestimat in bibliotheca sua ponere imagines municipum tuorum, Cornelii Nepotis et Titi Cati, petitque, si sunt istic, ut esse credibile est, exscribendas pingendasque delegem. Quam curam tibi potissimum iniungo, primum quia desideriis meis amicissime obsequeris, deinde quia tibi studiorum summa reverentia, summus amor studiosorum, postremo quod patriam tuam omnesque, qui nomen eius auxerunt, ut patriam ipsam veneraris et diligis. Peto autem, ut pictorem quam diligentissimum adsumas. Nam cum est arduum similitudinem effingere ex vero, tum longe difficillima est imitationis imitatio; a qua rogo ut artificem, quem elegeris, ne in melius quidem sinas aberrare. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> *Eurip. fragm.* (Nauck *F. T. G.* p. 490).

with Antoninus; he has the honour to be related to one, and to be the companion of both. You will easily imagine what uncommon virtues *he* must possess, who is thus the favourite of two such venerable old men: for the poet's observation is most undoubtedly true:

“Those who in close society are join'd  
In *manners* equal, you will ever find.”

Farewell.

## XXVIII

### TO VIBIUS SEVERUS

HERENNIUS SEVERUS, a person of distinguished learning, is greatly desirous to have the pictures of two of your fellow townsmen, Cornelius Nepos, and Titus Catus, to adorn his library; and has entreated me, if they are to be met with where you are (as probably they may) that I would procure copies of them for him. That care I recommend to you, rather than to any other, not only because I know your friendship for me readily inclines you to comply with my requests; but as being sensible of the high regard you have for learning and all her friends; and that your affection and veneration for those who have been an ornament to your country, is equal to that which you bear towards your country herself. I beg, moreover, you would employ some skilful hand in this work; for if it is difficult to draw an exact likeness from the life, it is much more so to preserve it in copying what is itself a copy; so I desire you would not suffer the painter you select to deviate from the latter, not even for the better.

Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XXIX

C. PLINIUS ROMATIO FIRMO SUO S.

HEIA tu ! cum proxime res agentur, quoquo modo ad iudicandum veni. Nihil est, quod in dextram aurem fiducia mei dormias. Non impune cessatur. Ecce Licinius Nepos praetor, acer et fortis vir, multam dixit etiam senatori. Egit ille in senatu causam suam, egit autem sic, ut deprecaretur. Remissa est multa ; sed timuit, sed rogavit, sed opus venia fuit. Dices : ‘ Non omnes praetores tam severi.’ Falleris. Nam vel instituere vel reducere eiusmodi exemplum non nisi severi, institutum reductumve exercere etiam lenissimi possunt. Vale.

## XXX

C. PLINIUS LICINIO SURAE SUO S.

ATTULI tibi ex patria mea pro munusculo quaestionem altissima ista eruditione dignissimam. Fons oritur in monte, per saxa decurrit, excipitur cenatiuncula manu facta ; ibi paulum retentus in Larium lacum decedit. Huus mira natura ; ter in die statis

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<sup>a</sup> *in dextram aurem dormire*, “to sleep soundly,” proverbial for lazy unconcern.

## XXIX

## To ROMATIUS FIRMUS

HARK ye, my friend, you must at all rates take your place upon the bench the next time the court sits. In vain would your indolence repose itself<sup>a</sup> under my protection; for if you shirk, you will rue it. Behold that severe Praetor, the bold Licinius Nepos, fining even a senator for the same neglect. The senator pleaded his cause in person; but pleaded in suppliant tone. The fine, it is true, was remitted; but sore was his dismay, but humble his entreaty, but urgent his need of indulgence. All magistrates in that office, you will tell me, are not thus formidably rigid. You may be mistaken; for though only men of such a character would set or revive a precedent of this kind; yet when once it is introduced or restored, even lenity herself may follow it. Farewell.

## XXX

## To LICINIUS SURA

I HAVE brought you as a fairing from my home-country, a problem worthy of your profound erudition. There is a spring which rises in the mountain, and running among the rocks is received into a little banqueting-room, from whence, after being detained a short time, it falls into the Larian lake. The nature of this spring is extremely surprising; it ebbs

auctibus ac diminutionibus crescit decrescitque. Cernitur id palam et cum summa voluptate deprehenditur. Iuxta recumbis et vesceris atque etiam ex ipso fonte (nam est frigidissimus) potas, interim ille certis dimensisque momentis vel subtrahitur vel adsurgit. Annulum seu quid aliud ponis in sicco, adluitur sensim ac novissime operitur, detegitur rursus paulatimque deseritur. Si diutius observes, utrumque iterum ac tertio videas.

Spiritusne aliquis occultior os fontis et fauces modo laxat, modo includit, prout illatus occurrit aut decessit expulsus? quod in ampullis ceterisque generis eiusdem videmus accidere, quibus non hians nec statim patens exitus. Nam illa quoque, quamquam prona atque vergentia, per quasdam obhucantis animae moras crebris quasi singultibus sistunt, quod effundunt. An, quae Oceano natura, fonti quoque, quae ille ratione aut impellitur aut resorbetur, hac modicus hic humor vicibus alternis supprimitur vel erigitur? An, ut flumina, quae in mare deferuntur, adversantibus ventis obvioque aestu retorquentur, ita est aliquid, quod huius fontis excursus repercutiat? An latentibus venis certa mensura, quae dum colligit, quod exhauserat, minor rivus et pigrior, cum collegit, agilior maiorque profertur? An nescio quod libra-



and flows by regular amounts three times a day. This increase and decrease can be plainly observed, and under very delightful conditions. You recline by the side of the fountain, and whilst you are taking a repast and drinking its water too, for it is extremely cool, you see it rise and fall by fixed and measured gradations. If you place a ring, or anything else, on the dry margin, the stream reaches it by degrees till it is entirely covered, and then again gently retires from it; and this you may see it do, if you prolong your watch, for three times successively.

Shall we say, that some secret current of air stops and opens the outlet of the spring, as it is borne into, or expelled from it; as we see in bottles, and other such vessels, where there is not a free and open outlet, though you turn and tilt them downwards, yet the outward air obstructing the vent, they discharge their contents as it were by a succession of gurgling sobs? Or may not this spring have the same property as the ocean, so that the same principle which governs the flux and reflux of the latter, may account for the alternate suppression and effusion of this small body of water? Or, as rivers, which discharge themselves into the sea, meeting with contrary winds and the landward swell of the ocean, are forced back in their channels; so may there not be something that checks this fountain, for a time in its progress? Or is there rather a certain reservoir that contains these waters in the bowels of the earth, which while it is recruiting its discharges, the stream flows more slowly and in less quantity, but when it has collected its due measure, it runs again in its usual strength and fullness? Or

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

mentum abditum et caecum, quod cum exinanitum est, suscitatur et elicit fontem, cum repletum, moratur et strangulat?

Scrutare tu causas (potes enim) quae tantum miraculum efficiunt; mihi abunde est, si satis expressi, quod efficitur. Vale.

lastly, is there I know not what kind of subterraneous poise, that when dry allows the spring to rise, but when full obstructs and chokes it?

You, who are so well qualified for the inquiry, will examine the reasons of this wonderful appearance; it will be sufficient for *me* if I have given you a clear description of it. Farewell.



## BOOK V

## LIBER QUINTUS

### I

C. PLINIUS ANNIO SEVERO SUO S.

LEGATUM mihi obvenit modicum, sed amplissimo gratius. Cur amplissimo gratius? Pomponia Galla exheredato filio Asudio Curiano heredem reliquerat me, dederat coheredes Sertorium Severum, praetorium virum, aliosque equites Romanos splendidos. Curianus filius orabat, ut sibi donarem portionem meam seque praeiudicio iuvarem, eandem tacita conventionem salvam mihi pollicebatur. Respondebam non convenire moribus meis aliud palam, aliud agere secreto, praeterea non esse satis honestum donare et locupleti et orbo, in summa non profuturum ei, si donassem, profuturum, si cessissem, esse autem me paratum cedere, si inique exheredatum mihi liqueret.

Ad hoc ille: ‘Rogo, cognoscas.’ Cunctatus paulum ‘Faciam’ inquam: ‘neque enim video, cur

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* it would have the appearance of bribing him to make a will in Pliny's favour.

## BOOK V

### I

#### TO ANNIUS SEVERUS

A SMALL legacy which was lately left me, has given me greater pleasure than I could have received by a very large one. How so, you ask? Pomponia Galla, having disinherited her son Asudius Curianus, made me her heir, and appointed Sertorius Severus, a man of Praetorian rank, together with several eminent Roman knights, as coheirs. The son begged me to make him a gift of my share, in order to afford him a precedent for recovery from the rest of the heirs; offering at the same time to enter into a secret agreement to return it. I told him, it was by no means agreeable to my character to carry the appearance of acting one thing, whilst I was, in truth, acting another; and that there was something dishonourable in making a gift to a man both rich and childless<sup>a</sup>; and, in fine, that such a gift would not at all answer the purpose at which he was aiming. But (I added) if I were to renounce my legacy, *that* would advantage his claim: and this I was ready and willing to do, if he could prove to me that he was unjustly disinherited.

"Let me beg you," said he, "to investigate my case yourself." After a short pause, "I will do so,"

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ipse me minorem putem, quam tibi videor. Sed iam nunc memento non defuturam mihi constantiam, si ita fides duxerit, secundum matrem tuam pronuntiandi.' 'Ut voles' ait: 'voles enim, quod aequissimum.'

Adhibui in consilium duos, quos tunc civitas nostra spectatissimos habuit, Corellium et Frontinum. His circumdatus in cubiculo meo sedi. Dixit Curianus, quae pro se putabat. Responi paucis ego; neque enim aderat alius, qui defunctae pudorem tueretur; deinde secessi et ex consilii sententia, 'Videtur' inquam, 'Curiane, mater tua iustas habuisse causas irascendi tibi.'

Post hoc ille cum ceteris subscripsit centumvirale iudicium, mecum non subscripsit. Adpetebat iudicii dies. Coheredes mei componere et transigere cupiebant non diffidentia causae, sed metu temporum. Verebantur, quod videbant multis accidisse, ne ex centumvirali iudicio capitis rei exirent. Et erant quidam in illis, quibus obici et Gratillae amicitia et Rustici posset. Rogant me, ut cum Curiano loquar. Convenimus in aedem Concordiae. Ibi ego 'Si mater' inquam 'te ex parte quarta scripsisset heredem, num queri posses? Quid si heredem quidem instituisset ex asse, sed legatis ita exhausisset, ut non amplius apud te quam quarta remaneret?

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" Gratilla was the wife of Rusticus: Rusticus was put to death by Domitian, and Gratilla banished.



I said, "for I do not see why I should rate myself lower than you seem to do. But take notice beforehand, I shall not want resolution to uphold your mother's testamentary dispositions, if I honestly think they are just." "Have your own way," said he; "for that is sure to be the fairest."

I called in as advisers Corellius and Frontinus, two of the most eminent citizens which Rome at that time possessed. Attended with those friends, I heard the cause in my chamber. Curianus stated his pretensions, to whom (as there was nobody but myself present to defend the character of the defunct lady) I made a short reply; then, after private consultation with my advisers, "Curianus," said I, "we are of opinion that your mother had just cause to be offended with you."

Sometime afterward, Curianus commenced a suit in the Centumviral court against all the coheirs except myself. The day of trial approaching, the rest of the coheirs were desirous of compromising the affair; not out of any diffidence of their cause, but from a distrust of the times. They were apprehensive, what had been the case of many others might happen to them, and that from a civil suit it should end in a capital one. And there were some amongst them whose friendship with both Gratilla<sup>a</sup> and Rusticus might be brought up to their prejudice at the trial. They therefore desired me to go and talk with Curianus. We met in the Temple of Concord; "Suppose," said I, "your mother had left you the fourth part of her estate, or even suppose she had made you sole heir, but had exhausted so much of the estate in minor bequests that there would not be more than a fourth part remaining to

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Igitur sufficere tibi debet, si exheredatus a matre quartam partem ab heredibus eius accipias, quam tamen ego augebo. Scis te non subscripsisse mecum, et iam biennium transisse, omniaque me usu cepisse. Sed ut te coheredes mei tractabiliorem experiantur, utque tibi nihil abstulerit reverentia mei, offero pro mea parte tantundem.'

Tuli fructum non conscientiae modo, verum etiam famae. Ille ergo Curianus legatum mihi reliquit et factum meum, nisi forte blandior mihi, antiquum notabili honore signavit.

Haec tibi scripsi, quia de omnibus, quae me vel delectant vel angunt, non aliter tecum quam mecum loqui soleo, deinde quod durum existimabam te amantissimum mei fraudare voluptate, quam ipse capiebam. Neque enim sum tam sapiens, ut nihil mea intersit, an iis, quae honeste fecisse me credo, testificatio quaedam et quasi praemium accedat. Vale.

## II

C. PLINIUS CALPUURNIO FLACCO SUO S.

ACCEPI pulcherrimos turdos, cum quibus parem calculum ponere nec urbis copiis ex Laurentino nec maris tam turbidis tempestatibus possum. Recipies

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" These birds were in high reputation among the Romans, and generally had a place upon elegant tables.

you ; could you justly have complained ? You ought to be contented therefore, if being absolutely disinherited, as you are, the heirs are willing to relinquish to you a fourth part ; which amount however I will increase. You know you did not sue *me*, and the prescription established by two years' undisputed possession secures me in my legacy. But to induce you to make terms with the coheirs, and that you may be no loser by the respect you shewed to me, I offer to contribute my proportion with them."

The satisfaction of my own conscience is not my only reward from this transaction ; it has enhanced my reputation. Now, it is this very Curianus who has left me a legacy ; thereby paying a signal tribute to my conduct, which was (if I do not flatter myself), true to the old Roman ideal.

I have given you this account, because I commune with you upon all my joys and sorrows as freely as with myself ; and because I thought it would be unkind to defraud so tender a friend of the pleasure I was myself experiencing. Pleasure, I own, was my feeling : for I do not pretend to such refined strains of philosophy as to be indifferent, when I think I have behaved like a man of honour, whether my action is, as it were, rewarded by a sort of testimonial. Farewell.

## II

## TO CALPURNIUS FLACCUS

I HAVE received your very fine thrushes<sup>a</sup> ; but I cannot match your gift with any dainty from town, as I am at my Laurentinum, nor from the sea, in the stormy weather now prevailing. I can only therefore

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ergo epistulas steriles et simpliciter ingratas ac ne illam quidem sollertiam Diomedis in permutando munere imitantes. Sed, quae facilitas tua, hoc magis dabis veniam, quod se non mereri fatentur. Vale.

### III

C. PLINIUS TITIO ARISTONI SUO S.

Cum plurima officia tua mihi grata et iucunda sunt, tum vel maxime, quod me celandum non putasti fuisse apud te de versiculis meis multum copiosumque sermonem, eumque diversitate iudiciorum longius processisse, exstitisse etiam quosdam, qui scripta quidem ipsa non improbarent, me tamen amice simpliciterque reprehenderent, quod haec scriberem recitaremque. Quibus ego, ut augeam meam culpam, ita respondeo : facio non numquam versiculos severos parum, facio et<sup>1</sup> comoedias audio et specto mimos et lyricos lego et Sotadicos intellego ; aliquando praeterea rideo, iocor, ludo, utque omnia innoxiae remissionis genera breviter amplectar, 'Homo sum.'

<sup>1</sup> facio et *Dpr*, *K*, *Müll.*, fac. nam et *M F Ricc.* (*corr.*) a, fac. etiam *Ricc. ante corr.*

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<sup>a</sup> Alluding to the story in Homer, where Glaucus and Diomed having an interview between the two armies, they come to the knowledge of the friendship and hospitality which had formerly subsisted between their families, and Diomed proposes an exchange of their arms, as a token of reciprocal friendship :

“ Brave Glaucus then each narrow thought resign’d  
(Jove warm’d his bosom and enlarg’d his mind) ;  
For Diomed’s brass arms of mean device,  
For which nine oxen paid (a vulgar price)

make you the churlish and barren acknowledgement of a letter ; an exchange more unequal, I confess, than that famous one of the subtle Diomed.<sup>a</sup> But your good-nature will so much the more readily grant me an excuse, as I own myself not to deserve one. Farewell.

## III

## TO TITUS ARISTO

AMONGST the many agreeable and obliging instances I have received of your friendship, your not thinking proper to conceal from me the long conversation which lately passed at your house concerning my verses, and the various judgements pronounced upon them, is by no means the least. There were some, you tell me, who did not disapprove the character of my poems, but at the same time censured me in a candid and friendly manner, for composing and reciting such works. My reply to these critics is of a nature to aggravate my offence ; I confess that I sometimes write verses of no very strait-laced kind ; I furthermore listen to comedies, witness broad farces, read love-poetry,<sup>b</sup> and enter into the spirit of the most wanton Muse. Besides all this, I not seldom indulge in mirth, wit and gaiety ; and to sum up every kind of innocent amusement in one word, *I am a man.*<sup>c</sup>

He gave his own of gold divinely wrought ;  
An hundred beeves the shining purchase bought.

POPE, *Il.* vi. 325 (Melmoth).

<sup>b</sup> *Lyric* had become synonymous with *erotic* verse. *Sotadic* verse was a form invented by the obscene Greek poet Sotades.

<sup>c</sup> *Homo sum ; humani nihil a me alienum puto.* TERENCE, *Heaut.* 77.

Nec vero moleste fero hanc esse de moribus meis existimationem, ut, qui nesciunt talia doctissimos, gravissimos, sanctissimos homines scriptitasse, me scribere mirentur. Ab illis autem, quibus notum est, quos quantosque auctores sequar, facile impetrari posse confido, ut errare me; sed cum illis sinant, quorum non seria modo, verum etiam lusus exprimere laudabile est. An ego verear (neminem viventium, ne quam in speciem adulationis incidam, nominabo)—sed ego verear, ne me non satis deceat, quod decuit M. Tullium, C. Calvum, Asinium Pollionem, M. Messalam, Q. Hortensium, M. Brutum, L. Sullam, Q. Catulum, Q. Scaevolam, Servium Sulpicium, Varronem, Torquatum, immo Torquatos, C. Memmum, Lentulum Gaetulicum, Annaeum Senecam et proxime Verginium Rufum et, si non sufficiunt exempla privata, divum Iulium, divum Augustum, divum Nervam, Tiberium Caesarem? Neronem enim trans eo, quamvis sciam non corrumpi in deterius, quae aliquando etiam a malis, sed honesta manere, quae saepius a bonis fiunt. Inter quos vel praecipue numerandus est P. Vergilius, Cornelius Nepos et prius Ennius Acciusque. Non quidem hi senatores, sed sanctitas morum non distat ordinibus.

Recito tamen, quod illi an fecerint, nescio. Etiam; sed illi iudicio suo poterant esse contenti, mihi modestior conscientia<sup>1</sup> est, quam ut satis absolutum putem, quod a me probetur. Itaque has recitandi causas sequor, primum quod ipse, qui recitat, ali-

<sup>1</sup> *conscientia*, Casaubon, Bip. K, constantia MSS., Müll.

But I am not at all displeased to find my character held so high that those who are ignorant that the most learned, the gravest and the most moral of men have enjoyed themselves in compositions of this order, should be surprised at *my* doing so ; but those who know what noble examples I follow, will readily allow me, I trust, to err—while I err in their company whom it is an honour to imitate, not only in their most serious actions, but lightest amusements. Am I to fear (I will not name any living example, lest I should seem to flatter)—I say, am I to fear a practice may ill become *me*, which was not beneath the dignity of Tully, Calvus, Pollio, Messala, Hortensius, Brutus, Sulla, Catulus, Scaevola, Sulpicius, Varro, the Torquati, Memmius, Gaetulicus, Seneca, and, in our own day, Virginius Rufus? And, if the example of subjects is not enough, I can add that of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Nerva and Tiberius. I forbear to add Nero to the catalogue ; though I am sensible, what is the occasional employment of the vicious does not therefore degenerate into wrong ; on the contrary, it still maintains its credit, if frequently practised by the virtuous. In that number Virgil, Cornelius Nepos, and prior to these, Ennius and Accius, justly deserve the most distinguished place. These last indeed were not senators, but virtue knows no distinction of rank or title.

I *recite* my works, however, which I rather think my exemplars did not. Granted ; but those great men might well be satisfied with their own judgement ; I am not conscious of such talents that I can suppose my compositions sufficiently perfect, when they meet my own approval. My reasons then for reciting are these ; firstly the reciter himself becomes

quanto acrius scriptis suis auditorum reverentia intendit, deinde quod, de quibus dubitat, quasi ex consilii sententia statuit. Multa etiam a multis admonetur et, si non admoneatur, quid quisque sentiat, perspicit ex vultu, oculis, nutu, manu, murmure, silentio; quae satis apertis notis iudicium ab humanitate discernunt. Atque adeo, si cui forte eorum, qui interfuerunt, curae fuerit eadem illa legere, intellet me quaedam aut commutasse aut praeterisse, fortasse etiam ex suo iudicio, quamvis ipse nihil dixerit mihi. Atque haec ita disputo, quasi populum in auditorium, non in cubiculum amicos advocarim, quos plures habere multis gloriosum, reprehensioni nemini fuit. Vale.

## IV

C. PLINIUS IULIO VALERIANO SUO S.

RES parva, sed initium non parvae. Vir praetorius Sollers a senatu petiit, ut sibi instituere in agris suis nundinas permetteretur; contra dixerunt Vicetinorum legati; adfuit Tuscilius Nominatus; dilata causa est. Alio senatu Vicetini sine avvocato intraverunt, dixe-



a keener critic of his work, under the diffidence inspired by an audience ; secondly, he can settle any points on which he feels doubtful by the advice of assessors, so to speak. He has, moreover, the advantage of receiving many hints from different persons ; and, failing this, he can discover his hearers' sentiments from the air of a countenance, the turn of a head or eye, the motion of a hand, a murmur of applause, or even silence itself ; signs which will plainly enough distinguish their real judgement from the language of civility. And, indeed, if anyone of my audience should have the curiosity to peruse the same performance which he heard me read, he may find several things altered or omitted, and perhaps too upon *his* judgement, though he did not say a single word to me. But I am arguing as if I had invited the general public to an audience-hall, instead of friends to my own house. True, they made a large audience ; but to have numerous friends has been a boast to many, a reproach to none. Farewell.

## IV

## TO IULIUS VALERIANUS

A TRIVIAL affair, but fraught with no trivial consequences, has taken place. Sollers, an ex-Praetor, petitioned the Senate's leave to hold a fair upon his estate. This was opposed by deputies from the Vicentini, who employed Tuscilius Nominatus as their counsel. The cause was adjourned ; and at the next session the deputies appeared unattended by their counsel, and declared that they had been cheated : an expression, which, whether it

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

runt se deceptos lapsine verbo, an quia ita sentiebant? Interrogati a Nepote praetore, quem docuissent, responderunt, quem prius. Interrogati, an tunc gratis adfuisset, responderunt, sex milibus nummum; an rursus aliquid dedissent, dixerunt mille denarios. Nepos postulavit, ut Nominatus induceretur. Hactenus illo die. Sed, quantum auguror, longius res procedet. Nam pleraque tacta tantum et omnino commota latissime serpunt. Erexī aures tuas. Quam diu nunc oportet, quam blande roges, ut reliqua cognoscas! si tamen non ante ob haec ipsa veneris Romam spectatorque malueris esse quam lector.

† Vale.

### V

#### C. PLINIUS NONIO MAXIMO SUO S.

NUNTIATUM mihi est<sup>1</sup> C. Fannium decessisse; qui nuntius gravi me dolore confudit, primum quod amavi hominem elegantem, disertum, deinde quod iudicio eius uti solebam. Erat enim natura acutus, usu exercitatus, varietate promptissimus. Angit me super ista casus ipsius. Decessit veteri testamento, omisit, quos maxime diligebat, prosecutus est, quibus offensior erat.

Sed hoc utcunque tolerabile, gravius illud, quod

<sup>1</sup> nuntiatum m. est *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, nuntiatur mihi, *Ricc. Fpra*, *Müller*.

dropped from them in the warmth of resentment, or that they really thought so, I will not determine. Nepos the Praetor asked them who it was they had briefed. They replied, the same counsel as before. Asked whether he then appeared for them without a fee, they said they had paid him six thousand sesterces. Had they paid him a second fee? Yes, one thousand denarii. Upon which, Nepos moved that Nominatus should be ordered to attend. The affair went no further that day; but, if I argue truly, it will not end here; for one may observe in several instances, the slightest sparks have lighted up a train of very remote consequences. And now I have raised your curiosity, I shall require much coaxing to make me tell you the sequel;<sup>a</sup> always supposing you do not forestall me by coming expressly to Rome, and choosing to witness, rather than read it. Farewell.

## V

## TO NONIUS MAXIMUS

I AM deeply afflicted by tidings of the death of Fannius,<sup>b</sup> since I not only loved that polished and eloquent man, but constantly relied upon his judgement; for his penetrating genius was improved by experience, and varied in resource. It aggravates my concern that he had the misfortune to die leaving an old will unrevoked; the result is, he has passed over those dearest to him, and favoured persons who bore him some animosity.

But this can be borne, after a fashion; a more

<sup>a</sup> See v. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Otherwise unknown.

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pulcherrimum opus imperfectum reliquit. Quamvis enim agendis causis distringeretur, scribebat tamen exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone et iam tres libros absolverat subtiles et diligentes et Latinos atque inter sermonem historiamque medios ac tanto magis reliquos perficere cupiebat, quanto frequentius hi lectitabantur.

Mihi autem videtur acerba semper et immatura mors eorum, qui immortale aliquid parant. Nam, qui voluptatibus dediti quasi in diem vivunt, vivendi causas cotidie finiunt; qui vero posteros cogitant et memoriam sui operibus extendunt, his nulla mors non repentina est, ut quae semper inchoatum aliquid abrumpat. Gaius quidem Fannius, quod accidit, multo ante praesensit. Visus est sibi per nocturnam quietem iacere in lectulo suo compositus in habitu studentis, habere ante se scrinium (ita solebat); mox imaginatus est venisse Neronem, in toro resedissee, prompsisse primum librum, quem de sceleribus eius ediderat, eumque ad extremum revolvisse, idem in secundo ac tertio fecisse, tunc abiisse. Expavit et sic interpretatus est, tamquam idem sibi futurus esset scribendi finis, qui fuisset illi legendi, et fuit idem.

Quod me recordantem miseratio subit, quantum vigiliarum, quantum laboris exhauserit frustra. Occursant animo mea mortalitas, mea scripta. Nec dubito te quoque eadem cogitatione terreri pro istis, quae

grievous circumstance is that he has left a masterpiece of literature unfinished. Notwithstanding his harassing engagements at the bar, he was writing a history of the last scenes in the life of those who suffered death or banishment under Nero, and had already completed three books. These are written with great delicacy and exactness in the purest Latin, and in a style intermediate between the colloquial and the historical; and as they found many readers, he was the more anxious to finish the rest.

For my part, I regard every death as cruel and premature, that removes one who is preparing some immortal work. The sons of sensuality, who have no views beyond the present hour, terminate with each day the whole purpose of their lives; but those who look forward to posterity, and prolong their memories by their works: to such, death is always sudden, as it always breaks off some unfinished design. Fannius long beforehand had a strong presentiment of what has happened. He thought that he was reclining at midnight on his couch, all in the quiet midnight hour, equipped for study, his bookcase before him as usual; presently, so he fancied, Nero came in and seating himself on the couch, took up the first book of Fannius' history of his crimes, and read it through; he did the same with the second and third books, and then went away. Fannius was terror-struck; he took the vision as signifying that he would write no more of his history than Nero had read; and so it came to pass.

Recalling this accident, I am moved to pity for his fruitless expense of so much toil, so many vigils. It occurs to me that I too am mortal, I too have written; and I doubt not the same reflection alarms you for

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inter manus habes. Proinde, dum suppetit vita, enitatur, ut mors quam paucissima, quae abolere possit, inveniat. Vale.

### VI

C. PLINIUS DOMITIO APOLLINARI SUO S.

AMAVI curam et sollicitudinem tuam, quod, cum audisses me aestate Tuscos meospetiturum, ne facerem, suasisti, dum putas insalubres. Est sane gravis et pestilens ora Tuscorum, quae per litus extenditur; sed hi procul a mari recesserunt, quin etiam Appennino, saluberrimo montium, subiacent. Atque adeo ut omnem pro me metum ponas, accipe temperiem caeli, regionis situm, villae amoenitatem; quae et tibi auditu et mihi relatu iucunda erunt.

Caelum est hieme frigidum et gelidum; myrtos, oleas, quaeque alia adsiduo<sup>1</sup> tepore laetantur, aspernatur ac respuit; laurum tamen patitur atque etiam nitidissimam profert, interdum, sed non saepius quam sub urbe nostra necat. Aestatis mira clementia; semper aër spiritu aliquo movetur, frequentius tamen auras quam ventos habet. Hinc

<sup>1</sup> adsiduo *MD, Bipons, K, aestivo Ricc. Fpra Catan., Müller.*

the works you have in hand. Let us strive then, while Life is ours, to secure that Death may find we have left little or nothing he can destroy. Farewell.

## VI

## TO DOMITIUS APOLLINARIS

THE kind concern you expressed when you heard of my design to pass the summer at my villa in Tuscany, and your obliging endeavours to dissuade me from going to a place which you think unhealthy, is extremely agreeable to me. I confess, indeed, the air of that part of Tuscany, which lies towards the coast, is thick and unwholesome: but my house is situated at a great distance from the sea, and at the foot of the Apennine range, so much esteemed for salubrity. But that you may lay aside all apprehensions on my account, I will give you a description of the mildness of the climate, the situation of the country, and the beauty of my villa, which I am persuaded you will hear with as much pleasure as I shall relate.

The winters are severe and cold, so that myrtles, olives, and other trees which delight in constant warmth, will not flourish here; but bay trees can grow, and even in great perfection; yet sometimes, though indeed not oftener than in the neighbourhood of Rome, they are killed by the sharpness of the seasons. The summers are exceedingly temperate; currents of air are continually stirring, though breezes are more frequent than high winds. Hence

senes multi; videas avos proavosque iam iuvenum, audias fabulas veteres sermonesque maiorum, cumque veneris illo, putes alio te saeculo natum.

Regionis forma pulcherrima. Imaginare amphitheatrum aliquod immensum, et quale sola rerum natura possit effingere. Lata et diffusa planities montibus cingitur, montes summa sui parte procera nemora et antiqua habent. Frequens ibi et varia venatio. Inde caeduae silvae cum ipso monte descendunt. Has inter pingues terrenique colles (neque enim facile usquam saxum, etiam si quaeratur, occurrit) planissimis campis fertilitate non cedunt opimamque messem serius tantum, sed non minus percoquunt. Sub his per latus omne vineae porriguntur unamque faciem longè lateque contexunt; quarum a fine imoque quasi margine arbusta nascuntur. Prata inde campique, campi, quos non nisi ingentes boves et fortissima aratra perfringunt; tantis glebis tenacissimum solum, cum primum prosecatur, adsurgit, ut nono demum sulco perdometur. Prata florida et gemmea trifolium aliasque herbas teneras semper et molles et quasi novas alunt. Cuncta enim perennibus rivis nutriuntur. Sed ubi aquae plurimum, palus nulla, quia deversa terra, quidquid liquoris accepit nec absorbit, ef-



old men abound ; if you were to come here and see the numbers who have adult grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and hear the stories they can entertain you with of their ancestors, you would fancy yourself born in some former age.

The aspect of the country is the most beautiful possible ; figure to yourself an immense amphitheatre, such as the hand of nature could alone form. Before you lies a vast extended plain bounded by a range of mountains, whose summits are crowned with lofty and venerable woods, which supply abundance and variety of game ; from hence as the mountains decline, they are adorned with under-woods. Intermixed with these are little hills of so loamy and fat a soil, that it would be difficult to find a single stone upon them ; their fertility is nothing inferior to the lowest grounds ; and though their harvest indeed is something later, their heavy crops are as well matured. At the foot of these hills the eye is presented, wherever it turns, with one unbroken view of numberless vineyards, which are terminated below by a border, as it were, of shrubs. From thence extend meadows and fields. The soil of the latter is so extremely stiff, upon the first ploughing it rises in such vast clods, that it is necessary to go over it nine several times with the largest oxen and the strongest ploughs, before they can be thoroughly broken. The flower-enamelled meadows produce trefoil and other kinds of herbage as fine and tender as if it were but just sprung up, being everywhere refreshed by never-failing rills. But though the country abounds with great plenty of water, there are no marshes ; for as the ground is sloping, whatever water it receives without absorbing,

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fundit in Tiberim. Medios ille agros secat navium  
 patiens omnesque fruges devehit in urbem hieme  
 dumtaxat et vere, aestate summittitur immensique  
 fluminis nomen arenti alveo deserit, autumno re-  
 sumit.

Magnam capies voluptatem, si hunc regionis situm  
 ex monte prospexeris. Neque enim terras tibi, sed  
 formam aliquam ad eximiam pulchritudinem pictam  
 videberis cernere; ea varietate, ea descriptione,  
 quocunque inciderint oculi, reficientur. Villa in colle  
 imo sita prospicit quasi ex summo; ita leniter et  
 sensim clivo fallente consurgit, ut, cum ascendere  
 non putes, sentias ascendisse. A tergo Appenninum,  
 sed longius habet; accipit ab hoc auras quamlibet  
 sereno et placido die, non tamen acres et immodicas,  
 sed spatio ipso lassas et infractas.

Magna sui parte meridiem spectat aestivumque  
 solem ab hora sexta, hibernum aliquanto maturius  
 quasi invitat in porticum latam et pro modo longam.<sup>1</sup>  
 Multa in hac membra, atrium etiam ex more veterum.  
 Ante porticum xystus concisus in plurimas species  
 distinctusque buxo; demissus inde pronusque pul-  
 vinus, cui bestiarum effigies invicem adversas buxus

<sup>1</sup> pro modo longam *FDpra*, Müller, prominulam *M*,  
*Bipons*, *K*.

runs off into the Tiber. This river, which winds through the middle of the meadows, is navigable only in the winter and spring, when it transports the produce of the lands to Rome; but its contracted channel is so extremely low in summer, that it resigns the name of a *great river* which, however, it resumes in autumn.

You would be most agreeably entertained by taking a view of the face of this country from the mountains: you would imagine that not a real, but some painted landscape lay before you, drawn with the most exquisite beauty and exactness; such an harmonious and regular variety charms the eye which way soever it throws itself. My villa, though situated at the foot of the mountain, commands as wide a prospect as the summit affords; you go up to it by so gentle and insensible a rise, that you find yourself upon an elevation without perceiving you ascended. Behind, but at a great distance, stand the Apennine mountains; in the calmest days breezes reach us from thence, but so spent and weakened by the long tract of land they travel over, that they are entirely divested of all their strength and violence.

The exposure of the main part of the house is full south; thus it seems to invite the sun, from midday in summer (but something earlier in winter), into a wide and proportionably long portico, containing many divisions, one of which is an atrium, built after the manner of the ancients. In front of the portico is a terrace divided into a great number of geometrical figures, and bounded with a box-hedge. The descent from the terrace is a sloping bank, adorned with a double row of box-trees cut in

inscripsit; acanthus in plano mollis et paene dixerim liquidus. Ambit hunc ambulatio pressis varieque tonsis viridibus inclusa; ab his gestatio in modum circi, quae buxum multiformem humilesque et retentas manu arbusculas circumit. Omnia maceria muniuntur; hanc gradata buxus operit et subtrahit. Pratum inde non minus natura quam superiora illa arte visendum; campi deinde porro multaque alia prata et arbusta.

A capite porticus triclinium excurrit. Valvis xystum desinentem et protinus pratum multumque ruris videt, fenestris hac latus xysti, et quod prosilit villae, hac adiacentis hippodromi nemus comasque prospectat. Contra mediam fere porticum diaeta paulum recedit, cingit areolam, quae quattuor platanis inumbratur. Inter has marmoreo labro aqua exundat circumiectasque platanos et subiecta platanis leni aspergine fovet. Est in hac diaeta dormitorium cubiculum, quod diem, clamorem, sonum excludit, iunctaque ei cotidiana amicorumque cenatio<sup>1</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> amicorumque cen. *Ricc. FDa, K*, amicorum cenatio quae *M*.

the shape of animals ; the level ground at the foot of the bank is covered with the soft, I had almost said, the liquid acanthus : this lawn is surrounded by a walk enclosed with dense evergreens, trimmed into a variety of forms. Beyond is an *allée* laid out in the form of a circus, which encircles a plantation of box-trees cut in numberless different figures, and of small shrubs, either low-growing or prevented by the shears from running up too high. The whole is fenced in with a wall masked by box-trees, which rise in graduated ranks to the top. Beyond the wall lies a meadow that owes as many beauties to nature, as all I have been describing *within* does to art ; at the end of which are several other meadows and fields interspersed with thickets.

At the extremity of the portico stands a grand dining-room, which through its folding-doors looks upon one end of the terrace ; while beyond there is a very extensive prospect over the meadows up into the country ; from the windows you survey on the one hand the side of the terrace and such parts of the house which project forward, on the other, with the woods enclosing the adjacent hippodrome. Opposite almost to the centre of the portico stands a *suite* of apartments something retired, which encompasses a small court, shaded by four plane-trees, in the midst of which a fountain rises, from whence the water running over the edges of a marble basin gently refreshes the surrounding plane-trees and the ground underneath them. This *suite* contains a bed-chamber free from every kind of noise, and which the light itself cannot penetrate ; together with my ordinary dining-room that I use too when I have none but familiar friends with me ;

areolam illam, porticum [aliam]<sup>1</sup> eademque omnia quae porticus aspicit. Est et aliud cubiculum a proxima, platano viride et umbrosum, marmore excultum podio tenus, nec cedit gratiae marmoris ramos insidentesque ramis aves imitata pictura. Fonticulus in hoc in fonte crater; circa sipunculi plures miscent iucundissimum murmur.

In cornu porticus amplissimum cubiculum a triclinio occurrit; aliis fenestris xystum, aliis despicit pratum, sed ante piscinam, quae fenestris servit ac subiacet, strepitu visuque iucundam; nam ex edito desiliens aqua suscepta marmore albescit. Idem cubiculum hieme tepidissimum, quia plurimo sole perfunditur. Cohaeret hypocauston et, si dies nubilus, immisso vapore solis vicem supplet. Inde apodyterium balinei laxum et hilare excipit cella frigidaria, in qua baptisterium amplum atque opacum. Si natare latius aut tepidius velis, in area piscina est, in proximo puteus, ex quo possis rursus adstringi, si paeniteat teporis. Frigidariae cellae coniectitur media, cui sol benignissime praesto est,

<sup>1</sup> [aliam] *incl. K*, porticus alia *Fpra.*

this looks upon the little court I just now described, also upon the portico and the whole prospect thence. There is, besides, another room, which, being situated close to the nearest plane-tree, enjoys a constant shade and verdure ; its sides are covered with marble up to the cornice : on the frieze above a foliage is painted, with birds perched among the branches, which has an effect altogether as agreeable as that of the marble. In this room is placed a little fountain, that, playing through several small pipes into a vase, produces a most pleasing murmur.

From a wing of the portico you enter into a very spacious chamber opposite to the grand dining-room, which from some of its windows has a view of the terrace, and from others of the meadow, while those in the front dominate an ornamental basin just beneath them, which entertains at once both the eye and the ear ; for the water falling from a great height, foams round its marble receptacle. This room is extremely warm in winter, being much exposed to the sun, and in a cloudy day the hot air from an adjoining stove very well supplies his absence. From hence you pass through a spacious and pleasant undressing-room into the cold-bath-room, in which is a large, gloomy bath : but if you are disposed to swim more at large, or in warmer water, there is a pool for that purpose in the court, and near it a reservoir from whence you may be supplied with cold water to brace yourself again, if you should perceive you are too much relaxed by the warm. Contiguous to the cold-bath is a tepid one, which enjoys the kindly warmth of the sun, but not so intensely as that of the hot-bath, which projects from the house. This last consists of three

caldariae magis ; prominet enim. In hac tres descensiones, duae in sole, tertia a sole longius, a luce non longius.

Apodyterio superpositum est sphaeristerium, quod plura genera exercitationis pluresque circulos capit. Nec procul a balineo scalae, quae in cryptoporticum ferunt, prius ad diaetas tres. Harum alia areolae illi, in qua platani quattuor, alia prato, alia vineis imminet diversasque caeli partes ut prospectus habet. In summa cryptoporticu cubiculum ex ipsa cryptoporticu excisum, quod hippodromum, vineas, montes intuetur. Iungitur cubiculum obvium soli, maxime hiberno. Hinc oritur diaeta, quae villae hippodromum adnectit.

Haec facies, hic usus a fronte. A latere aestiva cryptoporticus in edito posita, quae non aspicere vineas, sed tangere videtur. In media triclinium saluberrimum adflatum ex Appenninis vallibus recipit ; post latissimis fenestris vineas, valvis aequae vineas, sed per cryptoporticum quasi admittit. A latere triclinii, quod fenestris caret, scalae convivio utilia secretiore ambitu suggerunt. In fine cubiculum, cui non minus incundum prospectum cryptoporticus



several divisions, each of different degrees of heat ; the two former lie open to the full sun, the latter, though not so much exposed to its heat, receives an equal share of its light.

Over the undressing-room is built the ball-court, which is large enough to admit of several different kinds of games being played at once, each with its own circle of spectators. Not far from the baths is a stair-case which leads to a gallery, and to three apartments on the way ; one of these looks upon the little court with the four plane-trees round it ; another has a sight of the meadows ; the third abuts upon the vineyard, and commands a prospect of opposite quarters of the heavens. At one end of the gallery, and indeed taken off from it, is a chamber that looks upon the hippodrome, the vineyard and the mountains ; adjoining is a room which has a full exposure to the sun, especially in winter : from hence runs an apartment that connects the hippodrome with the house.

Such are the villa's beauties and conveniences on the front. On the side is a summer gallery which stands high, and has not only a prospect of the vineyard, but seems almost to touch it. Midway it contains a dining-room cooled by the wholesome breezes which come from the Apennine valleys : the back-windows, which are extremely large, let in, as it were, the vineyards, as do the folding-doors, but you get the latter view through the gallery. Along that side of this dining-room where there are no windows, runs a private stair-case for the greater conveniency of serving at entertainments ; at the farther end is a chamber from whence the eye is entertained with a view of the

ipsa quam vineae praebent. Subest cryptoporticus subterraneae similis; aestate incluso frigore riget contentaque aëre suo nec desiderat auras nec admittit.

Post utramque cryptoporticum, unde triclinium desinit, incipit porticus ante medium diem hiberna, inclinato die aestiva. Hac adeuntur diaetae duae, quarum in altera cubicula quattuor, altera tria, ut circumit sol, aut sole utuntur aut umbra. Hanc dispositionem amoenitatemque tectorum longe lateque praecedit hippodromus. Medius patescit statimque intrantium oculis totus offertur, platanis circumitur; illae hedera vestiuntur utque summae suis ita imae alienis frondibus virent. Hedera truncum et ramos pererrat vicinasque platanos transitu suo copulat. Has buxus interiacet; exteriores buxos circumvenit laurus umbraeque platanorum suam confert. Rectus hic hippodromi limes, in extrema parte hemicyclio frangitur mutatque faciem; cupressis ambitur et tegitur densiore umbra opacior nigriorque; interioribus circulis (sunt enim plures) purissimum diem recipit. Inde etiam rosas effert umbrarumque frigus non ingrato sole distinguit.

Finito vario illo multiplicique curvamine recto

vineyards, and (what is equally agreeable) of the gallery. Underneath this room is a gallery resembling a crypt, which in the midst of summer heats retains its pent-up chilliness, and, enjoying its own atmosphere, neither admits nor wants the refreshment of external breezes.

Behind both these galleries, at the end of the dining-room, stands a portico, which as the day is more or less advanced, serves either for winter or summer use. It leads to two different apartments, one containing four chambers, the other three, which enjoy, as the day progresses, alternately sun and shade. In the front of these agreeable buildings lies a very spacious hippodrome, entirely open in the middle, by which means the eye, upon your first entrance, takes in its whole extent at one view. It is encompassed on every side with plane-trees covered with ivy, so that while their heads flourish with their own green, their bodies enjoy a borrowed verdure; and the ivy twining round the trunk and branches, spreads from tree to tree, and connects them together. Between each plane-tree are planted box-trees, and behind these, bay-trees, which blend their shade with that of the planes. The raised path around the hippodrome, which here runs straight, bends at the farther end into a semi-circle and takes on a new aspect, being embowered in cypress-trees and obscured by their denser and more gloomy shade; while the inward circular alleys (for there are several) enjoy the full sun. Farther on, there are roses too along the path, and the cool shade is pleasantly alternated with sunshine.

Having passed through these manifold winding alleys, the path resumes a straight course, and at the

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limiti redditur nec huic uni ; nam viae plures intercedentibus buxis dividuntur. Alibi pratulum, alibi ipsa buxus intervenit in formas mille discripta, litteris<sup>1</sup> interdum, quae modo nomen domini dicunt, modo artificis. Alternis metulae surgunt, alternis inserta sunt poma, et in opere urbanissimo subita velut illati ruris imitatio. Medium spatium brevioribus utrimque platanis adornatur. Post has acanthus hinc inde lubricus et flexuosus, deinde plures figurae pluraque nomina.

In capite stibadium candido marmore vite protegitur ; vitem quattuor columellae Carystiae subeunt. Ex stibadio aqua velut expressa cubantium pondere sipunculis effluit; cavato lapide suscipitur, gracili marmore continetur atque ita occulte temperatur, ut impleat nec redundet. Gustatorium graviorque cena margini imponitur, levior navicularum et avium figuris innatans circumit. Contra fons egerit aquam et recipit ; nam expulsa in altum in se cadit iunctisque hiatibus et absorbetur et tollitur.

E regione stibadii adversum cubiculum tantum stibadio reddit ornatus, quantum accipit ab illo. Marmore splendet, valvis in viridia prominet et exit,

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<sup>1</sup> litteris *Fpra*, *Otto*, *Müller*, litteras *MD*, *Bipons*, *K*.

<sup>a</sup> *gustatorium*, a tray or dish of *hors d'œuvres*.

same time divides into several tracks, separated by box-hedges. In one place you have a little meadow; in another the box is interposed in groups, and cut into a thousand different forms; sometimes into letters, expressing the name of the master, or again that of the artificer: whilst here and there little obelisks rise intermixed alternately with fruit-trees: when on a sudden, in the midst of this elegant regularity, you are surprised with an imitation of the negligent beauties of rural nature; in the centre of which lies a spot surrounded with a knot of dwarf plane-trees. Beyond these are interspersed clumps of the smooth and twining acanthus; then come a variety of figures and names cut in box.

At the upper end is a semi-circular bench of white marble, shaded with a vine which is trained upon four small pillars of Carystian marble. Water gushing through several little pipes from under this bench, as if it were pressed out by the weight of the persons who repose themselves upon it, falls into a stone cistern underneath, from whence it is received into a fine polished marble basin, so artfully contrived that it is always full without ever overflowing. When I sup here, the tray of ~~whets~~<sup>whets</sup><sup>a</sup> and larger dishes are placed round the margin, while the smaller ones swim about in the form of little ships and water-fowl. Opposite this is a fountain which is incessantly emptying and filling: for the water, which it throws up a great height, falling back again into it, is by means of connected openings returned as fast as it is received.

Fronting the bench (and which reflects as great an ornament to it, as it borrows from it) stands a chamber of lustrous marble, whose doors project and

alia viridia superioribus inferioribusque fenestris suspicit despicitque. Mox zothecula refugit quasi in cubiculum idem atque aliud. Lectus hic et undique fenestrae, et tamen lumen obscurum umbra premente. Nam laetissima vitis per omne tectum in culmen nititur et ascendit. Non secus ibi quam in nemore iaceas, imbrem tantum tamquam in nemore non sentias. Hic quoque fons nascitur simulque subducitur. Sunt locis pluribus disposita sedilia e marmore, quae ambulatione fessos ut cubiculum ipsum iuvant. Fonticuli sedilibus adiacent; per totum hippodromum inducti fistulis strepunt rivi, et, qua manus duxit, sequuntur. His nunc illa viridia, nunc haec, interdum simul omnia lavantur.<sup>1</sup>

Vitassem iam dudum, ne viderer argutior, nisi proposuissem omnes angulos tecum epistula circumire. Neque enim verebar, ne laboriosum esset legenti tibi, quod visenti non ~~fui~~isset, praesertim cum interquiescere, si liberet, depositaque epistula quasi residere saepius posses. Praeterea indulsi amoris meo; amo enim, quae maxima ex parte ipse inchoavi aut inchoata percolui. In summam (cur enim non aperiā tibi vel iudicium meum vel errorem?) primum ego officium scriptoris existimo, ut titulum suum legat atque

<sup>1</sup> lavantur *Bipons*, Müller, invantur *F* a; laetantur *p*.

open into a lawn ; from its upper and lower windows the eye ranges upward or downward over other spaces of verdure. Next to this is a little private closet (which though it is distinct may be laid into the same room) furnished with a couch ; and notwithstanding it has windows on every side, yet it enjoys a very agreeable gloominess, by means of a flourishing vine which climbs to the top, and entirely overshades it. Here you may lie and fancy yourself in a wood, with this difference only, that you are not exposed to the rain. Here, too, a fountain rises and instantly disappears. In different quarters are disposed several marble seats, which serve, no less than the chamber, as so many reliefs after one is wearied with walking. Near each seat is a little fountain ; and throughout the whole hippodrome small rills conveyed through pipes run murmuring along, where-soever the hand of art has thought proper to conduct them ; watering here and there different spots of verdure, and in their progress bathing the whole.

I should have avoided ere this the appearance or being too minute in detail, if I had not proposed to lead you by this letter into every corner of my house and gardens. But I am not afraid you will think it a trouble to read of a place, which you would think it none to survey ; especially as you can take a rest whenever you please, sit down as it were, by laying aside my letter. Besides I have indulged the fondness which I confess I feel for what was mostly either put in hand, or carried to perfection, by myself. To sum up (for why should I conceal from my friends my sentiments whether right or wrong ?) I hold it the first duty of an author to con his title-page, and frequently ask himself what he set out to

identidem interroget se, quid coeperit scribere, sciatque, si materiae immoratur, non esse longum, longissimum, si aliquid arcessit atque attrahit.

Vides, quot versibus Homerus, quot Virgilius arma, hic Aeneae, Achillis ille, describat; brevis tamen uterque est, quia facit, quod instituit. Vides, ut Aratus minutissima etiam sidera consecetur et colligat; modum tamen servat. Non enim excursus hic eius, sed opus ipsum est. Similiter nos, ut parva magnis, cum totam villam oculis tuis subicere conemur, si nihil inductum et quasi devium loquimur, non epistula, quae describit, sed villa, quae describitur, magna est.

Verum illuc, unde coepi, ne secundum legem meam iure reprehendar, si longior fuero in hoc, in quod excessi. Habes causas, cur ego Tuscos meos Tusculanis, Tiburtinis Praenestinisque meis praeponam. Nam super illa, quae retuli, altius ibi otium et pinguius eoque securius; nulla necessitas togae, nemo arcessitor ex proximo; placida omnia et quiescentia, quod ipsum salubritati regionis ut purius caelum, ut aër liquidior accedit. Ibi animo, ibi corpore, maxime valeo. Nam studiis animum, venatu corpus exerceo. Mei quoque nusquam salubrius degunt; usque adhuc certe neminem ex iis, quos



write ; and he may be assured if he closely pursues his subject he cannot be tedious ; whereas if he drags in extraneous matters, he will be tedious to the last degree.

You see how many lines Homer and Virgil devote respectively to describing the arms of Achilles and the arms of Aeneas ; yet each poet is succinct, because he carries out his original design. Aratus, you see, keeps due proportion, though he traces and groups the minutest stars ; for this is no digression on his part, but his main subject. In the same manner (to compare small things with great), if endeavouring to bring my whole villa before your eyes, I have not wandered into any thing foreign, or, as it were, devious, it is not my letter, which describes, but the villa, which is described, that is to be deemed large.

But not to dwell any longer upon this digression lest I should myself be condemned by the maxim I have just laid down ; I have now informed you why I prefer my Tuscan villa, to those which I possess at Tusculum, Tiber, and Praeneste. Besides the advantages already mentioned, I there enjoy a securer, as it is a more profound leisure ; I never need put on full dress ; nobody calls from next door on urgent business. All is calm and composed ; which contributes, no less than its clear air and unclouded sky, to the salubrity of the spot. There I am peculiarly blessed with health of body and cheerfulness of mind, for I keep my mind in proper exercise by study and my body by hunting. And indeed there is no place which agrees better with all my household ; I am sure, at least, I have not yet lost one (under favour be it spoken) of all

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

eduxeram mecum (venia sit dicto), ibi amisi. Di modo in posterum hoc mihi gaudium, hanc gloriam loco servant. Vale.

### VII

C. PLINIUS CALVISIO SUO S.

NEC heredem institui nec praecipere posse rempublicam constat; Saturninus autem, qui nos reliquit heredes, quadrantem reipublicae nostrae, deinde pro quadrante praeceptionem quadringentorum milium dedit. Hoc, si ius aspicias, irritum, si defuncti voluntatem, ratum et firmum est. Mihi autem defuncti voluntas (vereor, quam in partem iurisconsulti, quod sum dicturus, accipiant) antiquior iure est, utique in eo, quod ad communem patriam voluit pervenire. An, cui de meo sestertium sedecies contuli, huic quadringentorum milium paulo amplius tertiam partem ex adventicio denegem?

Scio te quoque a iudicio meo non abhorreere, cum eandem rem publicam ut civis optimus diligas. Velim ergo, cum proxime decuriones contrahentur, quid sit iuris, indices, parce tamen et modeste; deinde subiungas nos quadringenta milia offerre, sicut praecepit Saturninus. Illius hoc munus, illius liberalitas; nostrum tantum obsequium

those I brought with me hither. May the gods continue this happiness to *me*, and this glory to my *villa* ! Farewell.

## VII

## To CALVISIUS

IT is certain the law does not allow a corporate city to inherit any estate by will, or to receive a legacy. Saturninus, however, who has appointed me his heir, has left a fourth part of his estate to our corporation of Comum ; which devise he afterwards changed into an absolute legacy of 400,000 sesterces. This bequest, in a legal view, is void ; but, looking to the intention of the deceased, is perfectly valid. Now to me (though I am afraid the lawyers will not be pleased with what I say) such intentions are of higher force than any law, especially in a case where the deceased meant to benefit his native town, which is also mine. It would be extremely inconsistent in me, who made it a present of eleven hundred thousand sesterces out of my own patrimony, to withhold from it a benefaction of a little more than a third part of that sum, out of a windfall.

You, who have the affection of a loyal citizen for this same commonwealth, will join with me, I dare say, in these sentiments. I wish therefore you would, at the next assembly of the town-council, acquaint them, in a brief unassuming style, how the law stands in this case ; then add that I shall pay them 400,000 sesterces, as bequeathed by Saturninus. You will represent it as *his* present and *his* liberality ; and that I merely comply with his wishes. I forbear

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

vocetur. Haec ego scribere publice supersedi, primum quod memineram pro necessitudine amicitiae nostrae, pro facultate prudentiae tuae et debere te et posse perinde meis ac tuis partibus fungi, deinde quia verebar, ne modum, quem tibi in sermone custodire facile est, tenuisse in epistula non viderer. Nam sermonem vultus, gestus, vox ipsa moderatur, epistula omnibus commendationibus destituta malignitati interpretantium exponitur. Vale.

### VIII

C. PLINIUS TITINIO CAPITONI SUO S.

SUADES, ut historiam scribam, et suades non solus; multi hoc me saepe monuerunt, et ego volo, non quia commodè facturum esse confidam (id enim temere credas nisi expertus), sed quia mihi pulchrum in primis videtur non pati occidere, quibus aeternitas debeatur, aliorumque famam cum sua extendere. Me autem nihil aequè ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido sollicitat, res homine dignissima, eo praesertim, qui nullius sibi conscius culpaë posteritatis memoriam non reformidet. Itaque diebus ac noctibus cogito, ‘si qua me quoque possim tollere humo’;<sup>1</sup> id enim voto meo sufficit, illud supra votum ‘victorque virum volitare per ora.’<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Georgics* iii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* iii. 9.

writing to their council concerning this affair, reflecting that our strict friendship obliges, as your abounding good sense enables you, to act for me as you would for yourself; besides, I am afraid I should not seem to have preserved that just medium in my letter, which you will much easier be able to do in a speech. The countenance, the gesture, and even the tone of voice governs and determines the sense of the speaker: whereas a letter, being destitute of all recommendations, is liable to be misinterpreted by malicious minds. Farewell.

## VIII

## TO TITINIUS CAPITO

You are not singular in the advice you give me to undertake the writing of history; it is a work which many have frequently pressed upon me; and I strongly incline to it. Not that I have any confidence of success (which you would think presumptuous in a tiro), but because I hold it a noble task to rescue from oblivion those who deserve to be eternally remembered, and extend the fame of others, at the same time as our own. Nothing, I confess, so strongly affects me as the desire of a lasting name: a passion highly worthy of the human breast, especially of one, who, not being conscious to himself of any ill, is not afraid of being remembered by posterity. It is the continual subject therefore of my thoughts:

“How from the lowly ground I too may rise,”  
 for to that I moderate my prayers; the sequel, to be  
 “Wafted victorious by the breath of men”  
 is much beyond them.

‘Quamquam o!’ sed hoc satis est, quod prope sola historia polliceri videtur. Orationi enim et carmini parva gratia, nisi eloquentia est summa, historia quoque modo scripta delectat. Sunt enim homines natura curiosi et quamlibet nuda rerum cognitione capiuntur, ut qui sermunculis etiam fabelisque ducantur. Me vero ad hoc studium impellit domesticum quoque exemplum. Avunculus meus idemque per adoptionem pater historias, et quidem religiosissime scripsit. Invenio autem apud sapientes honestissimum esse maiorum vestigia sequi, si modo recto itinere praecesserint.

Cur ergo cunctor? Egi magnas et graves causas. Has, etiamsi mihi tenuis ex eis spes, destino retractare, ne tantus ille labor meus, ni hoc, quod reliquum est studii, addidero, mecum pariter interciderat. Nam si rationem posteritatis habeas, quidquid non est peractum, pro non inchoato est. Dices: ‘Potes simul et rescribere actiones et componere historiam.’ Utinam! sed utrumque tam magnum est, ut abunde sit alterum efficere. Unodevicesimo aetatis anno dicere in foro coepi et nunc demum, quid praestare debeat orator, adhuc tamen per caliginem video. Quid, si huic oneri novum accesserit?

Habet quidem oratio et historia multa communia,

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<sup>a</sup> The unexpressed wish is for the victory just renounced. The words are those of Mnestheus, who seeing himself distanced in a race, exclaims that he now strives not to *win* (“Yet O!—”), but only to escape the disgrace of coming in last.—*Aen.* v. 195.      <sup>b</sup> See iii. 5.

“Yet O!”—<sup>a</sup> However, the former fate is enough for me, and History seems almost the only means that can assure it. Oratory and Poetry meet small favour unless carried to the highest point of eloquence; but History, however executed, always pleases, for mankind are naturally inquisitive, and information, however baldly presented, has its charm for beings who adore even small talk and anecdote. But, besides this, I have an example in my own family that incites me to this pursuit, my uncle and adoptive father <sup>b</sup> having been a historian, and that a very accurate one; and I read in the philosophers that 'tis a high virtue to tread in the steps of our ancestors, when they have gone before us in the right path.

Why then, you ask, do I yet delay? My reason is this: I have pleaded some very important causes, and (though I build but small hopes on them) I design to revise my speeches, lest for want of this last care, all the pains they cost me should be thrown away, and they perish with their author; for as far as posterity is concerned, a work that has not received the last polish counts no more than if you had never begun it. You will tell me, perhaps, I might correct my speeches and write history at the same time. I wish I could; but they are both such great undertakings, that to complete either of them would more than satisfy me. I was but nineteen when I first appeared at the bar; and yet it is only now at last I perceive (and that in truth but dimly) what is essential to a complete orator. How then shall I be able to support the weight of an additional burthen?

It is true, indeed, history and oratory have many

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

sed plura diversa in his ipsis, quae communia videntur. Narrat illa, narrat haec, sed aliter; huic pleraque humilia et sordida et ex medio petita, illi omnia recondita, splendida, excelsa conveniunt; hanc saepius ossa, muscoli, nervi, illam tori quidam et quasi iubae decent; haec vel maxime vi, amaritudine, instantia, illa tractu et suavitate atque etiam dulcedine placet; postremo alia verba, alius sonus, alia constructio. Nam plurimum refert, ut Thucydides ait, κτῆμα sit an ἀγώνισμα;<sup>1</sup> quorum alterum oratio, alterum historia est.

His ex causis non adducor, ut duo dissimilia et hoc ipso diversa, quod maxima, confundam misceamque, ne tanta quasi colluvione turbatus ibi faciam, quod hic debeo; ideoque interim veniam, ne a forensibus<sup>2</sup> verbis discedam, advocandi peto. Tu tamen iam nunc cogita, quae potissimum tempora aggrediamur. Vetera et scripta aliis? Parata inquisitio, sed onerosa collatio. Intacta et nova? Graves offensae, levis gratia. Nam praeter id, quod in tantis vitiis hominum plura culpanda sunt quam laudanda,

<sup>1</sup> *Thuc.* i. 22.

<sup>2</sup> forensibus *Dpra*, Müller, meis *M*, *Bipons*, *K*.



common features ; yet in these very apparent resemblances, there are several contrasts. Both deal in narrative, but each after a different fashion. Oratory must concern itself as a rule with the low and vulgar facts of every-day life ; History treats only of what is recondite, splendid, elevated ; a dry, forcible, nervous style befits the one, but embellishments, and what one may call *top-knots*, the other. Oratory pleases most when it is vigorous, biting, and vehement ; History, when it is diffusive, bland, and even dulcet. Lastly, diction, rhythm, and the structure of the periods, are distinctly different in these two arts. For there is all the difference in the world, as Thucydides observes, between a *possession* and a *prize-composition* ; the first of which terms applies to History, the second to Oratory.

For these reasons I decline to intermingle two dissimilar pursuits, which are opposite just because they are both so highly important ; lest distraught by a sort of conflux, I should do in one case what is only proper to the other. Therefore (to keep to my professional language) I must beg leave the cause may be adjourned. In the meanwhile I refer it to your consideration, what period of history I shall commence upon. Those remote times which have been treated of already by others ? Here, indeed, the materials will be ready to my hands, but the collating of the several historians will be extremely troublesome. Or shall I write of the present times, and those wherein no other author has gone before me ? If so, I may probably give offence to many and please but few. For in an age so over-run with vice, you will find infinitely more to condemn than approve ; yet your

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tum, si laudaveris, parcus, si culpaveris, nimius fuisse dicaris, quamvis illud plenissime, hoc restrictissime feceris.

Sed haec me non retardant; est enim mihi pro fide satis animi. Illud peto, praesternas, ad quod hortaris, eligasque materiam, ne mihi iam scribere parato alia rursus cunctationis et morae iusta ratio nascatur. Vale.

### IX

#### C. PLINIUS SEMPRONIO<sup>1</sup> RUFO SUO S.

DESCENDERAM in basilicam Iuliam auditurus, quibus proxima comperendinatione respondere debebam. Sedebant iudices, decemviri venerant, obversabantur advocati, silentium longum, tandem a praetore nuntius. Dimittuntur centumviri, eximitur dies me gaudente, qui numquam ita paratus sum, ut non mora laeter. Causa dilationis Nepos praetor, qui legibus quaerit. Proposuerat breve edictum, admonebat accusatores, admonebat reos exsecuturum se, quae senatus consulto continerentur. Suberat edicto senatus consultum hoc:<sup>2</sup> omnes, qui quid negotii haberent, iurare, prius quam agerent, iuebantur nihil se ob advocacy cuiquam dedisse, promisisse,

<sup>1</sup> SEMPRONIO *add. Havet ex Ricc.*

<sup>2</sup> sen. cons. hoc: omnes *Müller*, sen. cons.: hoc omnes *rell.*

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<sup>a</sup> Where the Centumviral Court held its sessions.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* that Praetor, who was President of the Centumviral Court.

<sup>c</sup> See iv. 29.

praise, though ever so lavish, will be thought too reserved ; and your censure, though ever so cautious, too profuse.

However, this does not at all discourage me ; for I want not sufficient resolution to bear testimony to truth. I expect, then, that you prepare the way which you have pointed out to me, and determine what subject I shall fix upon for my history, that when I am ready to enter upon the task you have assigned me, I may not be delayed by any new difficulty of importance. Farewell.

## IX

## TO SEMPRONIUS RUFUS

I WENT into the Julian Basilica<sup>a</sup> to attend a cause in which at the next sitting I was to reply. The jurors had taken their seats, the presiding magistrates were arrived, the opposing counsel had taken their places ; after a long pause, came at last a messenger from the Praetor.<sup>b</sup> The Court broke up at once, and the case was adjourned—much to my delight, who am never so well prepared, but that I am glad of delay. The occasion of this postponement was an edict of Nepos,<sup>c</sup> the Praetor for criminal causes, wherein he bade all plaintiffs and defendants in any cause before him take notice, that he should strictly enforce the decree of the Senate annexed to his edict. Which decree ran as follows—“All persons who have any law-suit depending are hereby ordered to take an oath before proceeding with their suit that they have not given, promised, or become caution for, any fee to any advocate in consideration

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cavisse. His enim verbis ac mille praeterea et venire advocaciones et emi vetabantur. Peractis tamen negotiis permittebatur pecuniam duntaxat decem milium dare.

Hoc facto Nepotis commotus praetor, qui centumviralibus praesidebat, deliberaturus, an sequeretur exemplum, inopinatum nobis otium dedit. Interim tota civitate Nepotis edictum carpitur, laudatur. Multi : ' Invenimus, qui curva corrigeret. Quid? ante hunc praetores non fuerunt? quis autem hic est, qui emendet publicos mores?' Alii contra : ' Rectissime fecit; initurus magistratum iura recognovit, senatus consulta legit, reprimit foedissimas pactiones, rem pulcherrimam turpissime venire non patitur.' Tales ubique sermones; qui tamen alterutram in partem ex eventu praevalerunt. Est omnino iniquum, sed usu receptum, quod honesta consilia vel turpia, prout male aut prospere cedunt, ita vel probantur vel reprehenduntur. Inde plerumque eadem facta modo diligentiae, modo vanitatis, modo libertatis, modo furoris nomen accipiunt. Vale.

### X

C. PLINIUS SUETONIO TRANQUILLO SUO S.

LIBERA tandem hendecasyllaborum meorum fidem, qui scripta tua communibus amicis sponderunt.

of his undertaking their cause." In these terms, with a deal more to the same effect, the decree prohibits the buying and selling of legal advocacy. However a gratuity of ten thousand sesterces is permitted to be given, after a case is concluded.

The Praetor of the Centumviral Court, being alarmed at this action of Nepos, gave us this unexpected holiday in order to deliberate whether he should follow the example. In the meanwhile the whole town is divided into critics and applauders of this edict. "We have got someone at last (say a large party) to put things straight. But pray was there never a Praetor before? Who is this man, after all, that sets up for a reformer?" Others, on the contrary, say, "He has taken a very proper step; upon entering into his office, he examined the statutes and read the decrees of the Senate; he has repressed a most indecent traffic, and will not suffer a noble profession to be defiled by venality." These are the reflections which are universally thrown out upon this occasion; but which view is to become general, the event alone will determine. It is the usual though inequitable method of the world, to pronounce an action to be either right or wrong, as it is attended with good or ill success; in consequence of which you shall hear the very same conduct attributed at different times to zeal or folly, to independence or insanity. Farewell.

## X

## TO SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS

It is time you should acquit the promise my hendecasyllabic verses gave to our common friends,

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Appellantur cotidie et flagitantur ; ac iam periculum est, ne cogantur ad exhibendum formulam accipere. Sum et ipse in edendo haesitator ; tu tamen meam quoque cunctationem tarditatemque vicisti. Proinde aut rumpe iam moras aut cave, ne eosdem illos libellos, quos tibi hendecasyllabi nostri blanditiis elicere non possunt, convicio scazontes extorqueant. Perfectum opus absolutumque est nec iam splendet lima sed atteritur. Patere me videre titulum tuum ; patere audire describi, legi, venire volumina Tranquilli mei. Aequum est nos in amore tam mutuo eandem percipere ex te voluptatem, qua tu perfrueris ex nobis. Vale.

### XI

C. PLINIUS CALPURNIO FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

RECEPI litteras tuas, ex quibus cognovi speciosissimam te porticum sub tuo filii tui nomine dedicasse, sequenti die in portarum ornatum pecuniam promisisse, ut initium novae liberalitatis esset consummatio prioris. Gaudeo primum tua gloria, cuius ad me pars aliqua pro necessitudine nostra redundat ; deinde quod memoriam soceri mei pulcherrimis operibus video proferri ; postremo quod

of your works. The world is every day impatiently inquiring after them, and there is already some danger of their being served with an order to "produce documents." I am myself a good deal backward in publishing, but your slowness and hesitancy are more than a match for even mine. You must hasten your hand, however, otherwise the severity of my satiric verses may perhaps extort from you those self-same writings which the blandishments of my softer Muse could not obtain. Your work is already arrived to that degree of perfection, that the file can only weaken, not polish it. Allow me then the pleasure of seeing your title-page, and hearing that books of my dear Tranquillus are being copied out, sold, and read. It is but fair, and agreeable to our mutual friendship, that I should reap from you the same pleasure you enjoy from me. Farewell.

## XI

TO CALPURNIUS FABATUS HIS WIFE'S GRANDFATHER.

YOUR letter informs me that you have dedicated a noble public portico, as a memorial of yourself and your son; and that the next day after that ceremony you engaged to beautify the gates of our city at your own charge, that a fresh act of munificence may crown the completion of a former. I am gratified by an event so conducive to your glory; which, from the connection between us, in some degree redounds to mine; and further pleased to see the memory of my father-in-law delivered down to posterity by such beautiful structures. I rejoice, lastly, at the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

patria nostra florescit, quam mihi a quocumque excoli iucundum, a te vero laetissimum est.

Quod superest, deos precor, ut animum istum tibi, animo isti tempus quam longissimum tribuant. Nam liquet mihi futurum ut peracto, quod proxime promisisti, inchoes aliud. Nescit enim semel incitata liberalitas stare, cuius pulchritudinem usus ipse commendat. Vale.

### XII

C. PLINIUS SCAURO TERENTIO SUO S.

RECITATURUS oratiunculam, quam publicare cogito, advocavi aliquos, ut revererer, paucos, ut verum audirem. Nam<sup>1</sup> mihi duplex ratio recitandi, una, ut sollicitudine intendar; altera, ut admoner, si quid forte me ut meum fallit. Tuli, quod petebam, inveni, qui mihi copiam consilii sui facerent. Ipse praeterea quaedam emendanda adnotavi. Emendavi librum, quem misi tibi. Materiam ex titulo cognosces, cetera liber explicabit, quem iam nunc oportet ita consuescere, ut sine praefatione intelligatur. Tu velim quid de universo, quid de parti-

<sup>1</sup> Nam *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, Etenim *Dpra*, *Müller*.



prosperity of our native province ; everything that tends to her honour is agreeable to me, by what hand soever it may be conferred, but infinitely delightful when it is by yours.

I now have only to pray that Heaven may long grant you this generous disposition, and vouchsafe you many years in which to exert it : for I see clearly that you will no sooner have carried out your promised benefaction, than you will begin upon some other. Generosity, when once she is set forward, knows not how to stop her progress ; as her beauty is of that order which grows the more engaging upon nearer acquaintance. Farewell.

## XII

### TO TERENCE SCAURUS

DESIGNING to recite a little speech which I think of publishing, I invited an audience ; sufficient to inspire me with diffidence, though at the same time small enough to secure my hearing the truth of their sentiments. For I have a double view in these rehearsals ; the first is, that solicitude may stimulate me to do my best ; the next, that any errors (which, being my own, might escape my notice) be pointed out to me. I succeeded in my object, and some present obliged me with their advice ; moreover, I observed myself some passages which required correction. I made a fair copy of the piece, which I now send you. The subject of it will appear from the title, and for the rest I refer you to the copy itself, which it behoves you to have already so much acquaintance with, as not to stand in need of a preface to explain it. I beg you would sincerely

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bus sentias scribas mihi. Ero enim vel cautior in continendo vel constantior in edendo, si huc vel illuc auctoritas tua accesserit. Vale.

### XIII

C. PLINIUS VALERIANO SUO S.

ET tu rogas, et ego promisi, si rogasses, scripturum me tibi, quem habuisset eventum postulatio Nepotis circa Tuscilium Nominatum. Inductus est Nominatus, egit ipse pro se, nullo accusante. Nam legati Vicetinorum non modo non presserunt eum, verum etiam sublevaverunt.

Summa defensionis, non fidem sibi in advocacy, sed constantiam defuisse; descendisse ut acturum atque etiam in curia visum, deinde sermonibus amicorum deterritum recessisse; monitum enim, ne desiderio senatoris, non iam quasi de nundinis, sed quasi de gratia, fama, dignitate certantis tam pertinaciter, praesertim in senatu, repugnaret, alioqui maiorem invidiam quam proxime passurum.<sup>1</sup> Erat sane prius, a paucis tamen acclamatum exeunti. Subiunxit preces multumque lacrimarum; quin etiam tota actione homo in dicendo exercitatus operam dedit, ut deprecari magis (id enim et favorabilius et tutius) quam defendi videretur.

<sup>1</sup> passurum *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, passurus *Dpra*, *Müller*.

<sup>a</sup> See Letter 4 of this book.

tell me your sentiments of the whole, and of its several parts. I shall be more cautious to suppress, or bold to publish it, as your judgement shall decide either way. Farewell.

## XIII

## TO VALERIANUS

You wish to hear (what I promised to inform you, if you should wish it) how Nepos succeeded with his application against Tuscilius Nominatus.<sup>a</sup> The latter being brought before the Senate, pleaded his own cause. No accuser came forward; for the Vicentine delegates, so far from pressing their charge, actually supported him.

The sum of his defence was: "That not his integrity, but his courage, had failed him as counsel for the Vicentines; that he came down intending to plead, and actually appeared in the Senate-house, but withdrew in alarm at his friends' remarks. For they warned him not to persist in opposing (especially in the Senate) the inclinations of a Senator, who did not contend so much against the fair itself, as for his own credit and character; if he did not desist, they said, he would undergo much greater odium than he had just before excited." (And it is true that on the former occasion he was hooted, though only by a few, as he went out.) He proceeded to implore clemency, with many tears; nay, in fact, throughout his whole speech (as he is a man extremely well-versed in the arts of oratory) he was careful to give the impression of excusing, rather than justifying himself, thereby taking the more acceptable and safer course.

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Absolutus est sententia designati consulis Afranii Dextri, cuius haec summa, melius quidem Nominatum fuisse facturum, si causam Vicetinorum eodem animo, quo susceperat, pertulisset; quia tamen in hoc genus culpa non fraude incidisset nihilque dignum animadversione admisisse convinceretur, liberandum, ita ut Vicetinis, quod acceperat, redderet. Ad-senserunt omnes praeter Flavium<sup>1</sup> Aprum. Is interdicendum ei advocationibus in quinquennium censuit et quamvis neminem auctoritate traxisset, constanter in sententia mansit; quin etiam Dextrum, qui primus diversum censuerat, prolata lege de senatu habendo iurare coëgit e republica esse, quod censuisset. Cui quamquam legitimae postulationi a quibusdam reclamatum est. Exprobrare enim censi-  
senti ambitionem videbatur.

Sed, priusquam sententiae dicerentur, Nigrinus, tribunus plebis, recitavit libellum disertum et gravem, quo questus est venire advocationes, venire etiam praevaricationes, in lites coiri et gloriae loco poni ex spoliis civium magnos et statos redditus. Recitavit capita legum, admonuit senatus consulti, in fine dixit petendum ab optimo principe, ut, quia leges, quia senatus consulta contemnerentur, ipse tantis vitiis

<sup>1</sup> Flavium *a*, *Bipons*, *Momms.*, *Müller*, *Fabium M K.*

Afranius Dexter, the consul-elect, moved his acquittal in words to this effect: "Nominatus would have done better to carry through the cause of the Vicentines with the same resolution he undertook it; however, since he had not incurred this species of guilt with intent to defraud, nor been convicted of any punishable offence, he should be discharged on condition of returning his fees to the Vicentines." The whole Senate agreed to this motion except Flavius Aper: his verdict was, that Nominatus should be forbidden to practise as an advocate for five years; and though his influence could not win him a single supporter, he stood firm in his opinion. He even obliged Dexter, as proposer of the contrary motion, to make oath that he had proposed it *for the good of the republic*; agreeably to a law, which he cited, concerning the procedure of the senate. This requisition, though certainly in order, was opposed by some as seeming to cast an imputation of partiality upon Dexter.

But before the votes of the house were collected, Nigrinus, a tribune of the people, read a very elegant and weighty remonstrance, wherein he complained that the advocates took money not only to defend, but actually to betray the cause of their clients; that law suits were settled by collusion, and that, instead of glory, a large and fixed revenue from the plundering of citizens was now the goal of the legal profession. He read out the headings of relevant statutes; called attention to the decree of the Senate: and concluded by saying that since both the laws and the Senate had fallen into contempt, our excellent Emperor ought to be petitioned to remedy these crying evils himself.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

mederetur. Pauci dies, et liber principis severus et tamen moderatus; leges ipsum; est in publicis actis.

Quam me iuvat, quod in causis agendis non modopactione, dono, munere, verum etiam xeniis semper abstinui! Oportet quidem, quae sunt inhonesta, non quasi illicita, sed quasi pudenda, vitare; incundum tamen, si prohiberi publice videas, quod numquam tibi ipse permiseris. Erit fortasse, immo non dubie huius propositi mei et minor laus et obscurior fama, cum omnes ex necessitate facient, quod ego sponte faciebam. Interim fruor voluptate, cum alii divinum me, alii meis rapinis, meae avaritiae occursum per ludum ac iocum dictitant. Vale.

### XIV

C. PLINIUS PONTIO ALLIFANO<sup>1</sup> SUO S.

SECESSERAM in municipium, cum mihi nuntiatum est Cornutum Tertullum accepisse Aemiliae viae curam. Expressere non possum, quanto sim gaudio adfectus, et ipsius et meo nomine, ipsius, quod, sit licet, sicut est, ab omni ambitione longe remotus, debet tamen ei iucundus esse honor ultro datus,

<sup>1</sup> ALLIFANO *add. Müller ex Ricc.*

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"The maintenance of each of the great roads leading out of Rome was under the charge of an ex-consul. The

Accordingly, a few days after, an imperial edict was published, drawn up in severe, yet moderate terms ; this you will find in the official gazette.

How it rejoices me, that, in my practice as advocate, I have always refrained from making any bargain, or accepting any fee, reward, or so much as a friendly present. One ought, no doubt, to avoid whatever is dishonourable, not so much because it is illegal, as because it is shameful. But still there is pleasure in seeing a practice forbidden by the State, which one never suffered one's self to fall into. The credit and renown of my fixed rule in these matters may, or rather most certainly will, be considerably diminished and eclipsed, when everybody does on compulsion what I used to do of my own choice. In the meantime, however, I take a pleasure in my friends' banter, some of whom call me "the godlike Pliny," while others never tire of assuring me this edict was particularly levelled against my avarice and rapine. Farewell.

## XIV

## TO PONTIUS ALLIFANUS

I WAS taking holiday at Comum when I heard that Cornutus Tertullus was appointed Curator of the Aemilian way.<sup>a</sup> This news was inexpressibly agreeable to me, both upon his account and my own : upon his, because though ambition should be (as it certainly is) far removed from his heart, yet this unsought honour cannot but be acceptable to him ;

Aemilian Way led to Milan, through Bologna, Modena, Parma and Piacenza.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

meo, quod aliquanto magis me delectat mandatum mihi officium, postquam par Cornuto datum video. Neque enim augeri dignitate quam aequari bonis gratius. Cornuto autem quid melius, quid sanctius, quid in omni genere laudis ad exemplar antiquitatis expressius? quod mihi cognitum est non fama, qua alioqui optima et meritissima fruitur, sed longis magnisque experimentis.

Una diligimus, una dileximus omnes fere, quos aetas nostra in utroque sexu aemulandos tulit; quae societas amicitiarum artissima nos familiaritate conjunxit. Accessit vinculum necessitudinis publicae. Idem enim mihi, ut scis, collega quasi voto petitus in praefectura aerarii fuit, fuit et in consulatu. Tum ego, qui vir et quantus esset, altissime inspexi, cum sequerer ut magistrum, ut parentem revererer, quod non tam aetatis maturitate quam vitae merebatur. His ex causis ut illi sic mihi gratulor nec privatim magis quam publice, quod tandem homines non ad pericula ut prius, verum ad honores virtute perveniunt.

In infinitum epistulam extendam, si gaudio meo indulgeam. Praevertor ad ea, quae me agentem hic nuntius deprehendit. Eram cum prosocero meo, eram cum amita uxoris, eram cum amicis diu desideratis, circumibam agellos, audiebam multum rusticarum querelarum, rationes legebam invitus et cursim (aliis

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<sup>a</sup> Pliny was "*curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis*," circ. 105-107 A.D. This post, combining conservancy of the Tiber and charge of the sewage system, was also held by an ex-consul.



upon mine, because I am much more gratified to hold my office,<sup>a</sup> now I see one of equal importance bestowed on Cornutus; for the pleasure of promotion exceeds not that of being placed in the same rank with men of worth. And where indeed is Cornutus' superior in worth and integrity? Or who, in every respect, is a more express model of ancient virtue? In this I do not found my judgement upon report, which justly speaks of him in the highest terms; but upon long and frequent experience.

We are, and ever have been, united in regard for almost all the exemplary characters of both sexes which this age has produced; and our common friendships cemented us in the strictest intimacy. A further bond was created by our public relation; Cornutus, you know, was my colleague as Prefect of the Treasury (I might almost say, in answer to my prayers!); my colleague, too, in the consulship. It was then I gained a thorough insight into the nobility of his virtues; while I followed him as a teacher, and revered him as a parent; and that not so much upon account of his age, as his merit. I congratulate myself, therefore, no less than him, and as much upon public as private grounds, that Virtue is now no longer, as formerly, the road to danger, but to office.

But if I give rein to my joyous sentiments, I shall never have finished my letter. Let me turn to what I was about when the messenger arrived with this news. I was in company with my wife's grandfather and aunt, and with friends whose presence I had long missed; I was going the round of my little property, hearing a deal of complaints from the rustics; inspecting accounts—reluctantly and rapidly;

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

enim chartis, aliis sum litteris initiatus) coeperam etiam itineri me praeparare. Nam includor angustiiis commeatus eoque ipso, quod delegatum Cornuto audio officium, mei admoneor. Cupio te quoque sub idem tempus Campania tua remittat, ne quis, cum in urbem rediero, contubernio nostro dies pereat. Vale.

### XV

C. PLINIUS ARRIO ANTONINO SUO S.

CUM versus tuos aemulor, tum maxime, quam sint boni, experior. Ut enim pictores pulchram absolutamque faciem raro nisi in peius effingunt, ita ego ab hoc archetypo laboro et decido. Quo magis hortor, ut quam plurima proferas, quae imitari omnes concupiscant, nemo aut paucissimi possint. Vale.

### XVI

C. PLINIUS AEFULANO<sup>1</sup> MARCELLINO SUO S.

TRISTISSIMUS haec tibi scribo Fundani nostri filia minore defuncta, qua puella nihil umquam festivius, amabilius nec modo longiore vita, sed prope immortalitate, dignius vidi. Nondum annos XIII<sup>2</sup> impleverat, et iam illi anilis prudentia, matronalis

<sup>1</sup> AEFULANO *add. Müller ex Ricc.*

<sup>2</sup> annos XIII *Merrill, from the inscription on her tomb (C.I.L. vi. 16631), quattuordecim codd.*

for I am a devotee of quite other sorts of documents! Also, I had begun to prepare for travelling. For I am limited to a short furlough; and indeed the news of this office being conferred on Cornutus, reminds me to hasten to the duties of my own. I hope your favourite Campania will resign you about the same time, so that when I return to Rome, not a day may be lost to our friendly intercourse. Farewell.

XV

TO ARRIUS ANTONINUS

I AM never more sensible of the excellency of your verses, than when I endeavour to imitate them. As the hand of the painter must nearly always fail, when perfect beauty sits for the picture; so I labour to catch the graces of this original, and still fall short of them. Let me conjure you then to continue to supply us with many more such models, which every man will have the wish, but few or none the power, to imitate. Farewell.

XVI

TO AEFULANUS MARCELLINUS

I WRITE this to you under the utmost oppression of sorrow: the younger daughter of our friend Fundanus is dead! Never surely was there a more agreeable or amiable young person, or one who better deserved to have enjoyed a long, I had almost said, an immortal life! She was scarce thirteen, and already had all the wisdom of age and sedateness of a matron,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

gravitas erat et tamen suavitas puellaris cum virginali verecundia. Ut illa patris cervicibus inhaerebat! ut nos amicos paternos et amanter et modeste complectebatur! ut nutrices et paedagogos, ut praeceptores, pro suo quemque officio, diligebat! quam studiose, quam intellegenter lectitabat! ut parce custoditeque ludebat! Qua illa temperantia, qua patientia, qua etiam constantia novissimam valetudinem tulit! Medicis obsequabatur, sororem, patrem adhortabatur, ipsamque se destitutam corporis viribus vigore animi sustinebat. Duravit hic illi usque ad extremum nec aut spatio valetudinis aut metu mortis infractus est, quo plures gravioresque nobis causas relinqueret et desiderii et doloris.

O triste plane acerbumque funus! o morte ipsa mortis tempus indignius! iam destinata erat egregio iuveni, iam electus nuptiarum dies, iam nos vocati. Quod gaudium quo moerore mutatum est! Non possum exprimere verbis, quantum animo vulnus acceperim, cum audiivi Fundanum ipsum, ut multa luctuosa dolor invenit, praecipientem, quod in vestes, margarita,<sup>1</sup> gemmas fuerat erogaturus, hoc in tus<sup>2</sup> et unguenta et odores impenderetur. Est quidem ille eruditus et sapiens, ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dediderit: sed nunc

<sup>1</sup> margarita *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, margaritas *Dpra*, Müller.

<sup>2</sup> tus *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, tura *Dpra*, Müller.

though joined with youthful sweetness and virgin modesty. With what an engaging fondness would she hang upon her father! How affectionately and respectfully embrace us who were his friends! How warm her regard for the nurses, conductors to school, and teachers, who, in their respective offices, had the care and education of her! How studious, how intelligent, at her book, how sparingly and discreetly she indulged in play! With what forbearance, patience, nay courage, did she endure her last illness! She complied with all the directions of her physicians; she encouraged her sister and her father; and when all her strength of body was exhausted, supported herself by the single vigour of her mind. *That*, indeed, continued even to her last moments, unbroken by the pain of a long illness, or the terrors of approaching death; and it is a reflection which makes the loss of her so much the more to be lamented.

O truly hard and bitter doom! And more cruel than death itself, to die at that particular conjuncture! She was contracted to a most worthy youth; the wedding day was fixed, and we were all invited. How sad a change from the highest joy, to the deepest sorrow! How shall I express the wound that pierced my heart, when I heard Fundanus himself (as grief is ever fertile in painful inventions) ordering the money he was to have to laid out upon cloaths, pearls, and jewels for her marriage, to be expended on myrrh and spices for her funeral? He is, indeed, a man of great learning and good sense, having applied himself from his earliest youth to the nobler arts and studies; but all those maxims which he has heard from others, and often inculcated

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omnia, quae audiit, saepeque dixit, aspernatur expulsi-  
sque virtutibus aliis pietatis est totus. Ignosces,  
laudabis etiam, si cogitaveris, quid amiserit. Amisit  
enim filiam, quae non minus mores eius quam os vul-  
tumque referebat, totumque patrem mira similitudine  
exscripserat.

Proinde, si quas ad eum de dolore tam iusto literas  
mittes, memento adhibere solacium non quasi castiga-  
torium et nimis forte, sed molle et humanum. Quod  
ut facilius admittat, multum faciet medii temporis  
spatium. Ut enim crudum adhuc vulnus meden-  
tium manus reformidat, deinde patitur atque ultro  
requirit, sic recens animi dolor consolationes reicit  
ac refugit, mox desiderat et clementer admotis  
acquiescit. Vale.

### XVII

C. PLINIUS VESTRICIO<sup>1</sup> SPURINNAE SUO S.

Scio, quanto opere bonis artibus faveas, quantum  
gaudium capias, si nobiles iuvenes dignum aliquid  
maioribus suis faciant. Quo festinantius nuntio tibi  
fuisse me hodie in auditorio Calpurni Pisonis. Recita-  
bat *καταστερισμῶν* eruditam sane luculentamque mate-  
riam. Scripta elegis erat fluentibus et teneris et  
enodibus, sublimibus etiam, ut poposcit locus. Apte  
enim et varie nunc attollebatur, nunc residebat ;

<sup>1</sup> VESTRICIO *add. Müller ex Ricc.*

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. the metamorphosis into stars (*καταστερισμὸς*) of Orion,  
Perseus, Andromeda, etc.

himself, he now contemns, and every other virtue gives place to his absorbing parental devotion. You will excuse, you will even approve him, when you consider what he has lost. He has lost a daughter who resembled him as closely in manners as in person, and exactly copied out all her father.

If you shall think proper to write to him upon the subject of so reasonable a grief, let me remind you not to use the rougher arguments of consolation, and such as seem to carry a sort of reproof with them, but those of kind and sympathizing humanity. Time will render him more open to such consolations: for as a fresh wound shrinks back from the hand of the surgeon, but by degrees submits to, and even craves for, the means of its cure, so a mind under the first impressions of a misfortune shuns and rejects all consoling reflections, but at length, if applied with tenderness, calmly and willingly acquiesces in them. Farewell.

## XVII

## TO VESTRICIUS SPURINNA

KNOWING, as I do, how much you favour the polite arts, and how greatly you rejoice whenever young men of quality perform some action worthy of their ancestors, I the more speedily inform you that I was to-day one of the audience to whom Calpurnius Piso read a poem he has composed upon a very bright and learned subject, namely, the mythology of the constellations.<sup>a</sup> His numbers, which were elegiac, were soft, flowing, and easy, nor wanted even sublimity when the topic demanded it. His style now rose, now fell, in apt accord with the varying theme; he passed from the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

excelsa depressis, exilia plenis, severis iucunda mutabat, omnia ingenio pari. Commendabat haec voce suavissima, vocem verecundia; multum sanguinis, multum sollicitudinis in ore, magna ornamenta recitantis. Etenim nescio quo pacto magis in studiis homines timor quam fiducia decet.

Ne plura (quamquam libet plura, quo sunt pulchriora de iuvene, rariora de nobili) recitatione finita multum ac diu exosculatus adolescentem, qui est acerrimus stimulus monendi, laudibus incitavi, pergeret, qua coepisset, lumenque, quod sibi maiores sui praetulissent, posteris ipse praeferret. Gratulatus sum optimae matri, gratulatus et fratri, qui ex auditorio illo non minorem pietatis gloriam, quam ille alter eloquentiae tulit; tam notabiliter pro fratre recitante primum metus eius, mox gaudium eminuit.

Di faciant ut talia tibi saepius nuntiem! Faveo enim saeculo, ne sit sterile et effetum, mireque cupio, ne nobiles nostri nihil in domibus suis pulchrum nisi imagines habeant; quae nunc mihi hos adolescentes tacite laudare, adhortari et, quod amborum gloriae satis magnum est, agnoscere videntur. Vale.



lofty to the low, from the close to the copious, from the grave to the florid, and all with equal ingenuity. These beauties were recommended by a most harmonious voice, which his modest air rendered still more pleasing. His cheeks were flushed, his countenance anxious, traits which highly embellish a reciter; for bashfulness is somehow more becoming to people when they engage in literary pursuits, than a confident air.

Not to mention farther details (though I am the more inclined to, as they are rather noble in a young man, and rather uncommon in a person of quality), I will only tell you, that when he had finished his recital, I repeatedly embraced the youth with the utmost complacency; and by warm praise (than which nothing lends advice more pungency) incited him to persevere in the path he had entered, and reflect that lustre on his descendants which his ancestors had imparted to himself. I congratulated his excellent mother, and his brother, who was as much extolled by the assembled company for his fraternal affection, as Calpurnius for his eloquence; so striking was his concern during his brother's recital, and his joy at its reception.

May the gods grant me frequent occasions of giving you such tidings! for I have at heart the interest of the present generation, and would fain see it not sterile and effete. And I ardently wish our young men of quality may possess other household trophies than ancestral images. As for those that stand in the house of these excellent youths, I now figure them to myself as silently applauding, exhorting, and (what is glory enough for the pair) owning them to be their kindred. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XVIII

C. PLINIUS CALPURNIO MACRO SUO S.

BENE est mihi, quia tibi bene est. Habes uxorem tecum, habes filium; frueris mari, fontibus, viridibus, agro, villa amoenissima. Neque enim dubito esse amoenissimam, in qua se composuerat homo felicior, ante quam felicissimus fieret. Ego in Tuscis et venor et studeo, quae interdum alternis, interdum simul facio, nec tamen adhuc possum pronuntiare, utrum sit difficilius capere aliquid, an scribere. Vale.

## XIX

C. PLINIUS VALERIO<sup>1</sup> PAULINO SUO S.

VIDEO, quam molliter tuos habeas; quo simplicius tibi confitebor, qua indulgentia meos tractem. Est mihi semper in animo et Homericum illud *πατὴρ δ' ὧς ἥπιος ἦεν*<sup>2</sup> et hoc nostrum "pater familiae." Quod si essem natura asperior et durior, frangeret me tamen infirmitas liberti mei Zosimi, cui tanto maior humanitas exhibenda est, quanto nunc illa magis eget. Homo

<sup>1</sup> VALERIO *ex Ricc. add. Müller.*

<sup>2</sup> *Od. ii. 47, 234.*

## XVIII

## TO CALPURNIUS MACER

ALL is well with me, since it is so with you. You have, I find, the company of your wife and son ; and the enjoyment of the sea, fountains, verdure, tilled fields, and a most delightful villa : for I doubt not the villa deserves that title, which was the chosen retreat of a man who was more happy before he attained the summit of happiness. As for myself, I am employed at my Tuscan villa in hunting and studying, sometimes alternately, and sometimes both together ; but I am not yet able to pronounce whether game catching or writing is the more difficult pursuit. Farewell.

## XIX

## TO VALERIUS PAULINUS

As I know how mildly you treat your own servants I the more frankly confess to you the indulgence I shew to mine. I have ever in my mind that line of Homer's :

“ Like to a father's was his gentle sway,”

and that expression in our own language, “ father of a household.” But were I naturally of a rough and hardened temper, the ill state of health of my freed-man Zosimus (who has the stronger claim to humane treatment, as he now stands the more in need of it) would suffice to soften me. He is honest and well-

probus, officiosus, litteratus; et ars quidem eius et quasi inscriptio comoedus, in qua plurimum facit. Nam pronuntiat acriter, sapienter, apte, decenter etiam; utitur et cithara perite, ultra quam comoedo necesse est. Idem tam commode et orationes et historias et carmina legit, ut hoc solum didicisse videatur.

Haec tibi sedulo exposui, quo magis scires, quam multa unus mihi et quam iucunda ministeria prae-staret. Accedit longa iam caritas hominis, quam ipsa pericula auxerunt. Est enim ita natura comparatum, ut nihil aequè amorem incitet et accendat quam carendi metus, quem ego pro hoc non semel patior. Nam ante aliquot annos, dum intente instanterque pronuntiât, sanguinem reiecit atque ob hoc in Aegyptum missus a me post longam peregrinationem confirmatus rediit nuper; deinde dum per continuos dies nimis imperat voci, veteris infirmitatis tussicula admonitus, rursus sanguinem reddidit.

Qua ex causa destinavi eum mittere in praedia tua, quae Foro Iuli possides. Audivi enim te saepe referentem esse ibi et aëra salubrem et lac eiusmodi curationibus accommodatissimum. Rogo ergo, scribas tuis, ut illi villa, ut domus pateat, offerant etiam sumptibus eius si quid opus erit; erit autem opus modico. Est enim tam parcus et continens, ut non

educated ; but his profession, his *certified accomplishment*, one might say, is that of comedian, wherein he highly excels. He speaks with great emphasis, judgement, propriety, and some gracefulness ; and also plays the lyre more skilfully than a comedian need do. To this I must add, he reads history, oratory, and poetry, as well as if he had singly applied himself to that art.

I am particular in enumerating these qualifications to let you see how many and agreeable services I receive from this one man's hand. He is, besides, endeared to me by a long-standing affection, which is heightened by his present danger. For nature has so formed our hearts, that nothing contributes more to raise and inflame our love for any object than the apprehension of being deprived of it : a sentiment which Zosimus has given me occasion to experience more than once. For some years ago he strained himself so much by too vehement an exertion of his voice, that he spit blood, upon which account I sent him into Egypt ; from whence, after a long absence, he lately returned with great benefit to his health. But having again exerted his voice for several days together beyond his strength, he was reminded of his former malady by a slight return of his cough, and a spitting of blood.

For this reason I intend to send him to your farm at Forum Julii, having frequently heard you mention it as an exceeding fine air, and recommend the milk of that place as very good in disorders of this nature. I beg you would write directions to your people to admit him to your grounds and house, and to supply him with what he may have occasion for at his expense. He will not want much, for he is so

solum delicias, verum etiam necessitates valetudinis frugalitate restringat. Ego proficiscenti tantum viatici dabo, quantum sufficiat canti in tua. Vale.

## XX

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO<sup>1</sup> URSO SUO S.

ITERUM Bithyni! breve tempus a Iulio Basso, et Rufum Varenum proconsule detulerunt, Varenum, quem nuper adversus Bassum advocatum et postulabant et acceperant. Inducti in senatum, inquisitionem postulaverunt; tum Varenus petiit,<sup>2</sup> ut sibi quoque defensionis causa evocare testes liceret; recusantibus Bithynis, cognitio suscepta est.

Egi ego pro Vareno non sine eventu; nam, bene an male, liber indicabit. In actionibus enim utramque in partem fortuna dominatur; multum commendationis et detrahit et affert memoria, vox, gestus, tempus ipsum, postremo vel amor vel odium rei; liber offensis, liber gratia, liber et secundis casibus et adversis caret. Respondit mihi Fonteius Magnus, unus ex Bithynis, plurimis verbis, paucissimis rebus.

<sup>1</sup> CORNELIO *ex Ricc. add. Müller.*

<sup>2</sup> petiit *Bipons, K, petit MD pra.*

thrifty and temperate as not only to abstain from delicacies, but even to deny himself the necessities his ill state of health requires. I shall furnish him when he sets out with sufficient journey money to take him to your house. Farewell.

## XX

## To CORNELIUS URSUS

THE Bithynians again! Soon after they had gone through with their prosecution of Julius Bassus, they also impeached their late Governor, Rufus Varenus; who was but just before (and that too at their own request) appointed counsel for them against Bassus. Being introduced into the Senate, they petitioned for an inquiry. Varenus, on the other hand, begged all proceedings might be stayed till he could send for the witnesses necessary to his defence; but this being opposed by the Bithynians, that point was debated.

I was counsel (and no unsuccessful one) for Varenus; but whether a good one or not, you will judge when you read my speech. Fortune has a very considerable share in the event of every speech in court; the memory, the voice, the gestures of the advocate, even the occasion itself; lastly, popular sentiment, as it is either favourable or adverse to the accused, all conspire to influence the success. But a speech read in the closet, is without fear or favour, and has nothing to fear or hope from lucky or unlucky accidents. Fonteius Magnus, one of the Bithynians, replied to me with great flow of words, and little to the purpose. It is the fault of most

Est plerisque Graecorum ut illi pro copia volubilitas ; tam longas tamque frigidas periodos uno spiritu quasi torrente contorquent. Itaque Iulius Candidus non invenuste solet dicere aliud esse eloquentiam, aliud loquentiam. Nam eloquentia vix uni aut alteri, immo, si Marco Antonio credimus, nemini ; haec vero, quam Candidus loquentiam appellat, multis atque etiam impudentissimo cuique maxime contigit.

Postero die dixit pro Vareno Homullus calide, acriter, culte ; contra Nigrinus presse, graviter, ornate. Censuit Acilius Rufus, consul designatus, inquisitionem Bithynis dandam, postulationem Varenii silentio praeteriit. Haec forma negandi fuit. Cornelius Priscus consularis et accusatoribus, quae petebant, et reo tribuit vicitque numero. Impetravimus rem nec lege comprehensam nec satis usitatam iustam tamen. Quare iustam, non sum epistula exsecuturus, ut desideres actionem. Nam, si verum est Homericum illud :

τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι,  
ἢ τις ἀκούοντεςσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέληται,<sup>1</sup>

providendum est mihi, ne gratiam novitatis et florem, quae oratiunculam illam vel maxime commendat, epistulae loquacitate praecerpam. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* i. 351.



Greek orators, as well as of himself, that they mistake volubility for copiousness, and thus overwhelm you with an endless torrent of cold and unaffecting periods. Julius Candidus used, rather neatly, to say, that "eloquence is one thing and loquacity another." Eloquence indeed is the privilege of very few; nay, if we will believe Marcus Antonius<sup>a</sup> of none: but that faculty which Candidus calls *loquacity*, is common to numbers, and generally possessed to perfection by the most impudent.

The next day Homullus spoke for Varenus with great art, strength, and elegance; to whom Nigrinus made a very close, solid, and graceful reply. Acilius Rufus, the consul-elect, moved that the Bithynians should be granted an inquiry; but he took no notice of the petition of Varenus; which was only another way of negating it. Cornelius Priscus, a consular, proposed to grant both petitions, and his motion was carried by a majority. Thus we gained a concession not warranted by either law or precedent, but none the less equitable. But why equitable, I will not expound in this letter, that you may with more impatience turn to my speech. For if it is true, as Homer sings, that

" . . . Novel lays attract our ravish'd ears;  
But old, the mind with inattention hears:"

I must not suffer the loquacity of my letter to despoil my speech of its principal flower, by robbing it of that novelty which is indeed its chief recommendation. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> The famous orator. He flourished just before Cicero, who calls him the most eloquent speaker he ever heard. ~~How, then, could Cicero have heard him?~~

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XXI

C. PLINIUS POMPEIO<sup>1</sup> SATURNINO SUO S.

VARIE me adfecerunt litterae tuae ; nam partim laeta, partim tristia continebant, laeta, quod te in urbe teneri nuntiabant ('nollem,' inquis ; sed ego volo) praeterea quod recitaturum, statim ut venissem, pollicebantur. Ago gratias, quod exspector. Triste illud, quod Iulius Valens graviter iacet ; quamquam ne hoc quidem triste, si illius utilitatibus aestimetur, cuius interest quam maturissime inexplicabili morbo liberari. Illud plane non triste solum, verum etiam luctuosum, quod Iulius Avitus decessit, dum ex quaestura redit, decessit in nave, procul a fratre amantissimo, procul a matre, a sororibus. Nihil ista ad mortuum pertinent, sed pertinuerunt cum moreretur, pertinent ad hos, qui supersunt, iam, quod in flore primo tantae indolis iuvenis extinctus est summa consecuturus, si virtutes eius maturuissent.

Quo ille studiorum amore flagrabat ! quantum legit ! quantum etiam scripsit ! quae nunc omnia

<sup>1</sup> POMPEIO *add. Müller ex Ricc.*

## XXI

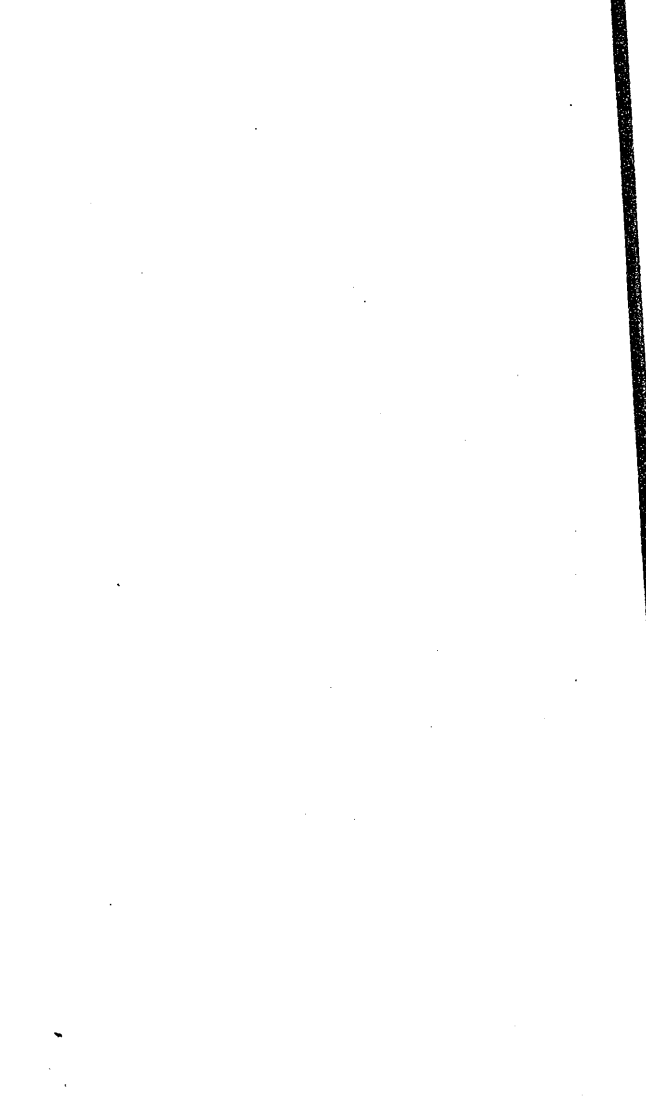
## TO POMPEIUS SATURNINUS

YOUR letter affected me diversely, as it contained matter both for joy and sorrow. It rejoiced me by announcing that you are detained in Rome ("against my will," I hear you say; not against mine, however), and again by promising that you will give your recital as soon as I arrive, and I return you my best thanks for postponing it on my account. But it grieved me by reporting the dangerous state of Julius Valens; though indeed one cannot grieve at that if one regards it with reference to his own good, since the sooner he is released from an incurable disease, the better for him. But what you add concerning Avitus, that he died in his return from the province where he had been Quaestor, is news, not only sad, but deplorable. That he died on board ship, at a distance from his fondly attached brother, and from his mother and sisters, are circumstances which though they cannot affect him now he is no more, yet undoubtedly did so in his last moments, and still affect those he has left behind. It adds poignancy to our grief that a young man of his shining talents should be cut off in his early prime, and snatched from those high honours to which his virtues, had they been permitted to grow to their full maturity, would certainly have raised him.

How did his bosom glow with the love of learning! How many books did he peruse! nay, how many did he compose! But his labours are now perished with

cum ipso sine fructu posteritatis abierunt. Sed quid ego indulgeo dolori? cui si frenos remittas, nulla materia non maxima est. Finem epistolae faciam, ut facere possim etiam lacrimis, quas epistula expressit. Vale.

him, and for ever lost to posterity. Yet why indulge my sorrow? A passion which, if we once give a loose to it, will aggravate every the slightest circumstance. I will put an end therefore to my letter, that I may to the tears which yours has drawn from me. Farewell.



## BOOK VI

## LIBER SEXTUS

### I

C. PLINIUS TIRONI SUO S.

QUAMDIU ego trans Padum, tu in Piceno, minus te requirebam; postquam ego in urbe, tu adhuc in Piceno, multo magis, seu quod ipsa loca, in quibus esse una solemus, acrius me tui commonent, seu quod desiderium absentium nihil perinde ac vicinitas acuit, quoque propius accesseris ad spem fruendi, hoc impatientius careas. Quidquid in causa, eripe me huic tormento; veni, aut ego illuc, unde inconsulte properavi, revertar vel ob hoc solum, ut experiar, an mihi, cum sine me Romae coeperis esse, similes his epistulas mittas. Vale.

### II

C. PLINIUS ARRIANO SUO S.

SOLEO non numquam in iudiciis quaerere Marcum Regulum; nolo enim dicere desiderare. Cur ergo quaero? Habebat studiis honorem, timebat, pallebat,



## BOOK VI

### I

#### TO TIRO

I WAS less sensible of your absence while you were in the country of the Piceni, and I on the other side the Po, than I find myself now that I am returned to Rome. Whether it be that the scene, where we used to associate, itself excites a more passionate remembrance of you; or that we never miss absent friends so keenly as when they are only a short way off, (our desires for a favourite object rising in proportion to our nearer approach towards it,) I know not. But whatever the cause may be, put an end to the torment it gives me, I entreat you, by hastening hither: otherwise I shall return again into the country (whence I unadvisedly hurried), merely to learn by experiment whether, when you have tried doing without me at Rome, you will send a letter like this. Farewell.

### II

#### TO ARRIANUS

I WILL not say I regret the loss of Regulus, but I confess, I sometimes miss him at the bar. The man, it must be owned, had a reverence for his profession; he would grow anxious and pale over his causes, and

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

scribebat, quamvis non posset dediscere. Illud ipsum, quod oculum modo dextrum, modo sinistrum circumlinebat, dextrum, si a petitore, alterum, si a possessore esset acturus; quod candidum splenium in hoc aut in illud supercilium transferebat; quod semper haruspices consulebat de actionis eventu, anili superstitione; sed tamen et a magno studiorum honore veniebat. Iam illa perquam iucunda una dicentibus, quod libera tempora petebat, quod audituros corrogabat. Quid enim iucundius quam sub alterius invidia, quamdiu velis, et in alieno auditorio quasi deprehensum commode dicere?

Sed utcunque se habent ista, bene fecit Regulus, quod est mortuus, melius, si ante. Nunc enim sane poterat sine malo publico vivere sub eo principe, sub quo nocere non poterat. Ideo fas est non numquam eum quaerere. Nam postquam obiit ille, increbuit passim et invaluit consuetudo binas vel singulas clepsydras, interdum etiam dimidias et dandi et petendi. Nam, et qui dicunt, egisse malunt quam agere, et qui audiunt, finire quam iudicare. Tanta neglegentia, tanta desidia, tanta denique irreverentia studiorum periculorumque est. An nos sapientiores maioribus nostris, nos legibus ipsis iustiores, quae tot

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<sup>a</sup> This silly piece of superstition seems to have been peculiar to Regulus. (Melm.)

used to prepare his speeches in writing, though he could not commit them to memory. Even his trick of painting his right or left eye,<sup>a</sup> and wearing a white patch over one side or the other of his forehead, as he was counsel either for the plaintiff or defendant; even his custom of always consulting the soothsayers upon the event of every plea through the effect of immoderate superstition, arose also from his veneration for eloquence. And what made it extremely pleasant to appear in the same cause with him, he always claimed unrestricted time, and never failed to procure an audience. For what can be pleasanter than to speak as long as you choose, knowing that the other side will bear the blame of your prolixity; and moreover to speak excellently, as if taken unawares, before an audience collected to hear not you, but another.

But for all that, Regulus did well to die, though he would have done still better had he died sooner; since he might now be alive without any danger to the public in the reign of a prince under whom he could do no mischief. I need not scruple therefore to say I sometimes miss him: for since his death, the custom has grown widely prevalent of not allowing, nor indeed asking, more than an hour or two to plead in, and sometimes not half that time. The truth is, our advocates are better pleased to have got through a cause, than to be engaged in it; and our judges are more bent on concluding, than on deciding it. Such is their negligence, their sloth, nay, disrespect for both the profession and the grave issues of the Law. But are we wiser than our ancestors? are we more equitable than the laws themselves, which grant so many hours and days,

horas, tot dies, tot comperendinationes largiuntur? hebetes illi et supra modum tardi, nos apertius dicimus, celerius intellegimus, religiosius iudicamus, quia paucioribus clepsydris praecipitamus causas, quam diebus explicari solebant? O Regule, qui ambitione ab omnibus obtinebas, quod fidei paucissimi praestant!

Equidem quoties iudico, quod vel saepius facio, quam dico, quantum quis plurimum postulat aquae, do. Etenim temerarium existimo divinare, quam spatiosa sit causa inaudita, tempusque negotio finire, cuius modum ignores, praesertim cum primam religioni suae iudex patientiam debeat, quae pars magna iustitiae est. At quaedam supervacua dicuntur. Etiam; sed satius est et haec dici, quam non dici necessaria. Praeterea, an sint supervacua, nisi cum audieris, scire non possis. Sed de his melius coram ut de pluribus vitiis civitatis. Nam tu quoque amore communium<sup>1</sup> soles emendari cupere, quae iam corrigere difficile est.

Nunc respiciamus domos nostras. Ecquid omnia in tua recte? in mea novi nihil. Mihi autem et gratiora sunt bona, quod perseverant; et leviora incommoda, quod assuevi. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> amore communium *M, K; Müller (cum cruce), communi omnium coni. Mommsen, communium morum, Gierig.*

and adjournments to a cause? Were our forefathers stupid, and dull beyond measure? And are we more clear in speech, more quick in our apprehension, or more scrupulous in our decisions; because we hurry over our causes in fewer hours than they took days to unravel them? To think, O Regulus, that no jury could refuse to thy self-aggrandisement, what very few now concede to professional honour!<sup>a</sup>

As for myself whenever I serve as juror (which is oftener than I appear at the bar) I always give the advocates as much time<sup>b</sup> as ever they ask. For I look upon it as highly presuming to divine before a cause is heard what time it will require, and to set limits to an affair before one is acquainted with its extent; especially as the first and most sacred duty of a juror is patience, which is a very considerable part of justice. But, it is objected, advocates say much that is superfluous. Granted: but better so, than that they should leave unsaid what is necessary. Besides, you cannot tell whether an argument be superfluous till you have heard it. But this, and many other public abuses, will be better discussed face to face. For like myself, as a lover of the commonwealth, you are always desirous of reforms, even where they have now become difficult.

But to turn to our domestic concerns; I hope all goes well in your home; everything is as usual in mine. The good which I enjoy grows more acceptable to me by its continuance; as habit renders me less sensible of my discomforts. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> *fides* is here the duty of an advocate to his client, which might oblige him to ask a liberal time-allowance.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "water," i.e. of the clepsydra.

## III

C. PLINIUS VERO SUO S.

GRATIAS ago, quod agellum, quem nutrici meae donaveram, colendum suscepisti. Erat, cum donarem, centum milium nummum, postea, decrescente reditu etiam pretium minuit, quod nunc te curante reparabit. Tu modo memineris commendari tibi a me non arbores et terram, quamquam haec quoque, sed munusculum meum; quod esse quam fructuosissimum non illius magis interest, quae accepit, quam mea, qui dedi. Vale.

## IV

C. PLINIUS CALPURNIAE SUAE S.

NUMQUAM sum magis de occupationibus meis questus, quae me non sunt passae aut proficiscentem te valetudinis causa in Campaniam prosequi, aut perfectam e vestigio subsequi. Nunc enim praecipue simul esse cupiebam, ut oculis meis crederem, quid viribus, quid corpusculo apparares, ecquid denique secessus voluptates regionisque abundantiam inoffensa transmitteres. Equidem etiam fortem te non sine cura desiderarem; est enim suspensum et anxium de eo, quem ardentissime diligas, interdum nihil scire;

## III

## To VERUS

I AM much obliged to you for undertaking the care of that little farm I gave to my nurse. It was worth, when I made her a present of it, an hundred thousand sesterces, but the returns having since diminished, it has sunk in its value : however, that will rise again, I doubt not, under your management. But, remember, what I recommend to your attention is not the fruit-trees and the land (which yet I by no means except), but my little benefaction ; for it is not more the good woman's concern as a recipient, than mine as the donor, that it should be as profitable as possible. Farewell.

## IV

## To CALPURNIA, HIS WIFE

I NEVER complained more of my business than when it prevented me not only from escorting you on your journey, but following you at once, when ill health took you into Campania. For at this time especially I wished to be with you, so as to see for myself what improvement there is in your strength and that dear little person of yours, and whether the amusements of that retreat, and the plenty of that district agree with you. Were you in sound health, yet I could not feel easy in your absence ; for there is harassing suspense in being every now and then wholly ignorant of what is happening to a most dearly loved one ; but now your sickness conspires

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

nunc vero me cum absentiae tum infirmitatis tuae ratio incerta et varia sollicitudine exterret. Vereor omnia, imaginor omnia, quaeque natura metuentium est, ea maxime mihi, quae maxime abominor, fingo. Quo impensius rogo, ut timori meo quotidie singulis vel etiam binis epistulis consulas. Ero enim securior, dum lego, statimque timebo, cum legero. Vale.

### V

C. PLINIUS URSO SUO S.

SCRIPSERAM tenuisse Varenum, ut sibi evocare testes liceret; quod pluribus aequum, quibusdam iniquum et quidem pertinaciter visum, maxime Licinio Nepoti, qui sequenti senatu, cum de rebus aliis referretur, de proximo senatus consulto disseruit finitamque causam retractavit. Addidit etiam petendum a consulibus, ut referrent sub exemplo legis ambitus de lege repetundarum, an placeret in futurum ad eam legem adici, ut, sicut accusatoribus inquirendi testibusque denuntiandi potestas ex ea lege esset, ita reis quoque fieret.

Fuerunt, quibus haec eius oratio ut sera et in-tempestiva et praepostera displiceret, quae omisso



with your absence to affright me with a thousand vague disquietudes. I fear and imagine every possible calamity and, as is the way of frightened people, my fancy paints most vividly just those that I most earnestly implore Heaven to avert. Let me conjure you then to pay regard to my anxiety by writing to me every day, and even twice a day. I shall be more easy, at least while I am reading your letters; and all my fears will return the moment I have perused them. Farewell.

## V

## To URSUS

I ACQUAINTED you in a former letter,<sup>a</sup> that Varenus obtained leave to summon his witnesses. This was judged equitable by the majority (of the Senate) though some maintained even pertinaciously that it was the reverse: particularly Licinius Nepos, who at the next session of the Senate, when other business was before the house, spoke on their last decree and re-opened a case that had been decided. And he went on to propose that the consuls be desired to take the sense of the house upon the question whether following the precedent afforded by the law concerning bribery and corruption, a clause should be added to the law concerning extortion, granting defendants the same right to seek evidence and summon witnesses as plaintiffs enjoyed under that statute.

Some heard this speech with displeasure, regarding it as too late, ill-timed and out of place; Nepos they said, had let slip the proper occasion of opposing

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

contradicendi tempore castigaret peractum, cui potuisset occurrere. Inventius quidem Celsus praetor tamquam emendatorem senatus et multis et vehementer increpuit. Respondit Nepos rursusque Celsus; neuter contumeliis temperavit. Nolo referre, quae dici ab ipsis moleste tuli. Quo magis quosdam e numero nostro improbavi, qui modo ad Celsum, modo ad Nepotem, prout hic vel ille diceret, cupiditate audiendi cursitabant et nunc, quasi stimularent et accenderent, nunc, quasi reconciliarent componerentque,<sup>1</sup> frequentius singulis, ambobus interdum propitium Caesarem ut in ludicro aliquo precabantur.

Mihi quidem illud etiam peracerbum fuit, quod sunt alter alteri, quid pararent, indicati. Nam et Celsus Nepoti ex libello respondit et Celso Nepos ex pugillaribus. Tanta loquacitas amicorum, ut homines iurgaturi id ipsum invicem scirent,<sup>2</sup> tamquam convenissent. Vale.

### VI

C. PLINIUS FUNDANO SUO S.

Si quando, nunc praecipue cuperem esse te Romae, et sis rogo. Opus est mihi voti, laboris, sollicitudinis socio. Petit honores Iulius Naso, petit cum multis,

<sup>1</sup> reconc. componerentque *Dpra, Bipons, Otto*, reconc. ac recomponerent *K*. <sup>2</sup> scirent *Dpa, Bipons, Otto*, scierint *K*.

the decree, and castigated a decision after it was made, which he might have nipped in the bud. Juventius Celsus, the Praetor, reproached him warmly and at length with setting up for a reformer of the Senate. Nepos replied; Celsus spoke again; and neither was sparing of abuse. I forbear to repeat what I could not hear from their own lips without annoyance. So much the more I disapprove the conduct of certain Senators who ran, now to Nepos, now to Celsus, as one or the other was speaking, greedy to hear their mutual invectives; and as if now stimulating and inflaming the combatants, and then again reconciling and appeasing them, kept begging the Emperor to favour one or the other, and occasionally both, just as they might do at some public show.

To me, at least, it was also most bitter to observe that each party had been informed of what the other intended to allege; for Celsus replied to Nepos out of a paper, as Nepos did to Celsus out of a note-book, which each held in his hand. Thanks to the chatter of their friends, each knew exactly how the other would abuse him, just as if they had previously agreed to quarrel. Farewell.

## VI

## TO FUNDANUS

I NEVER wished to see you in Rome more than I do at this time, and I entreat you therefore to come hither; for I need a partner in my prayers, toils, and solicitude. Julius Naso is a candidate for office: his competitors are numerous and worthy, so that to

cum bonis, quos ut gloriosum sic est difficile superare. Pendeo ergo, et exerceor spe, adficio metu et me consularem esse non sentio; nam rursus mihi videor omnium, quae decurri, candidatus. Meretur hanc curam longa mei caritate. Est mihi cum illo non sane paterna amicitia (neque enim esse potuit per meam aetatem), solebat tamen vixdum adulescentulo mihi pater eius cum magna laude monstrari.

Erat non studiorum tantum, verum etiam studiosorum amantissimus ac prope cotidie ad audiendos, quos tunc ego frequentabam, Quintilianum et Niceten Sacerdotem ventitabat, vir alioqui clarus et gravis, et qui prodesse filio memoria sui debeat. Sed multi nunc in senatu, quibus ignotus ille; multi, quibus notus, sed non nisi viventes reverentur. Quo magis huic omissa gloria patris, in qua magnum ornamentum, gratia infirma, ipsi enitendum, ipsi laborandum est.

Quod quidem semper, quasi provideret hoc tempus, sedulo fecit; paravit amicos, quos paraverat, coluit, me certe, ut primum sibi iudicare permisit, ad amorem imitationemque delegit. Dicenti mihi sollicitus adsistit, adsidet recitanti; primus<sup>1</sup> etiam et cum maxime nascentibus opusculis meis interest nunc solus, ante cum fratre, cuius nuper amissi ego

<sup>1</sup> primus *Dpra*, *Bipons*, *Müller*, *primis M, K.*

overcome them is no less difficult than glorious. I am distracted by suspense, and so great is my anxiety that I forget I have passed the consulship, and fancy I am to stand over again for all the offices I have held. This concern is justly due to Naso, in return for his long affection to me. Our friendship is not, it is true, hereditary, for I was too much his father's junior to admit of any intimacy between us; yet from my earliest youth I was taught to look upon him with veneration.

He was a devoted admirer not only of oratory, but of those who cultivated it; and went almost daily to the lectures of Quintilian and Nicetes, which I was then attending. He was, in short, a man of worth and eminence, and one whose memory ought to facilitate the career of his son. But there are numbers now in the Senate who never knew that excellent person; and though there are many also who did, yet they are such whose regards extend not beyond the living. So that Nepos must not rely upon his father's fame (which though it handsomely adorns, can but feebly recommend him), but solely on his own strenuous exertions.

In those, indeed, he has ever been as unremitting as if he had foreseen the present contingency. He has acquired friends and cultivated their friendship, and particularly singled *me* out as the object of his esteem and imitation, the moment he began to judge for himself. Whenever I plead in court, whenever I give a recital, he is sedulous to attend; as he ever shows the first and liveliest interest when some little work of mine sees the light. His brother showed the same attachment to me. But he has lost that excellent brother! and it shall be my part to supply

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

suscipere partes, ego vicem debeo implere. Doleo enim et illum immatura morte indignissime raptum et hunc optimi fratris adiumento destitutum solisque amicis relictum.

Quibus ex causis exigo, ut venias et suffragio meo tuum iungas. Permultum interest mea te ostentare, tecum circumire. Ea est auctoritas tua, ut putem me efficacius tecum etiam meos amicos rogaturum. Abrumpe, si qua te retinent ; hoc tempus meum, hoc fides, hoc etiam dignitas postulat. Suscepi candidatum, et suscepisse me notum est ; ego ambio, ego periclitor ; in summam, si datur Nasoni, quod petit, illius honor, si negatur, mea repulsa est. Vale.

### VII.

C. PLINIUS CALPURNIAE SUAE S.

SCRIBIS te absentia mea non mediocriter adfici unumque habere solacium, quod pro me libellos meos teneas, saepe etiam in vestigio meo colloces. Gratum est, quod nos requiris, quod his fomentis adquiescis. Invicem ego epistulas tuas lectito atque identidem in manus quasi novas sumo ; sed eo magis ad desiderium

his place. It is with grief I reflect upon the immature death of the one, as I lament that the other should be deprived of the assistance of so valuable a relation, and left only to the zeal of his friends.

It is on these grounds I make a point of your coming hither and uniting your support with mine. It will be much to my advantage to exhibit you as assisting me, and canvass in your company: for such is your credit and influence, that I am persuaded your presence will render my applications more effectual even with my own friends. Let me entreat you then to break through all obstacles that may lie in your way; my situation, my loyalty and my credit, all require it. I have undertaken to support the interest of Naso, and the world knows that I do; the pursuit and the hazard therefore is become my own. In a word, if he obtains this post, the honour will be his; but if he be rejected, the repulse will be mine. Farewell.

## VII

## To CALPURNIA

You tell me, my absence is greatly uneasy to you, and that your only consolation is in conversing with my works, instead of their author, to which you frequently even give my own place by your side. How agreeable is it to me to know that you thus wish for my company, and support yourself under the want of it by these tender amusements! In return, I read over your letters again and again, and am continually taking them up as if I had just received them; but alas! they only serve to make

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tui accendor. Nam, cuius litterae tantum habent suavitatis, huius sermonibus quantum dulcedinis inest ! Tu tamen frequentissime scribe, licet hoc ita me delectet, ut torqueat. Vale.

### VIII

C. PLINIUS PRISCO SUO S.

ATILIUM CRESCENTEM et nosti et amas. Quis enim illum spectatior paulo aut non novit aut non amat ? Hunc ego non ut multi, sed artissime diligo. Oppida nostra unius diei itinere dirimuntur ; ipsi amare invicem, qui est flagrantissimus amor, adulescentuli coepimus. Mansit hic postea nec refrixit iudicio, sed invaluit. Sciunt, qui alterutrum nostrum familiaris intuentur. Nam et ille amicitiam meam latissima praedicatione circumfert, et ego prae me fero, quam sit mihi curae modestia, quies, securitas eius. Quin etiam, cum insolentiam cuiusdam tribunatum plebis inituri vereretur idque indicasset mihi, respondi :

Οὐτίς ἐμεῦ ζῶντος.<sup>1</sup>

Quorsus haec ? ut scias non posse Atilium me incolumi iniuriam accipere. Iterum dices : “ Quorsus haec ? ” Debuit ei pecuniam Valerius Varus.

<sup>1</sup> Hom. *Il.* i. 88.



me more strongly regret your absence : for how amiable must her conversation be, whose letters have so many charms ? Let me receive them, however, as often as possible, notwithstanding there is still a mixture of pain in the pleasure they afford me. Farewell.

## VIII

## TO PRISCUS

You know and esteem Atilius Crescens ; as indeed what person of any distinction does not ? My own attachment to him is much closer than the common run of his numerous friendships. Our native towns are separated only by a day's journey ; and we became friends in early youth, a season when friendship is most ardent. Ours survived that period ; and so far from being weakened, was confirmed by our ripper judgements, as those who know us best can witness. For he takes pleasure in boasting every where of my friendship ; as I do to let the world know that his honour, ease, and safety are my peculiar concern. Insomuch that upon his expressing to me some apprehension from the insolence of a certain person who was entering upon the tribuneship of the people, I could not forbear answering,

“ Long as Achilles breathes this vital air,  
To touch thy head no impious hand shall dare.”

“ Whither tends all this ? ” you say. To shew you that I look upon every injury offered to Atilius as done to myself. But again you will ask my drift. You must know, then, Valerius Varus at his death,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Huius est heres Maximus noster, quem et ipse amo, sed coniunctius tu. Rogo ergo, exigo etiam pro iure amicitiae, cures, ut Atilio meo salva sit non sors modo, verum etiam usura plurium annorum. Homo est alieni abstinentissimus, sui diligens, nullis quaestibus sustinetur, nullus illi nisi ex frugalitate reditus. Nam studia, quibus plurimum praestat, ad voluptatem tantum et gloriam exercet. Gravis est ei vel minima iactura, quia reparare, quod amiserit,<sup>1</sup> gravius est. Exime hunc illi, exime hunc mihi scrupulum; sine me suavitate eius, sine leporibus perfrui. Neque enim possum tristem videre, cuius hilaritas me tristem esse non patitur.

In summa nosti facetias hominis; quas velim attendas ne in bilem et amaritudinem vertat iniuria. Quam vim habeat offensus, crede ei, quam in amore habet. Non feret magnum et liberum ingenium cum contumelia damnum. Verum, ut ferat ille, ego meum damnum, meam contumeliam vindicabo; sed non tamquam pro mea, hoc est, gravius, irascar. Quamquam quid denuntiationibus et quasi minis ago? Quin potius, ut coeperam, rogo, oro, des operam, ne ille se, quod validissime vereor, a me, ego me

<sup>1</sup> amiserit *Dpr*, amiseris *Ma*.

owed Atilius a sum of money. Though I am on good terms with Maximus, his heir, yet there is a closer regard between him and you. I ask therefore, nay, demand in Friendship's name; that you will take care my dear Atilius gets back not only the principal of his loan, but several years' arrears of interest. He neither covets the property of others, nor neglects the care of his own; and as he is not engaged in any lucrative profession, he has nothing to depend upon but his frugality; for as to oratory, in which he greatly excels, he pursues it merely upon the motives of pleasure and fame. In such a situation the slightest loss presses hard upon a man, since he cannot easily repair it. Relieve us both, then, I entreat you, of this difficulty, and suffer me still to enjoy his amiable and diverting conversation; for I cannot bear to see that gaiety of his overclouded, which dissipates every gloom of melancholy in myself.

In a word, as you are well acquainted with Atilius' sportive temper, I hope you will look to it that no injury shall discompose and sour it. You may judge by the warmth of his affection how bitter his resentments would prove; for a generous and great mind can ill brook a loss when it is joined with an affront. But though he should pass it over, I shall avenge it as my own loss, and an affront offered to myself; as for resenting it, however, that I shall do as if another were the injured party; that is, with double warmth. But, after all, why this air of threatening? rather let me end in the same style I began, by earnestly conjuring you to use your endeavours, that neither Atilius may think me remiss towards him (which I strongly deprecate), nor I

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

neglectum a te putem. Dabis autem, si hoc perinde curae est tibi quam illud mihi. Vale.

### IX

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

COMMENDAS mihi Iulium Nasonem candidatum. Nasonem mihi? quid si me ipsum? Fero tamen et ignosco. Eundem enim commendassem tibi, si te Romae morante ipse afuissem. Habet hoc sollicitudo, quod omnia necessaria putat. Tu tamen censeo alios roges; ego precum tuarum minister, adiutor, particeps ero. Vale.

### X

C. PLINIUS ALBINO SUO S.

CUM venissem in socrus meae villam Alsiensem, quae aliquando Rufi Vergini fuit, ipse mihi locus optimi illius et maximi viri desiderium non sine dolore renovavit. Hunc enim incolere secessum atque etiam senectutis suae nidulum vocare consueverat. Quocunque me contulissem, illum animus, illum oculi requirebant. Libuit etiam monumentum eius videre, et vidisse paenituit. Est enim adhuc imperfectum, nec difficultas operis in causa modici ac

entertain similar thoughts of yourself; and undoubtedly you will, if your solicitude on the latter point equals mine on the former. Farewell.

## IX

## To TACITUS

WHEN you commend to my interest the candidature of Julius Nāso, what is it but commending me to myself? However, I forgive you, for I should have done the same thing, had you been at Rome and I absent. The tender anxiety of friendship is apt to imagine every circumstance to be material. But I advise you to turn your solicitations to others; my own part shall be deputy, assistant, and associate in your canvass. Farewell.

## X

## To ALBINUS

I WAS lately at Alsium, where my wife's mother has a villa which once belonged to Verginius Rufus.<sup>a</sup> The place renewed even painfully my regrets for that great and excellent man. He was extremely fond of this retreat, and used to call it "the nest of his old age." Wherever I turned, my heart, my eyes, ached to behold my vanished friend. I even had an inclination to view his monument; but I repented the visit, for I found it still unfinished, and this not from any difficulty in erecting a work of such modest, indeed, small dimensions, but through

<sup>a</sup> See ii. 1, ix. 19.

potius exigui, sed inertia eius, cui cura mandata est. Subit indignatio cum miseratione post decimum mortis annum reliquias neglectumque cinerem sine titulo, sine nomine iacere, cuius memoria orbem terrarum gloria pervagetur. At ille mandaverat caveratque, ut divinum illud et immortale factum versibus inscriberetur :

Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam  
Imperium asseruit non sibi, sed patriae.

Tam rara in amicitiiis fides, tam parata oblivio mortuorum, ut ipsi nobis debeamus etiam conditoria extruere omniaque heredum officia praesumere. Nam cui non est verendum, quod videmus accidisse Verginio? cuius iniuriam ut indigniorem sic etiam notio-rem ipsius claritas facit. Vale.

## XI

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

O DIEM laetum ! adhibitus in consilium a praefecto urbis audiivi ex diverso agentes summae spei, summae indolis iuvenes duos, Fuscum Salinatorem et Numidium Quadratum, egregium par nec modo temporibus nostris, sed litteris ipsis ornamento futurum. Mira

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the heir of Verginius, who neglected the injunctions as to this monument in the latter's will.

<sup>b</sup> After the battle in which he defeated Julius Vindex, who

the neglect of him to whose charge it was committed.<sup>a</sup> I could not see without a concern mixed with indignation, the remains of a man, whose fame filled the whole world, lie for ten years after his death without an inscription, or a name. Yet he had directed that the divine and immortal action of his life should be recorded upon his tomb in the following lines :

“ Here Rufus lies, who raised in victory’s hour  
His country, not himself, to sovran power.” <sup>b</sup>

But a faithful friend is so rare to be found, and the dead are so soon forgotten, that we shall be obliged to build even our very tombs, and anticipate every office of our heirs. For what man can feel himself secure from undergoing the same fate as Verginius, whose shining worth makes the wrong to his memory the more cruel, and the more conspicuous? Farewell.

## XI

### TO MAXIMUS

How happy a day did I lately pass ! when having been called by the Urban Praefect to his advisory council, I heard two young men of the highest promise and talents, Fuscus Salinator and Numidius Quadratus, plead on the opposite sides ; a noble pair who will one day prove an ornament not only to the present age, but to literature itself. They had raised a great revolt in Gallia Lugdunensis, Verginius was urged by his soldiers to proclaim himself Emperor, but refused (69 A.D.).

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

utrique probitas constantia salva, decorus habitus, os Latinum, vox virilis, tenax memoria, magnum ingenium, iudicium aequale; quae singula mihi voluptati fuerunt atque inter haec illud, quod et ipsi me ut rectorem, ut magistrum intuebantur, et iis, qui audiebant, me aemulari, meis instare vestigiis videbantur.

O diem (repetam enim) laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo! Quid enim aut publice laetius quam clarissimos iuvenes nomen et famam ex studiis petere aut mihi optatius quam me ad recta tendentibus quasi exemplar esse propositum? Quod gaudium ut perpetuo capiam, deos oro; ab iisdem teste te peto, ut omnes, qui me imitari tanti putabunt, meliores esse quam me velint. Vale.

## XII

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

Tu vero non debes suspensa manu commendare mihi, quos tuendos putas. Nam et te decet multis prodesse et me suscipere, quidquid ad curam tuam

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covered upon this occasion an admirable probity, supported by inflexible courage : their deportment was decent, their language pure Latin, their voice manly, their memory strong, their genius elevated, and guided by an equal solidity of judgement. I was gratified by their display of these several excellencies, and, by the incidental circumstance that, while the speakers themselves kept their eyes fixed upon me, as on their guide and master, the audience considered their oratory as emulating and copying my own.

It was a day (I cannot but repeat it again) of exquisite happiness, which I shall ever distinguish with the fairest mark. For what indeed could be either more pleasing to me on the public account, than to observe two such noble youths building their fame and glory upon eloquence ; or more desirable upon my own, than to be as it were held up as a pattern to them in their pursuit of virtue ? may the gods vouchsafe me lasting enjoyment of that satisfaction ! And you will bear me witness, I sincerely pray, that every man who thinks me deserving of his imitation, may far excel the pattern he has chosen. Farewell.

## XII

TO FABATUS, HIS WIFE'S GRANDFATHER

Most certainly you should not be chary of recommending to me such persons as you think deserving of patronage ; for extensive beneficence is as much your natural part, as mine is to take up

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

pertinet. Itaque Vettio Prisco, quantum plurimum potuero, praestabo, praesertim in arena mea, hoc est apud centumviros.

Epistularum, quas mihi, ut ais, aperto pectore scripsisti, oblivisci me iubes. At ego nullarum libentius memini. Ex illis enim vel praecipue sentio, quanto opere me diligas, cum sic exegeris mecum, ut solebas cum tuo filio. Nec dissimulo hoc mihi iucundiores eas fuisse, quod habebam bonam causam, cum summo studio curassem, quod tu curari volebas. Proinde etiam atque etiam rogo, ut mihi semper eadem simplicitate, quoties cessare videbor (videbor dico, nunquam enim cessabo), convicium facias, quod et ego intellegam a summo amore proficisci, et tu non meruisse me gaudeas. Vale.

### XIII

C. PLINIUS URSO SUO S.

UNQUAMNE vidisti quemquam tam laboriosum et exercitum<sup>1</sup> quam Varenum meum? cui, quod summa contentione impetraverat, defendendum et quasi rursus petendum fuit. Bithyni senatus consultum apud consules carpere ac labefactare sunt ausi atque etiam absenti principi criminari; ab illo ad senatum remissi non destiterunt.

<sup>1</sup> et exercitum *Ma*, *Bipons*, *K*, tam exerc. *Dr*, *Müller*.

every cause you have at heart. Be assured therefore I shall give all the assistance in my power to Vettius Priscus, especially in my peculiar field of action—I mean the Centumviral Court.

You bid me forget those letters which you wrote to me, you say, in the openness of your heart; but, believe me, there are none I remember with more complacency. They are to me the strongest proofs of your affection, since you call me to account, just as you used to call your own son. And, to confess the truth, they are so much the more agreeable, as I could make out a good case in reply; for I had very exactly performed your requests. I entreat you again and again still to reproach me with the same freedom, whenever I seem to fail (seem, I say, for fail I never will) in my duty towards you. I shall understand that the truest love inspires your reproaches; and you, I hope, may rejoice to find I did not deserve them. Farewell.

## XIII

## To URSUS

DID you ever behold a man so tried and harassed as my friend Varenus, who has been obliged to defend, and, as it were, to seek again, what he had with much struggle already obtained?<sup>a</sup> The Bithynians have had the assurance not only to cavil at and impugn the decree of the Senate before the consuls, but also to inveigh against it to the Emperor, who had been absent when it passed. Caesar referred them back to the Senate, where they still persisted in their course.

<sup>a</sup> See v. 20.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Egit Claudius Capito irreverenter magis quam constanter, ut qui ipsum senatus consultum apud senatum accusaret. Respondit Catus Fronto graviter et firme. Senatus ipse mirificus; nam illi quoque, qui prius negarant Vareno, quae petebat, eadem danda, postquam erant data, censuerunt; singulos enim integra re dissentire fas esse, peracta, quod pluribus placuisset, cunctis tuendum. Acilius tantum Rufus et cum eo septem an octo, septem immo, in priore sententia perseverarunt. Erant in hac paucitate non nulli, quorum temporaria gravitas vel potius gravitatis imitatio ridebatur. Tu tamen aestima, quantum nos in ipsa pugna certaminis maneat, cuius quasi praelusio atque praecursio has contentiones excitavit. Vale.

### XIV

C. PLINIUS MAURICIO SUO S.

SOLLICITAS me in Formianum. Veniam ea conditione, ne quid contra commodum tuum facias; quapactione invicem mihi caveo. Neque enim mare et litus, sed otium et libertatem<sup>1</sup> sequor; alioqui satius est in urbe remanere. Oportet enim omnia aut ad

<sup>1</sup> otium et lib. *p*, *Sichardus*, *Müller*, *te*, otium, lib. *Ma*, *K*, *te* otium et lib. *Dr*.

Claudius Capito acted as their counsel; thereby displaying ill-manners rather than intrepidity, since he arraigned before the Senate one of their own decrees. Catus Fronto replied to him with great solidity and spirit; the Senate itself behaved to admiration. For even those who had opposed the petition of Varenus in the first instance were in favour of granting it, now that it had been granted. They agreed that while the motion was under debate, individual members were at liberty to express dissent; but when once carried, the whole house was bound to support the decision of the majority. Acilius Rufus and seven or eight others (I think seven at the outside) were the only senators who persevered in their former vote. Among which small party there were some whose improvised, or, rather, counterfeit solemnity, was extremely ridiculed. You will judge from hence what a warm battle we are likely to have of it, since this prelude and skirmish, as I may call it, has occasioned so much contention. Farewell.

## XIV

## TO MAURICIUS

I ACCEPT your invitation to visit you at your Formian villa, but it is upon condition that you put yourself to no inconvenience; a compact which I shall also strictly observe on my part. It is not the beauties of your sea and your coast, it is ease and freedom that I aim to enjoy; otherwise I might as well remain in Rome. For there is no middle course

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

alienum arbitrium aut ad suum facere. Mei certe stomachi haec natura est, ut nihil nisi totum et merum velit. Vale.

### XV

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

MIRIFICAE rei non interfuisti, ne ego quidem; sed me recens fabula excepit. Passennus Paulus, splendidus eques Romanus et inprimis eruditus, scribit elegos. Gentilicium hoc illi; est enim municeps Propertii atque etiam inter maiores suos Propertium numerat. Is cum recitaret, ita coepit dicere, "Prisce, iubes." Ad hoc Iavolenus Priscus (aderat enim ut Paullo amicissimus): "Ego vero non iubeo." Cogita, qui risus hominum, qui ioci. Est omnino Priscus dubiae sanitatis, interest tamen officiis, adhibetur consiliis atque etiam ius civile publice respondet. Quo magis, quod tunc fecit, et ridiculum et notabile fuit.

Interim Paullo aliena deliratio aliquantum frigoris attulit. Tam sollicite recitaturis providendum est, non solum ut sint ipsi sani, verum etiam ut sanos adhibeant. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> The force of *excepit* might be colloquially rendered by "button-holed." Pliny means that every one he met told him the new anecdote.

<sup>b</sup> As Priscus was a jurist of great eminence, his alleged "craziness" was probably nothing more than absent-mindedness. Thus, roused from a reverie by hearing his own name, he makes a ludicrous reply. (Church and Brodribb.)

between being absolutely at the disposal of others, and absolutely your own master; my own palate, at least, cannot relish mixtures of any kind. Farewell.

## XV

## TO ROMANUS

You were not present at a very droll accident which lately happened: neither was I; however, I had an early account of it.<sup>a</sup> Passennus Paulus, a distinguished Roman knight, and an eminently learned man, has a turn for Elegiac Poetry; a talent which runs in the family, for he is a fellow-townsmen of Propertius, and actually reckons that poet among his ancestors. He was lately reciting a poem which began thus:

“Priscus, thou dost command—”

Whereupon Iavolenus Priscus (who was present, being one of his particular friends) cried out—“But I don’t command.” Think what a peal of laughter, what numerous sallies, this occasioned! The intellects of Priscus, you must know, are something suspicious; yet he enters into common offices of life, is called to consultations, and publicly acts as a civil pleader, so that this behaviour was the more remarkable and ridiculous.<sup>b</sup>

Meanwhile Paulus has to thank the craziness of another for a somewhat cool reception. So you see, intending reciters cannot look too carefully, not only to their own sanity, but to that of the audience they invite. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XVI

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

PETIS, ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis. Gratias ago; nam video morti eius, si celebretur a te, immortalem gloriam esse propositam. Quamvis enim pulcherrimarum clade terrarum, ut populi, ut urbes, memorabili casu quasi semper victurus occiderit, quamvis ipse plurima opera et mansura condiderit, multum tamen perpetuitati eius scriptorum tuorum aeternitas addet. Equidem beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda aut scribere legenda, beatissimos vero, quibus utrumque. Horum in numero avunculus meus et suis libris et tuis erit. Quo libentius suscipio, depono etiam, quod iniungis.

Erat Miseni classemque imperio praesens regebat. Nonum Kal. Septembres hora fere septima mater mea indicat ei apparere nubem inusitata<sup>1</sup> et magnitudine et specie. Usus ille sole, mox frigida, gustaverat iacens, studebatque; poscit soleas, ascendit locum, ex quo maxime miraculum illud conspici

<sup>1</sup> inusitata *Dpra*, *Bipons*, *K*, *invisitata M*, *Müller*.



## XVI

## To TACITUS

Your request that I would send you an account of my uncle's end, so that you may transmit a more exact relation of it to posterity, deserves my acknowledgements; for if his death shall be celebrated by your pen, the glory of it, I am aware, will be rendered for ever deathless. For notwithstanding he perished, as did whole peoples and cities, in the destruction of a most beautiful region, and by a misfortune memorable enough to promise him a kind of immortality; notwithstanding he has himself composed many and lasting works; yet I am persuaded, the mentioning of him in your immortal writings, will greatly contribute to eternize his name. Happy I esteem those, whom Providence has gifted with the ability either to do things worthy of being written, or to write in a manner worthy of being read; but most happy they, who are blessed with both talents: in which latter class my uncle will be placed both by his own writings and by yours. The more willingly do I undertake, nay, solicit, the task you set me.

He was at that time with the fleet under his command at Misenum. On the 24th of August, about one in the afternoon, my mother desired him to observe a cloud of very unusual size and appearance. He had sunned himself, then taken a cold bath; and after a leisurely luncheon was engaged in study. He immediately called for his shoes and went up an eminence from whence he might best view this very uncommon appearance. It was not at

poterat. Nubes, incertum procul intuentibus, ex quo monte (Vesuvium fuisse postea cognitum est), oriebatur, cuius similitudinem et formam non alia magis arbor quam pinus expresserit. Nam longissimo velut trunco elata in altum quibusdam ramis diffundebatur, credo, quia recenti spiritu evecta, dein senescente eo destituta aut etiam pondere suo victa in latitudinem evanescebat, candida interdum, interdum sordida et maculosa, prout terram cineremve sustulerat.

Magnum propiusque noscendum ut eruditissimo viro visum. Iubet Liburnicam aptari; mihi, si venire una vellem, facit copiam. Respondi studere me malle, et forte ipse, quod scriberem, dederat. Egrediebatur domo; accipit codicillos Rectinae Bassi<sup>1</sup> imminenti periculo exterriti (nam villa eius subiacebat, nec ulla nisi navibus fuga); ut se tanto discrimini eriperet, orabat. Vertit ille consilium et, quod studioso animo inchoaverat, obit maximo. Deducit quadriremes; ascendit ipse non Retinae modo, sed multis (erat enim frequens amoenitas orae) laturus auxilium. Properat illuc, unde alii fugiunt, rectumque cursum, recta gubernacula in periculum tenet adeo solutus metu, ut omnes illius mali motus, omnes

<sup>1</sup> Bassi *Gesner*, Caesii Bassi, *Gierig* (*Cl. schol. Pers.* vi. 1), †Tasci *K*, *Müller e codd.* (*sine cruce Merrill*).

that distance discernible from what mountain this cloud issued, but it was found afterwards to be Vesuvius. I cannot give you a more exact description of its figure, than by resembling it to that of a pine-tree, for it shot up a great height in the form of a trunk, which extended itself at the top into several branches; because I imagine, a momentary gust of air blew it aloft, and then failing, forsook it; thus causing the cloud to expand laterally as it dissolved, or possibly the downward pressure of its own weight produced this effect. It was at one moment white, at another dark and spotted, as if it had carried up earth or cinders.

My uncle, true savant that he was, deemed the phenomenon important and worth a nearer view. He ordered a light vessel to be got ready, and gave me the liberty, if I thought proper, to attend him. I replied I would rather study; and, as it happened, he had himself given me a theme for composition. As he was coming out of the house he received a note from Rectina, the wife of Bassus, who was in the utmost alarm at the imminent danger (his villa stood just below us, and there was no way to escape but by sea); she earnestly entreated him to save her from such deadly peril. He changed his first design and what he began with a philosophical, he pursued with an heroical turn of mind. He ordered large galleys to be launched, and went himself on board one, with the intention of assisting not only Rectina, but many others; for the villas stand extremely thick upon that beautiful coast. Hastening to the place from whence others were flying, he steered his direct course to the point of danger, and with such freedom from fear, as to be able to make and dictate

figuras, ut deprehenderat oculis, dictaret enotaret-que.

Iam navibus cinis inciderat, quo propius accederet, calidior et densior, iam pumices etiam nigrique et ambusti et fracti igne lapides, iam vadum subitum ruinaeque montis litora obstantia. Cunctatus paulum, an retro flecteret, mox gubernatori ut ita faceret monenti "Fortes," inquit, "Fortuna iuvat. Pomponianum pete." Stabiis erat diremptus sinu medio (nam sensim circumactis curvatisque litoribus mare infunditur); ibi, quamquam nondum periculo appropinquante, conspicuo tamen et, cum cresceret, proximo sarcinas contulerat in naves certus fugae, si contrarius ventus resedisset; quo tunc avunculus meus secundissimo invectus complectitur trepidantem, consolatur, hortatur, utque timorem eius sua securitate leniret, deferri se in balineum iubet; lotus accubat, cenat aut hilari<sup>1</sup> aut, quod aeque magnum, similis hilari.

Interim e Vesuvio monte pluribus locis latissimae flammae altaque incendia relucebant, quorum fulgor et claritas tenebris noctis excitabatur. Ille agrestium trepidatione ignes relictos desertasque villas per solitudinem ardere in remedium formidinis dicti-

<sup>1</sup> cenat aut hil. *M, K*, cenat atque hil. *pra*, cenatque hil. *Sichardus*.

<sup>a</sup> Now called *Castel è Mar di Stabia* in the gulf of Naples.

his observations upon the successive motions and figures of that terrific object.

And now cinders, which grew thicker and hotter the nearer he approached, fell into the ships, then pumice-stones too, with stones blackened, scorched, and cracked by fire, then the sea ebbed suddenly from under them, while the shore was blocked up by landslips from the mountains. After considering a moment whether he should retreat, he said to the captain who was urging that course, "Fortune befriends the brave; carry me to Pomponianus." Pomponianus was then at Stabiae,<sup>a</sup> distant by half the width of the bay (for, as you know, the shore, insensibly curving in its sweep, forms here a receptacle for the sea). He had already embarked his baggage; for though at Stabiae the danger was not yet near, it was full in view, and certain to be extremely near, as soon as it spread; and he resolved to fly as soon as the contrary wind should cease. It was full favourable, however, for carrying my uncle to Pomponianus. He embraces, comforts, and encourages his alarmed friend, and in order to soothe the other's fears by his own unconcern, desires to be conducted to a bathroom; and after having bathed, he sate down to supper with great cheerfulness, or at least (what is equally heroic) with all the appearance of it.

In the meanwhile Mount Vesuvius was blazing in several places with spreading and towering flames, whose refulgent brightness the darkness of the night set in high relief. But my uncle, in order to soothe apprehensions, kept saying that some fires had been left alight by the terrified country people, and what they saw were only deserted villas on fire in the

tabat. Tum se quieti dedit et quievit verissimo quidem somno. Nam meatus animae, qui illi propter amplitudinem corporis gravior et sonantior erat, ab iis, qui limini obversabantur, audiebatur. Sed area, ex qua diaeta adibatur, ita iam cinere mixtisque pumicibus oppleta surrexerat, ut, si longior in cubiculo mora, exitus negaretur. Excitatus procedit seque Pomponiano ceterisque, qui pervigilarant, reddit. In commune consultant, intra tecta subsistant an in aperto vagentur. Nam crebris vastisque tremoribus tecta nutabant et quasi emota sedibus suis nunc huc, nunc illuc abire aut referri videbantur. Sub dio rursus quamquam levium exesorumque pumicum casus metuebatur; quod tamen periculorum collatio elegit. Et apud illum quidem ratio rationem, apud alios timorem timor vicit. Cervicalia capitibus imposita linteis constringunt; id munimentum adversus incidentia fuit.

Iam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus noctibus nigrior densiorque; quam tamen faces multae variaque lumina solabantur.<sup>1</sup> Placuit egredi in litus et e proximo aspicere, ecquid iam mare admitteret; quod adhuc vastum et adversum permanebat. Ibi super abiectum linteum recubans semel atque iterum frigidam poposcit hausitque. Deinde flammae flam-

<sup>1</sup> solabantur, *Cortius et cod. Laurent.* 47. 34 (*teste Keil*), solebantur *M*, solvebant *Catan.*, a, *Bipons*.

abandoned district. After this he retired to rest, and it is most certain that his rest was a most genuine slumber; for his breathing, which, as he was pretty fat, was somewhat heavy and sonorous, was heard by those who attended at his chamber-door. But the court which led to his apartment now lay so deep under a mixture of pumice-stones and ashes, that if he had continued longer in his bedroom, egress would have been impossible. On being aroused, he came out, and returned to Pomponianus and the others, who had sat up all night. They consulted together as to whether they should hold out in the house, or wander about in the open. For the house now tottered under repeated and violent concussions, and seemed to rock to and fro as if torn from its foundations. In the open air, on the other hand, they dreaded the falling pumice-stones, light and porous though they were; yet this, by comparison, seemed the lesser danger of the two; a conclusion which my uncle arrived at by balancing reasons, and the others by balancing fears. They tied pillows upon their heads with napkins; and this was their whole defence against the showers that fell round them.

It was now day everywhere else, but there a deeper darkness prevailed than in the most obscure night; relieved, however, by many torches and divers illuminations. They thought proper to go down upon the shore to observe from close at hand if they could possibly put out to sea, but they found the waves still run extremely high and contrary. There my uncle having thrown himself down upon a disused sail, repeatedly called for, and drank, a draught of cold water; soon after, flames, and a

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

marumque praenuntius odor sulfuris alios in fugam vertunt, excitant illum. Innitens<sup>1</sup> servulis duobus assurrexit et statim concidit, ut ego colligo,<sup>2</sup> crassiore caligine spiritu obstructo clausoque stomacho, qui illi natura invalidus et angustus et frequenter inter-aestuans<sup>3</sup> erat. Ubi dies redditus (is ab eo, quem novissime viderat, tertius), corpus inventum est integrum, illaesum opertumque, ut fuerat indutus; habitus corporis quiescenti quam defuncto similior.

Interim Miseni ego et mater. Sed nihil ad historiam, nec tu aliud quam de exitu eius scire voluisti. Finem ergo faciam. Unum adiciam, omnia me, quibus interfueram, quaeque statim, cum maxime vera memorantur, audieram, persecutum. Tu potissima excerpes. Aliud est enim epistulam, aliud historiam, aliud amico, aliud omnibus scribere. Vale.

### XVII

C. PLINIUS RESTITUTO SUO S.

INDIGNATIUNCULAM, quam in cuiusdam amici auditorio cepi, non possum mihi temperare quo minus apud te, quia non contingit coram, per epistulam

<sup>1</sup> innitens *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, innixus *Dpra*, *Müller*.

<sup>2</sup> colligo *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, coniecto *Dpra*, *Müller*.



strong smell of sulphur, which was the forerunner of them, dispersed the rest of the company in flight; him they only aroused. He raised himself up with the assistance of two of his slaves, but instantly fell; some unusually gross vapour, as I conjecture, having obstructed his breathing and blocked his windpipe, which was not only naturally weak and constricted, but chronically inflamed. When day dawned again (the third from that he last beheld) his body was found entire and uninjured, and still fully clothed as in life; its posture was that of a sleeping, rather than a dead man.

Meanwhile my mother and I were at Misenum. But this has no connection with history, and your inquiry went no farther than concerning my uncle's death. I will therefore put an end to my letter. Suffer me only to add, that I have faithfully related to you what I was either an eye-witness of myself, or heard at the time, when report speaks most truly. You will select what is most suitable to your purpose; for there is a great difference between a letter, and an history; between writing to a friend, and writing for the public. Farewell.

## XVII

## TO RESTITUTUS

I CANNOT forbear pouring out before you in a letter since I have no opportunity of doing so in person, the little fit of anger I was taken with at a recital in a friend's house. The work read to us was a highly

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<sup>3</sup> *interaestuans Dpa, Bipons, Müller, intus aest. r, aestuans M, K.*

effundam. Recitabatur liber absolutissimus. Hunc duo aut tres, ut sibi et paucis videntur, disertī, surdis mutisque similes audiebant. Non labra diduxerunt, non moverunt manum, non denique assurrexerunt, saltem lassitudine sedendi.

Quae tanta gravitas? quae tanta sapientia? quae immo pigritia, arrogantia, sinisteritas ac potius amenitia, in hoc totum diem impendere, ut offendas, ut inimicum relinquo, ad quem tamquam amicissimum veneris? Disertior ipse es? Tanto magis ne invideris. Nam, qui invidet, minor est. Denique, sive plus sive minus sive idem praestas, lauda vel inferiorem vel superiorem vel parem; superiorem, quia, nisi laudandus ille, non potes ipse laudari; inferiorem aut parem, quia pertinet ad tuam gloriam quam maximum videri, quem praecedis vel exaequas.

Equidem omnes, qui aliquid in studiis faciunt, venerari etiam mirarique soleo. Est enim res difficilis, ardua, fastidiosa, et quae eos, a quibus contemnitur, invicem contemnat. Nisi forte aliud iudicas tu. Quamquam quis uno te reverentior huius operis, quis benignior aestimator? Qua ratione ductus tibi potissimum indignationem meam prodidi, quem habere socium maxime poteram. Vale.

finished performance ; but there were two or three persons among the audience, men of eloquence in their own and a few others' estimation, who sate like so many deaf-mutes, without so much as moving a lip or a hand, or once rising to their feet, even by way of relief from a seated posture.

Now what means all this portentous wisdom and solemnity, or rather, indeed (to give it its true appellation), this indolence, this arrogance, this gaucherie, nay, idiocy, that will be at the expense of a whole day merely to affront and leave as your enemy a man you visited as a particular friend? Are you more eloquent than the orator you chance to be listening to? So much the rather should you be on your guard against envy, a passion only felt towards our superiors. In fine, be your talent greater or equal, or less than the performer's, you should still praise him ; if less, because if one of more exalted abilities does not meet with applause, neither possibly can you : if greater or equal, because the higher his glory rises whom you equal or excel, the more considerable yours must necessarily be.

For my own part, I honour and revere all who discover any talent for oratory ; for the Muse of Eloquence is a coy and haughty dame, who scorns to reside with those that despise her. But perhaps you are not of this opinion : yet who has a greater regard for this glorious science, or is a more candid judge of it than yourself? In confidence of which, I chose to vent my indignation particularly to you, as not doubting you would be the first to share it. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XVIII

C. PLINIUS SABINO SUO S.

ROGAS, ut agam Firmanorum publicam causam; quod ego, quamquam plurimis occupationibus distentus, adnitar. Cupio enim et ornatissimam coloniam advocationis officio et te gratissimo tibi munere obstringere. Nam, cum familiaritatem nostram, ut soles praedicare, ad praesidium ornamentumque tibi sumpseris, nihil est, quod negare debeam, praesertim pro patria petenti. Quid enim precibus aut honestius piis aut efficacius amantis? Proinde Firmanis tuis ac iam potius nostris oblige fidem meam; quos labore et studio meo dignos cum splendor ipsorum tum hoc maxime pollicetur, quod credibile est optimos esse, inter quos tu talis moreris.<sup>1</sup> Vale.

## XIX

C. PLINIUS NEPOTI SUO S.

SCIS tu accessisse pretium agris, praecipue suburbanis? Causa subitae caritatis res multis agitata sermonibus. Proximis comitiis honestissimas voces senatus expressit: "Candidati ne conviventur, ne mittant munera, ne pecunias deponant." Ex quibus

<sup>1</sup> moreris *M*, *Bipons*, extiteris *Dpra*, *K*, *Müller*.

## XVIII

To SABINUS

I WILL endeavour as you desire to undertake the cause of the Firmani, though I have many affairs upon my hands: for I should be extremely glad to oblige an illustrious colony by my professional services, and yourself by an acceptable favour. How indeed can I refuse you anything, who profess to have sought my friendship as your ornament and support, especially when your request is on behalf of your native place? For what can be more honourable than the prayers of duteous affection, or more powerful than those of a friend? You may engage for me therefore to your, or rather as I should now call them *our*, friends the Firmani. And though their own illustrious character promises that they will deserve my care and pains; yet I derive my chief assurance of this, from seeing a man of your distinguished virtues tarrying amongst them.

## XIX

To NEPOS

ARE you informed that the price of land is risen especially in the neighbourhood of Rome? The cause of this sudden advance has been much discussed. At the last assembly for the election of magistrates, the Senate passed a very honourable decree, whereby the candidates for any office are prohibited from giving any treat, present, or depositing sums of money.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *sc.* in the hands of agents, to be distributed as bribes.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

duo priora tam aperte quam immodice fiebant, hoc tertium, quamquam occultaretur, pro comperto habebatur.

Homullus deinde noster, vigilanter usus hoc consensu senatus sententiae loco postulavit, ut consules desiderium universorum notum principi facerent peterentque, sicut aliis vitiis huic quoque providentia sua occurreret. Occurrit; nam sumptus candidatorum foedos illos et infames ambitus lege restrinxit; eosdem patrimonii tertiam partem conferre iussit in ea, quae solo continerentur, deforme arbitratus, ut erat,<sup>1</sup> honorem petituros urbem Italiamque non pro patria, sed pro hospitio aut stabulo quasi peregrinantes habere.

Concursant ergo candidati; certatim, quidquid venale audiunt, emptitant, quoque sint plura venalia, efficiunt. Proinde, si paenitet te Italicorum praediorum, hoc vendendi tempus tam hercule quam in provinciis comparandi, dum iidem candidati illic vendunt, ut hic emant. Vale.

### XX

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO TACITO SUO S.

Ais te adductum litteris, quas exigenti tibi de morte avunculi mei scripsi, cupere cognoscere, quos ego

<sup>1</sup> ut erat *a*, *Bipons*, *Müller*, et erat *K*, *codd.*

The two former of these abuses were practised with as little restraint as concealment; the latter, though carried on secretly was well known to exist.

Our friend Homullus, alertly taking advantage of this unanimity of the Senate, instead of speaking to the motion before the house, moved that the consuls should acquaint the Emperor of the universal wish and request him to obviate this abuse, as he has others, by personal interposition. The Emperor was pleased to do so, and published an edict to restrain those infamous largesses; wherein he directs that no person shall be admitted as a candidate who does not invest a third part of his fortune in real estate; esteeming it highly indecent (as no doubt it is) that those who seek office should look upon Rome and Italy not as their native land, but as a hospice or inn for them upon their travels.

Hence there is a general struggle among candidates; they bid against each other for every estate they hear is for sale, and thus bring more into the market. If therefore you repent of owning Italian lands, now is the time to sell them. And now, too, in good faith is the time to acquire estates in the provinces, for those same candidates are selling there, in order to buy here. Farewell.

## XX

## TO CORNELIUS TACITUS

THE letter which, in compliance with your request, I wrote to you concerning the death of my uncle,<sup>a</sup> has raised, you say, your curiosity to know not only

<sup>a</sup> See vi. 16.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Miseni relictus (id enim ingressus abruperam) non solum metus, verum etiam casus pertulerim.

“Quamquam animus meminisse horret,  
Incipiam.”<sup>1</sup>

Profecto avunculo ipse reliquum tempus studiis (ideo enim remanseram) impendi: mox balineum, cena, somnus inquietus et brevis. Praecesserat per multos dies tremor terrae minus formidolosus, quia Campaniae solitus; illa vero nocte ita invaluit, ut non moveri omnia, sed everti crederentur. Inrumpit in cubiculum meum mater; surgebam invicem, si quiesceret, excitaturus. Residimus<sup>2</sup> in area domus, quae mare a tectis modico spatio dividebat. Dubito, constantiam vocare an imprudentiam debeam; agebam enim duodevicesimum annum. Posco librum Titi Livii et quasi per otium lego, atque etiam, ut coeperam, excerpo. Ecce amicus avunculi, qui nuper ad eum ex Hispania venerat, ut me et matrem sedentes, me vero etiam legentem videt, illius patientiam, securitatem meam corripit. Nihilo segnius ego intentus in librum.

Iam hora diei prima, et adhuc dubius et quasi languidus dies. Iam quassatis circumiacentibus tectis, quamquam in aperto loco, angusto tamen, magnus et certus ruinae metus. Tum demum

<sup>1</sup> Verg. *Aen.* ii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Residimus *Bipons*, *K*, *Merrill* (e *cod. Urbin.*), *resedimus Dpra*, *Müller*, *residemus M*.



what terrors, but what calamities I endured when left behind at Misenum (for there I broke off my narrative).

“Though my shock’d soul recoils, my tongue shall tell.”

My uncle having set out, I gave the rest of the day to study—the object which had kept me at home. After which I bathed, dined, and retired to short and broken slumbers. There had been for several days before some shocks of earthquake, which the less alarmed us as they are frequent in Campania; but that night they became so violent that one might think that the world was not being merely shaken, but turned topsy-turvy. My mother flew to my chamber; I was just rising, meaning on my part to awaken her, if she was asleep. We sat down in the forecourt of the house, which separated it by a short space from the sea. I know not whether I should call it courage or inexperience—I was not quite eighteen—but I called for a volume of Livy, and began to read, and even went on with the extracts I was making from it, as if nothing were the matter. Lo and behold, a friend of my uncle’s, who was just come to him from Spain, appears on the scene; observing my mother and me seated, and that I have actually a book in my hand, he sharply censures her patience and my indifference; nevertheless I still went on intently with my author.

It was now six o’clock in the morning, the light still ambiguous and faint. The buildings around us already tottered, and though we stood upon open ground, yet as the place was narrow and confined, there was certain and formidable danger from their

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

excedere oppido visum. Sequitur vulgus attonitum, quodque in pavore simile prudentiae, alienum consilium suo praefert ingentique agmine abeuntes premit et impellit. Egressi tecta consistimus. Multa ibi miranda, multas formidines patimur. Nam vehicula, quae produci iusseramus, quamquam in planissimo campo, in contrarias partes agebantur ac ne lapidibus quidem fulta in eodem vestigio quiescebant. Praeterea mare in se resorberi et tremore terrae quasi repelli videbamus. Certe processerat litus multaue animalia maris siccis arenis detinebat. Ab altero latere nubes atra et horrenda ignei spiritus tortis vibratisque discursibus rupta in longas flammarum figuras dehiscebat; fulgoribus illae et similes et maiores erant.

Tum vero ille idem ex Hispania amicus acrius et instantius, "Si frater," inquit, "tuus, tuus avunculus vivit, vult esse vos salvos: si periit, superstites voluit. Proinde quid cessatis evadere?" Respondimus non commissuros nos, ut de salute eius incerti nostrae consuleremus. Non moratus ultra proripit se effusoque cursu periculo aufertur. Nec multo post illa nubes descendere in terras, operire maria; cinxerat Capreas et absconderat, Miseni quod procurrit, abstulerat. Tum mater orare, hortari, iubere,

collapsing. It was not till then we resolved to quit the town. The common people follow us in the utmost consternation, preferring the judgement of others to their own (wherein the extreme of fear resembles prudence), and impel us onwards by pressing in a crowd upon our rear. Being got outside the houses, we halt in the midst of a most strange and dreadful scene. The coaches which we had ordered out, though upon the most level ground, were sliding to and fro, and could not be kept steady even when stones were put against the wheels. Then we beheld the sea sucked back, and as it were repulsed by the convulsive motion of the earth; it is certain at least the shore was considerably enlarged, and now held many sea-animals captive on the dry sand. On' the other side, a black and dreadful cloud bursting out in gusts of igneous serpentine vapour now and again yawned open to reveal long fantastic flames, resembling flashes of lightning but much larger.

Our Spanish friend already mentioned now spoke with more warmth and instancy: "If your brother—if your uncle," said he, "is yet alive, he wishes you both may be saved; if he has perished, it was his desire that you might survive him. Why therefore do you delay your escape?" We could never think of our own safety, we said, while we were uncertain of his. Without more ado our friend hurried off, and took himself out of danger at the top of his speed.

Soon afterwards, the cloud I have described began to descend upon the earth, and cover the sea. It had already begirt the hidden Capreae, and blotted from sight the promontory of Misenum. My mother now began to beseech, exhort, and command me to

quoquo modo fugerem; posse enim iuvenem, se et annis et corpore gravem bene morituram, si mihi causa mortis non fuisset. Ego contra salvum me nisi una non futurum; deinde manum eius amplexus addere gradum cogo; paret aegre, incusatque se, quod me moretur. Iam cinis, adhuc tamen rarus. Respicio; densa caligo tergis imminebat, quae nos torrentis modo infusa terrae sequebatur. "Deflectamus," inquam, "dum videmus, ne in via strati comitantium turba in tenebris obteramur." Vix consederamus,<sup>1</sup> et nox, non quasi illunis aut nubila, sed qualis in locis clausis lumine extincto. Audires ululatus feminarum, infantium quiritatus, clamores virorum; alii parentes, alii liberos, alii coniuges vocibus requirebant, vocibus nescitabant; hi suum casum, illi suorum miserebantur; erant, qui metu mortis mortem precarentur. Multi ad deos manus tollere: plures nusquam iam deos ullos aeternamque illam et novissimam noctem mundo interpretabantur.

Nec defuerunt, qui fictis mentitisque terroribus vera pericula augerent. Aderant, qui Miseni illud ruisse, illud ardere falso, sed credentibus nuntiabant. Paulum reluxit; quod non dies nobis, sed adventantis ignis indicium videbatur. Et ignis quidem longius substitit, tenebrae rursus, cinis rursus multus et

<sup>1</sup> consederamus *Bipons, Müller, consider. K, Merrill.*

escape as best I might ; a young man could do it ; she, burdened with age and corpulency, would die easy if only she had not caused my death. I replied, I would not be saved without her, and taking her by the hand, I hurried her on. She complies reluctantly and not without reproaching herself for retarding me. Ashes now fall upon us, though as yet in no great quantity. I looked behind me ; gross darkness pressed upon our rear, and came rolling over the land after us like a torrent. I proposed while we yet could see, to turn aside, lest we should be knocked down in the road by the crowd that followed us and trampled to death in the dark. We had scarce sat down, when darkness overspread us, not like that of a moonless or cloudy night, but of a room when it is shut up, and the lamp put out. You could hear the shrieks of women, the crying of children, and the shouts of men ; some were seeking their children, others their parents, others their wives or husbands, and only distinguishing them by their voices ; one lamenting his own fate, another that of his family ; some praying to die, from the very fear of dying ; many lifting their hands to the gods ; but the greater part imagining that there were no gods left anywhere, and that the last and eternal night was come upon the world.

There were even some who augmented the real perils by imaginary terrors. Newcomers reported that such or such a building at Misenum had collapsed or taken fire—falsely, but they were credited. By degrees it grew lighter ; which we imagined to be rather the warning of approaching fire (as in truth it was) than the return of day : however, the fire stayed at a distance from us : then again came darkness, and

gravis. Hunc identidem adsurgentes excutiebamus ; operti alioqui atque etiam oblisi pondere essemus. Possem gloriari non gemitum mihi, non vocem parum fortem in tantis periculis excidisse, nisi me cum omnibus, omnia mecum perire misero, magno tamen mortalitatis solacio credidissem.

Tandem illa caligo tenuata quasi in fumum nebulae decessit ; mox dies verus, sol etiam effulsit, luridus tamen, qualis esse, cum deficit, solet. Occursabant trepidantibus adhuc oculis mutata omnia altoque cinere tamquam nive obducta. Regressi Misenum curatis utcunque corporibus suspensam dubiamque noctem spe ac metu exegimus. Metus praevalebat ; nam et tremor terrae perseverabat, et plerique lymphati terrificis vaticinationibus et sua et aliena mala ludificabantur. Nobis tamen ne tunc quidem, quamquam et expertis periculum et expectantibus, abeundi consilium, donec de avunculo nuntius.

Haec nequaquam historia digna non scripturus leges et tibi, scilicet qui requisisti, imputabis, si digna ne epistula quidem videbuntur. Vale.

a heavy shower of ashes ; we were obliged every now and then to rise and shake them off, otherwise we should have been buried and even crushed under their weight. I might have boasted that amidst dangers so appalling, not a sigh or expression of fear escaped from me, had not my support been founded in that miserable, though strong consolation, that all mankind were involved in the same calamity, and that I was perishing with the world itself.

At last this dreadful darkness was attenuated by degrees to a kind of cloud or smoke, and passed away ; presently the real day returned, and even the sun appeared, though lurid as when an eclipse is in progress. Every object that presented itself to our yet affrighted gaze was changed, cover'd over with a drift of ashes, as with snow. We returned to Misenum, where we refreshed ourselves as well as we could, and passed an anxious night between hope and fear ; though indeed with a much larger share of the latter, for the earthquake still continued, and several enthusiastic people were giving a grotesque turn to their own and their neighbours' calamities by terrible predictions. Even then, however, my mother and I, notwithstanding the danger we had passed, and that which still threatened us, had no thoughts of leaving the place, till we should receive some tidings of my uncle.

And now, you will read this narrative, so far beneath the dignity of a history, without any view of transferring it to your own ; and indeed you must impute it to your own request, if it shall appear scarce worthy of a letter. Farewell.

## XXI

C. PLINIUS CANINIO SUO S.

SUM ego is,<sup>1</sup> qui mirer antiquos, non tamen ut quidam temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio. Neque enim quasi lassa et effeta natura, ut nihil iam laudabile pariat. Atque adeo nuper audii Vergilium Romanum paucis legentem comoediam ad exemplar veteris comoediae scriptam tam bene, ut esse quandoque possit exemplar.

Nescio, an noris hominem. Quamquam nosse debes; est enim probitate morum, ingenii elegantia, operum varietate monstrabilis. Scripsit mimiambos tenuiter, argute, venuste atque in hoc genere eloquentissime (nullum est enim genus, quod absolutum non possit eloquentissimum dici), scripsit comoedias Menandrum aliosque aetatis eiusdem aemulatus; licet has inter Plautinas Terentianasque numeres.

Nunc primum se in vetere comoedia, sed non tamquam inciperet, ostendit. Non illi vis, non granditas,

<sup>1</sup> sum ego is, qui mirer *Gierig, Müller*, sum ex iis, qui mirer *codd.*, ex iis, qui mirantur *Schäfer*.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the Aristophanic; see note below. Vergilius Romanus is otherwise unknown.

<sup>b</sup> On *mimiambi* see IV. 3, note.

<sup>c</sup> The Alexandrian critics divided Attic Comedy into the "Old" and the "New." Aristophanes is the greatest master of the former, which deals with personal and political



## XXI

To CANINUS

THOUGH I acknowledge myself an admirer of the ancients, yet I am very far from despising, as some affect to do, the genius of the moderns: nor can I suppose, that nature in these latter ages is so worn out, as to be incapable of any valuable production. On the contrary, I have lately had the pleasure of hearing Vergilius Romanus read to a few select friends a Comedy so justly formed upon the plan of the Ancient,<sup>a</sup> that it may one day serve itself for a model.

I know not whether he is in the number of your acquaintance; I am sure at least he deserves to be so, as he is greatly distinguished by the probity of his manners, the elegance of his genius, and the variety of his productions. He has written some very agreeable pieces of the burlesque kind in Iambics,<sup>b</sup> with much delicacy, wit and humour, and I will add too, even eloquence; for every species of composition, which is finished in its kind, may with propriety be termed eloquent. He has also composed some Comedies after the manner of Menander and other authors of that age, which deserve to be ranked with those of Plautus and Terence.

He has now, for the first time, attempted the ancient<sup>c</sup> Comedy, but in such a manner as to shew he is a perfect master in this way. Strength, majesty, and delicacy, softness, poignancy, and wit, satire; Menander of the latter, which satirised types, not individuals, and created the stock-characters we meet in the Latin adaptations of Plautus and Terence.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

non subtilitas, non amaritudo, non dulcedo, non lepos defuit; ornavit virtutes, insectatus est vitia, fictis nominibus decenter, veris usus est apte. Circa me tantum benignitate nimia modum excessit, nisi quod tamen poëtis mentiri licet. In summa extorquebo ei librum legendumque, immo ediscendum mittam tibi; neque enim dubito futurum ut non deponas, si semel sumpseris. Vale.

### XXII.

C. PLINIUS TIRONI SUO S.

MAGNA res acta est omnium, qui sunt provinciis praefuturi, magna omnium, qui se simpliciter credunt amicis. Lustricus Bruttianus cum Montanum<sup>1</sup> Atticinum, comitem suum, in multis flagitiisprehendisset, Caesari scripsit. Atticinus flagitiis addidit, ut quem deceperat, accusaret. Recepta cognitio est. Fui in consilio; egit uterque pro se, egit autem carptim et κατὰ κεφάλαιον, quo genere veritas statim ostenditur.

<sup>1</sup> Montanum *p*, *Catan. a*, *Bipons*, Montanium *M Dr*, *K*.

are the graces which shine out in this performance with full lustre. He represents Virtue in the fairest colours, at the same time that he lashes vice; he makes use of feigned names with great propriety, of real ones with much justness. With respect only to myself, I should say he has erred through an excess of good-will, if I did not know that fiction is the privilege of poets. In a word, I will insist upon his letting me have the copy, that I may send it to you for your perusal, or rather that you may get it by heart; for I am well persuaded when you have once taken it up, you will not easily lay it aside. Farewell.

## XXII

## TO TIRO

AN affair has lately been transacted here, which nearly concerns those who shall hereafter be appointed governors of provinces, as well as every man who too incautiously trusts his friends. Lustricus Bruttianus having detected his lieutenant, Montanus Atticinus, in several enormous crimes, wrote a report to the Emperor. Atticinus on the other hand added to his guilt by commencing a prosecution against the friend whose confidence he had abused. His information was received, and I was one of the assessors at this trial. Both parties pleaded their own cause, but in a summary way, keeping closely to the articles of the charge; a method by much the shortest of discovering the truth.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Protulit Bruttianus testamentum suum, quod Atticini manu scriptum esse dicebat; hoc enim et arcana familiaritas et querendi de eo, quem sic amasset, necessitas indicabatur. Enumeravit crimina foeda manifesta; quae ille, cum diluere non posset, ita regessit, ut, dum defenditur, turpis, dum accusat, sceleratus probaretur. Corrupto enim scribae servo interceperat commentarios intercideratque ac per summum nefas utebatur adversus amicum crimine suo.

Fecit pulcherrime Caesar; non enim de Bruttiano, sed statim de Atticino perrogavit. Damnatus et in insulam relegatus; Bruttiano iustissimum integritatis testimonium redditum, quem quidem etiam constantiae gloria secuta est. Nam defensus expeditissime accusavit vehementer nec minus acer quam bonus et sincerus apparuit.

Quod tibi scripsi, ut te sortitum provinciam prae-monerem, plurimum tibi credas nec cuiquam satis fidas, deinde scias, si quis forte te, quod abominor, fallat, paratam ultionem; qua tamen ne sit opus, etiam atque etiam attende. Neque enim tam iucundum est vindicari quam decipi miserum. Vale.

Bruttianus, as a proof of the implicit confidence he had reposed in his friend, and that nothing but absolute necessity could have extorted from him this complaint, produced his will; all, as he said, in the hand-writing of Atticinus. He then enumerated the latter's infamous and patent crimes. Being unable to rebut the accusations, Atticinus resorted to counter-charges, which only served to show his cowardliness as defendant and his villainy as plaintiff. For it came out that by bribing a slave belonging to Bruttianus' secretary, he had got at his account-books, which he falsified; and had the consummate villainy to make this criminal act a weapon against his friend.

The Emperor took an extremely noble course; he immediately asked the verdict of the house, not upon Bruttianus, but Atticinus. He was condemned, and banished to an island. Bruttianus was thus accorded a well-deserved testimony of his integrity, and further reaped the credit of having behaved courageously. For he defended himself promptly, pressed his charges against Atticinus with vigour, and approved himself no less a man of spirit than of worth and honesty.

I send you this account firstly as a caution to depend mainly upon yourself in the government you have obtained, and not trust anyone very far; next, to assure you that if you should happen to be imposed upon (which Heaven forefend) you will readily meet with satisfaction here. Nevertheless, be constantly on the watch that you may stand in no need of it; for the pleasure of being redressed cannot compensate the wretchedness of being deceived. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XXIII

C. PLINIUS TRIARIO SUO S.

IMPENSE petis, ut agam causam pertinentem ad curam tuam, pulchram alioquin et famosam. Faciam, sed non gratis. "Qui fieri potest," inquis, "ut non gratis tu?" Potest; exigam enim mercedem honestiorem gratuito patrocinio. Peto atque etiam paciscor, ut simul agat Cremutius Ruso. Solitum hoc mihi et iam in pluribus claris adolescentibus factitatum. Nam mire concupisco bonos iuvenes ostendere foro, adsignare famae.

Quod si cui, praestare Rusoni meo debeo vel propter natales ipsius vel propter eximiam mei caritatem; quem magni aestimo in isdem iudiciis, ex isdem etiam partibus conspici, audiri. Obliga me, obliga, ante quam dicat; nam cum dixerit, gratias ages. Spondeo sollicitudini tuae, spei meae, magnitudini causae suffecturum. Est indolis optimae brevi producturus alios, si interim productus<sup>1</sup> fuerit a nobis. Neque enim cuiquam tam clarum statim ingenium, ut possit emergere, nisi illi materia, occasio, fautor etiam commendatorque contingat. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> productus *Dr*, *K*, provectus *Mpa*.

## XXIII

## TO TRIARIUS

You earnestly request me to undertake a cause in which you are nearly concerned, and which, besides, is in itself honourable and famous. Well, I will be your counsel, but not without a fee. "Is it possible," you exclaim, "that my friend Pliny should be so mercenary?" In truth it is; for I insist upon a reward which will do me more honour than to give my patronage gratuitously. I request then—nay, I stipulate, that Cremutius Ruso may be joined with me as counsel. This is a practice which I have frequently observed with respect to several distinguished youths; as I take infinite pleasure in introducing young men of merit to the bar, and assigning them over to Fame.

But if ever I owed this good office to any man, it is certainly to Ruso, not only upon account of his parentage, but his exceptional affection to me; and I should highly value the opportunity of letting him appear in the same cause and on the same side with myself. Oblige me in this; *oblige* is the word, until he has pleaded your cause, but then you will thank me for doing you a favour. I will be answerable that he shall acquit himself in such a manner as your solicitude, my hopes, and the importance of the cause demand. He is a youth of a most excellent disposition, and when once I shall have produced his merit, we shall soon see him forward that of others; as indeed no man's talents, however shining, can raise him at once from obscurity unless they find scope, opportunity, and also a patron to recommend them. Farewell.

## XXIV

C. PLINIUS MACRO SUO S.

QUAM multum interest, quid a quo<sup>1</sup> fiat! Eadem enim facta claritate vel obscuritate facientium aut tolluntur altissime aut humillime deprimuntur. Navigabam per Larium nostrum, cum senior amicus ostendit mihi villam atque etiam cubiculum, quod in lacum prominēt. ‘Ex hoc,’ inquit, ‘aliquando municeps nostra cum marito se praecipitavit.’ Causam requisivi. Maritus ex diutino morbo circa velanda corporis ulceribus putrescebat: uxor, ut inspiceret, exegit; neque enim quemquam fidelius indicaturum, possetne sanari. Vidit, desperavit; hortata est, ut moreretur, comesque ipsa mortis, dux immo et exemplum et necessitas fuit. Nam se cum marito ligavit abiecitque in lacum.

Quod factum ne mihi quidem, qui municeps, nisi proxime auditum est; non quia minus illo clarissimo Arriae facto, sed quia minor ipsa. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> quid a quo *Casaub.*, *Bipons*, quid a quoque *MD pra.*, a quo quid *K*, a quo quidque *K<sup>1</sup>*, *Müller*.



## XXIV

## TO MACER

How much does the fame of human actions depend upon the station of those who perform them ! The very same conduct shall either be extolled to the skies or lie unregarded in the dust, as it happens to proceed from a person of conspicuous or obscure rank. I was sailing lately upon our *Larius*<sup>a</sup> with an old man of my acquaintance, who pointed out to me a villa, and particularly one of its chambers which projected into the lake. "From that room," said he, "a woman of our city once threw herself and her husband." Upon inquiring into the cause, he informed me that her husband having been long afflicted with an ulcer in those parts which modesty conceals, she exacted his leave to inspect it, protesting that no one would give him a more honest opinion whether it was curable. She looked and she despaired. She then advised him to put an end to his life ; and made herself not only the companion but actually the guide, example, and instrument of his death ; for tying herself to her husband, she plunged with him into the lake.

Even I, her fellow-townsmen, never heard of this woman's act until the other day ; it remains thus unknown, not because it was less nobly done than Arria's famous deed, but because she was less nobly born than Arria. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> The Lake of Como. Macer was evidently, like Pliny, a native of Comum.

## XXV

C. PLINIUS HISPANO SUO S.

SCRIBIS Robustum, splendidum equitem Romanum, cum Attilio Scauro, amico meo, Oriculum usque commune iter peregrisse, deinde nusquam comparuisse; petis, ut Scaurus veniat nosque, si potest, in aliqua inquisitionis vestigia inducat. Veniet; vereor, ne frustra. Suspikor enim tale nescio quid Robusto accidisse quale aliquando Metilio Crispo, municipi meo. Huic ego ordinem impetraveram atque etiam proficiscenti quadraginta milia nummum ad instruendum se ornandumque donaveram nec postea aut epistulas eius aut aliquem de exitu nuntium accepi. Interceptusne sit a suis an cum suis, dubium; certe non ipse, non quisquam ex servis eius apparuit.

Utinam ne in Robusto idem experiamur<sup>1</sup>! Tamen arcessamus Scaurum; demus hoc tuis, demus optimi adolescentis honestissimis precibus, qui pietate mira, mira etiam sagacitate patrem quaerit. Di faveant, ut sic inveniatur ipsum, quemadmodum iam, cum quo fuisset, invenit! Vale.

<sup>1</sup> Utinam ne—experiamur *Bipons*, apparuit ut ne Rob. quidem. Exper. tamen, arcess. *MDp, K*, Ut ne in Rob. quoque idem exper. Tamen accers. *K<sup>1</sup>*.

## XXV

## To HISPANUS

You inform me that Robustus, a distinguished Roman knight, travelled along with my friend Attilius Scaurus as far as Ocriculum, but has never been heard of since. In compliance with your request, I shall send for Scaurus, in order to see if he can give us any clue to tracing him out; though I fear, indeed, it will be to no purpose. I suspect an accident of the same unaccountable kind has befallen Robustus, as formerly happened to my townsman Metilius Crispus. I procured a company for him in the army, and gave him when he set out 40,000 sesterces for his equipage: but I never received any letter from him afterwards, or any tidings of his end. Whether he was murdered by his servants, or together with them, is uncertain; however, neither he nor they ever appeared more.

I wish we may not find it thus with respect to Robustus; nevertheless I shall send for Scaurus. I cannot refuse this either to your request, or the very laudable entreaties of that most excellent youth his son, who discovers as much good sense in the method, as he does filial affection in the zeal of his inquiry. Heaven grant we may have the same success in finding his father, as he has had in discovering the person that accompanied him! Farewell.

## XXVI

C. PLINIUS SERVIANO SUO S.

GAUDEO et gratulor, quod Fusco Salinatori filiam tuam destinasti. Domus patricia, pater honestissimus, mater pari laude; ipse studiosus, litteratus, etiam disertus, puer simplicitate, comitate iuvenis, senex gravitate; neque enim amore decipior. Amo quidem effuse (ita officiis, ita reverentia meruit), iudico tamen, et quidem tanto acrius, quanto magis amo, tibi, ut qui exploraverim, spondeo habiturum te generum, quo melior fingi ne voto quidem potuit. Superest, ut avum te quam maturissime similitum sui faciat. Quam felix tempus illud, quod mihi liberos illius, nepotes tuos ut meos vel liberos vel nepotes ex vestro sinu sumere et quasi pari iure tenere continget! Vale.

## XXVII

C. PLINIUS SEVERO SUO S.

ROGAS, ut cogitem, quid designatus consul in honorem principis censeas. Facilis inventio, non facilis electio; est enim ex virtutibus eius larga

## XXVI

## To SERVIANUS

I AM extremely rejoiced to hear, that you have betrothed your daughter to Fulcus Salinator, and congratulate you upon it. His family is patrician, and both his father and mother are persons of the most exalted merit. As for himself, he is studious, learned, even eloquent, and with all the innocence of a child, unites the sprightliness of youth to the wisdom of age. I am not, believe me, duped by my affection; for though I do love him beyond measure (as his services and respect to me well deserve) I yet can judge him, and the more vigorously for loving him so well. Take my word for it (and I speak from thorough knowledge), you will have a son-in-law who is all your fancy can paint, or your heart desire. It only remains to wish that he may right speedily present you with grand-sons who shall resemble their father. Happy the day when I shall receive from the arms of two such friends the children of one and grand-children of the other, even as if I were myself their father or grandsire, and hold them, as though by equal right, in my embrace! Farewell.

## XXVII

## To SEVERUS

You desire me to consider what turn you should give to your speech in honour of the Emperor, upon your being appointed consul. It is easy to find, but not easy to select, topics of encomium, for this

materia. Scribam tamen vel, quod malo, coram indicabo, si prius haesitationem meam ostendero.

Dubito, num idem tibi suadere quod mihi debeam. Designatus ego consul omni hac, etsi non adulatione, specie tamen adulationis abstinui non tamquam liber et constans, sed tamquam intellegens principis nostri, cuius videbam hanc esse praecipuam laudem, si nihil quasi ex necessitate decernerem. Recordabar etiam plurimos honores pessimo cuique delatos, a quibus hic optimus separari non alio magis poterat quam diversitate censendi; quod ipsum dissimulatione et silentio non praeterii, ne forte non iudicium illud meum, sed oblivio videretur.

Hoc tunc ego; sed non omnibus eadem placent, ne<sup>1</sup> conveniunt quidem. Praeterea faciendi aliquid vel non faciendi vera ratio cum hominum ipsorum tum rerum etiam ac temporum condicione mutatur. Nam recentia opera maximi principis praebent facultatem nova, magna, vera censendi. Quibus ex causis, ut supra scripsi, dubito, an idem nunc tibi quod tunc mihi suadeam. Illud non dubito, debuisse me in parte consilii tui ponere, quod ipse fecissem. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> ne *Gesner*, *K*, nec *codd.*

prince's virtues supply them in abundance. However, I will write, or (what I prefer) indicate my views to you in person, only I must first lay my grounds of hesitating before you.

I doubt whether I should advise you to do as I did on the same occasion.<sup>a</sup> When I was consul elect, I refrained from all that customary panegyric which, though not adulation, might yet bear the semblance of it. Not that I affected an intrepid freedom; but as well knowing the sentiments of our amiable prince, and that the highest praise I could offer to him would be to show the world I was under no necessity of paying him any. When I reflected what honours had been heaped upon the very worst of his predecessors, nothing, I imagined, could more distinguish a prince of his real virtues from those infamous Emperors, than to eulogise him in a different manner. And this point I did not omit or slur over in my speech, lest it might be suspected I passed over his glorious acts, not out of judgement, but forgetfulness.

Such was the method I then observed; but I am sensible the same measures are neither agreeable, nor indeed suitable to all alike. Besides, the propriety of doing or omitting a thing depends not only upon persons, but time and circumstances; and as the late actions of our illustrious Prince afford materials for panegyric, no less just than recent and magnificent, I doubt (as I said before) whether I should persuade you to act in this case as I did myself. In this, however, I am clear, that it was proper to offer to your consideration the plan I pursued. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> See Bk. III. 13, 18.

## XXVIII

C. PLINIUS PONTIO ALLIFANO<sup>1</sup> SUO S.

Scio, quae tibi causa fuerit impedimento, quo minus praecurrere adventum meum in Campaniam posses. Sed, quamquam absens, totus huc migrasti; tantum mihi copiarum quâ urbanarum quâ rusticarum nomine tuo oblatum est, quas omnes improbe quidem, accepi tamen. Nam me<sup>2</sup> tui, ut ita facerem, rogabant, et verebar, ne et mihi et illis irascereris, si non fecissem. In posterum, nisi adhibueris<sup>3</sup> modum, ego adhibebo. Et iam tuis denuntiavi, si rursus tam multa attulissent, omnia relatuos. Dices oportere me tuis rebus ut meis uti. Etiam; sed perinde illis ac meis parco. Vale.

## XXIX

C. PLINIUS QUADRATO SUO S.

AVIDIUS QUIETUS, qui me unice dilexit et, quo non minus gaudeo, probavit, ut multa alia Thraseae (fuit enim familiaris) ita hoc saepe referebat, praecipere solitum suscipiendas esse causas aut amicorum aut destitutas aut ad exemplum pertinentes.

<sup>1</sup> ALLIFANO *add. Müller ut V. 14, VII. 4.*<sup>2</sup> me *Dpra, Bipons, Müller, et M K.*<sup>3</sup> adhibueris *Dpra, Bipons, Müller, adhibueritis M, K.*



## XXVIII

## To PONTIUS ALLIFANUS

I AM not ignorant of the reason which prevented your coming into Campania to receive me. But absent as you were, might I have judged by the profusion of both town and country delicacies which were offered me in your name, I should have imagined you had conveyed yourself hither with your whole possessions. I must own I was so arrant a clown, as to take all that was offered me; however it was in compliance with the solicitations of your people, and fearing you would chide both them and me if I refused. But for the future, if *you* will not observe some measure, *I* must. And I have warned your domestics, if ever they serve me up such lavish meals again, they will take them away untouched. You will tell me that I ought to use what is yours as if it were mine. I am sensible of that; but I would be as sparing of your good things as I am of my own. Farewell.

## XXIX

## To QUADRATUS

AVIDIUS QUIETUS, whose affection, and (what I equally value) whose esteem I enjoyed in uncommon measure, used frequently to repeat this maxim, among others, of Thræsea's (whom he knew intimately)—“There are three sorts of causes which we ought to undertake; those of our friends, those of the deserted, and those which tend to form a

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Cur amicorum, non eget interpretatione; cur destitutas? quod in illis maxime et constantia agentis et humanitas cerneretur; cur pertinentis<sup>1</sup> ad exemplum? quia plurimum referret, bonum an malum induceretur. Ad haec ego genera causarum ambitiose fortasse, addam tamen claras et illustres. Aequum enim est agere non numquam gloriae et famae, id est, suam, causam.

Hos terminos, quia me consuluisti, dignitati ac verecundiae tuae statuo. Nec me praeterit usum et esse et haberi optimum dicendi magistrum; video etiam multos parvo ingenio, litteris nullis, ut bene agerent, agendo consecutos. Sed et illud, quod vel Pollionis vel tanquam Pollionis accepi, verissimum experior: 'Commode agendo factum est, ut saepe agerem, saepe agendo, ut minus commode'; quia scilicet adsiduitate nimia facilitas magis quam facultas nec fiducia, sed temeritas paratur. Nec vero Isocrati, quo minus haberetur summus orator, offecit, quod infirmitate vocis, mollitia frontis, ne in publico diceret, impediabatur.

Proinde multum lege, scribe, meditare, ut possis, cum voles, dicere; dices, cum velle debebis. Hoc

<sup>1</sup> pertinentis *M D*, Müller, pertinentes *vulg.*

precedent." The reason we should engage in the cause of our friends requires no explanation; we should assist the deserted, he said, because it shews a resolute and generous mind; as we ought to rise in the cause where precedent is concerned, since it is of the last consequence whether a good or evil one be introduced. To which three sorts of pleas I will add (perhaps in the spirit of ambition, however, I will add) those of the splendid and illustrious kind. For it is reasonable sometimes to plead the cause of glory and fame, or in other words, *one's own*.

These are the limits (since you ask my sentiments) I would prescribe to a person of your dignity and moderation. I do not forget that practice is generally esteemed, and in truth is, the best teacher of eloquence. I have even seen many who with small genius and no erudition have made themselves good pleaders by merely pleading. Nevertheless, the observation of Pollio, or at least what passes for his, I have found by experience to be most true; "A good address at the bar," said he, "brought me much practice; and, on the other hand, much practice spoiled my address." The reason is, too constant application makes eloquence rather a trick than a talent, and gives a speaker not confidence but assurance. Accordingly we see that the bashfulness of Isocrates, which, together with the weakness of his voice, hindered his speaking in public, did not by any means obstruct his fame as a consummate orator.

Let me farther advise you, to read, write, and meditate much, that you may be able to speak whenever you are inclined; you will only speak, I know, when your inclination coincides with duty. I

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

fere temperamentum ipse servavi; non numquam necessitati, quae pars rationis est, parui. Egi enim quasdam a senatu iussus, quo tamen in numero fuerunt ex illa Thraseae divisione, hoc est, ad exemplum pertinentes.

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Adfui Baeticis contra Baebium Massam. Quaesitum est, an danda esset inquisitio; data est. Adfui rursus isdem querentibus de Caecilio Classico. Quaesitum est, an provinciales ut socios ministrosque proconsulis plecti oporteret; poenas luerunt. Accusavi Marium Priscum, qui lege repetundarum damnatus utebatur clementia legis, cuius severitatem immanitate criminum excesserat; relegatus est. Tuitus sum Iulium Bassum ut incustoditum nimis et incautum ita minime malum; iudicibus acceptis in senatu remansit. Dixi proxime pro Vareno postulante, ut sibi invicem evocare testes liceret; impetratum est. In posterum opto ut ea potissimum iubeam, quae me deceat vel sponte fecisse. Vale.

myself have generally observed the latter rule; though I have at times yielded to necessity (which, however, is the same thing as obeying reason). For I have occasionally pleaded causes by order of the senate; but some of these came under one of Thræsea's classes, that is, they tended to set up a precedent.

I appeared for the provincials of Baetica against Baebius Massa<sup>a</sup> on the motion for bringing him to trial; the motion was carried. I pleaded for them a second time when they impeached Caecilius Classicus<sup>b</sup> on the question, whether the subordinate officers of a consul should be punished as his agents and accomplices; penalties were inflicted on the officers of Classicus. I was prosecuting counsel in the case of Marius Priscus,<sup>c</sup> who having been convicted under the law against extortion, sought to profit by the lenity of that statute, which provided no adequate penalty for his enormous guilt: but he was sentenced to banishment. I defended Julius Bassus<sup>d</sup> on the ground that he had acted indiscreetly and imprudently, but not in the least with any ill intention: the case was referred to commissioners, and he was permitted to retain his seat in the senate. I pleaded the other day on behalf of Varenus,<sup>e</sup> who petitioned for leave to examine witnesses on his part; which was granted him. As to the future, I wish I may have such causes enjoined me by authority, as it would become me to undertake even voluntarily. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> vii. 33.<sup>b</sup> iii. 4, 9.<sup>c</sup> ii. 11.<sup>d</sup> iv. 9.<sup>e</sup> v. 20.

## XXX

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

DEBEMUS mehercule natales tuos perinde ac nostros celebrare, cum laetitia nostrorum ex tuis pendeat, cuius diligentia et cura hic hilares, istic securi sumus.

Villa Camilliana, quam in Campania possides, est quidem vetustate vexata; ea tamen,<sup>1</sup> quae sunt pretiosiora, aut integra manent aut levissime laesa sunt. Attendimus<sup>2</sup> ergo, ut quam saluberrime reficiantur.

Ego videor habere multos amicos, sed huius generis, cuius et tu quaeris et res exigit, prope neminem. Sunt enim omnes togati et urbani; rusticorum autem praediorum administratio poscit durum aliquem et agrestem, cui nec labor ille gravis nec cura sordida nec tristis solitudo videatur. Tu de Rufo honestissime cogitas; fuit enim filio tuo familiaris. Quid tamen nobis ibi praestare possit, ignoro, velle plurimum, scio. Vale.

## XXXI

C. PLINIUS CORNELIANO SUO S.

EVOCATUS in consilium a Caesare nostro ad Centum Cellas (hoc loco nomen) maximam<sup>3</sup> cepi voluptatem.

<sup>1</sup> ea tamen *a*, *K*, et tamen *Dpr*, tamen *M*.

<sup>2</sup> attendimus *M* (?) *a*, *Bip.*, attendemus *Dpr*, *K*.

<sup>3</sup> maximam *Dpr*, *Müller*, magnam *M a*, *K*.

## XXX

TO FABATUS, HIS WIFE'S GRANDFATHER

I OUGHT, most certainly, to celebrate your birth-day as my own, since all the happiness of mine arises from yours, to whose care and diligence it is owing that I am cheerful in town and easy in the country.

Your Camillian villa <sup>a</sup> in Campania has indeed suffered by the injuries of time; however, the most valuable parts of the building either remain entire, or are but slightly damaged, so I am seeing to their being thoroughly repaired.

I flatter myself I have many friends, yet scarce any, I doubt, of the sort you inquire after, and which the affair you mention demands. All mine are complete men about town; whereas to manage a country estate requires a person of a rough cast and rustic breeding, who will not look upon the work as heavy, the office as mean, or the solitude as melancholy. Your thinking of Rufus does you honour, since he was your son's bosom-friend; but how he can serve us yonder, I know not; though I know he has all the will in the world to do so. Farewell.

## XXXI

TO CORNELIANUS

I RECEIVED lately the most exquisite entertainment imaginable at Centumcellae <sup>b</sup> (as it is called), whither our Emperor had summoned me to his privy council.

<sup>a</sup> So called, because it formerly belonged to Camillus.

<sup>b</sup> Now Civita Vecchia.

Quid enim iucundius quam principis iustitiam, gravitatem, comitatem in secessu quoque, ubi maxime recluduntur, inspicere? Fuerunt variae cognitiones, et quae virtutes iudicis per plures species experirentur. Dixit causam Claudius Ariston,<sup>1</sup> princeps Ephesiorum, homo munificus, et innoxie popularis. Inde invidia et ab dissimillimis delator immissus. Itaque absolutus vindicatusque est.

Sequenti die audita est Gallitta<sup>2</sup> adulterii rea. Nupta haec tribuno militum honores petituto et suam et mariti dignitatem centurionis amore maculaverat. Maritus legato consulari, ille Caesari scripserat. Caesar excussis probationibus centurionem exauctoravit atque etiam relegavit. Supererat crimini, quod nisi duorum esse non poterat, reliqua pars ultionis; sed maritum non sine aliqua reprehensione patientiae amor uxoris retardabat, quam quidem etiam post delatum adulterium domi habuerat quasi contentus aemulum removisse. Admonitus, ut perageret accusationem, peregit invitus; sed illam damnari etiam invito accusatore necesse erat: damnata et Iuliae legis poenis relicta est. Caesar et nomen centurionis et commemorationem disciplinae militaris sententiae

<sup>1</sup> Ariston *Dra, Bip., Müller, Aristion Mp, K.* ab *a, Bip., Müller, a r, K, om. M.*

<sup>2</sup> Gallitta *Momms., Galitta vulg.*

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* (1) forfeiture of half her dower and one-third of her property, (2) banishment to an island.



Could anything indeed afford a higher pleasure than to see the sovereign exercising his justice, his wisdom, and his affability, and that in retirement, where they are laid most open to view? Various were the cases brought before him, which showed under several aspects the virtues of the judge. That of Claudius Ariston came on first. He is an Ephesian nobleman, of great munificence and unambitious popularity; having thus aroused the envy of persons his opposites in character, they had spirited up an informer against him; such being the facts, he was honourably acquitted.

The next day, Gallitta was tried on the charge of adultery. Her husband, a military tribune, was upon the point of standing for office, when she disgraced both him and herself by an intrigue with a centurion. The husband had written of this to the consul's legate, and he to the Emperor. Caesar, having well sifted the evidence, not only broke but banished the centurion. Still, justice was but half satisfied, for the crime is one in which two parties must necessarily be involved. But the husband drew back out of fondness for his wife, and was a good deal censured for complaisance; for even after her crime was detected he had kept her under his roof, content, it should seem, with having removed his rival. He was admonished to proceed in the suit, which he did with great reluctance: it was necessary, however, she should be condemned, even against the prosecutor's will. Condemned she was, and given up to the punishment directed by the Julian law.<sup>a</sup> The Emperor thought proper to specify, in his judgement, the name of the centurion, and to dwell upon the

adiecit, ne omnes eiusmodi causas revocare ad se videretur.

Tertio die inducta cognitio est multis sermonibus et vario rumore iactata Iulii Tironis codicilli, quos ex parte veros esse constabat, ex parte falsi dicebantur. Substituebantur crimini Sempronius Senecio, eques Romanus, et Eurythmus, Caesaris libertus et procurator. Heredes, cum Caesar esset in Dacia, communiter epistula scripta petierant, ut susciperet cognitionem; suscepit. Reversus diem dederat et cum ex heredibus quidam quasi reverentia Eurythmi omitterent accusationem, pulcherrime dixerat, 'Nec ille Polyclitus est nec ego Nero.' Indulserat tamen petentibus dilationem cuius tempore exacto considerat auditurus. A parte heredum intraverunt duo omnino: postularunt, ut aut<sup>1</sup> omnes heredes agere cogerentur, cum detulissent omnes, aut sibi quoque desistere permetteretur.

Locutus est Caesar summa gravitate, summa moderatione, cumque advocatus Senecionis et Eurythmi dixisset suspicionibus relinqui reos, nisi audirentur: 'Non curo,' inquit, 'an isti suspicionibus relinquuntur, ego relinquo.' Dein conversus ad nos: 'Ἐπιστήσατε quid facere debeamus; isti enim queri volunt,<sup>2</sup> quod sibi non licuerit accusare.<sup>3</sup>' Tum ex consilii sententia iussit denuntiari heredibus omnibus,

<sup>1</sup> ut aut Müller, ut *Dpa*, om. *M*, aut *K*.

<sup>2</sup> queri volunt *Dpra*, *Bipons*, *K*<sup>1</sup>, quaeri volunt *M*, quaeri nolunt *K*.

<sup>3</sup> quod sibi non licuerit acc. Müller, quod sibi lic. non acc. *codd.*, *vulg.*, qu. sibi non lic. non acc. *Gesner*, quod illis lic. non acc. *Kukula*.

claims of military discipline; lest it should be supposed that he intended to try all similar causes himself.

The third day an inquiry was begun concerning the much-discussed will of Julius Tiro, part of which was plainly genuine, the other part, it was said, was forged. The persons brought under the charge were Sempronius Senecio, a Roman knight, and Eurythmus, Caesar's freedman and procurator. The heirs had written a joint letter to the Emperor when he was in Dacia, petitioning him to reserve the case for his own hearing. He did so, and upon his return appointed a day for the hearing; and when some of the heirs, as if from respect to Eurythmus, would have withdrawn the suit, he nobly said, "He is not Polyclitus,<sup>a</sup> nor am I Nero." However, he complied with their request for an adjournment, and the time being expired, he now sat to hear the cause. Two only of the heirs appeared; they requested that either all the heirs might be compelled to prosecute, as all had joined in the information, or that they also might have leave to desist.

Caesar spoke with great dignity and moderation; and when the counsel for Senecio and Eurythmus said, that unless the defendants were heard, they would remain under suspicion, "I do not care," said the Emperor, "whether suspicion rests upon your clients; it rests upon myself." Then, turning to us, "Advise me," said he, "what is my proper course, for you see they want to complain that they have not been allowed to prosecute." Then, by advice of the council, he ordered notice to be given to the heirs collectively, that they should either go on with

<sup>a</sup> A favourite freedman of Nero.

aut agerent aut singuli approbarent causas non agendi; alioqui se vel de calumnia pronuntiaturum.

Vides, quam honesti, quam severi dies; quos iucundissimae remissiones sequebantur. Adhibebamur cotidie cenae: erat modica, si principem cogitares. Interdum ἀκροάματα audiebamus, interdum iucundissimis sermonibus nox ducebatur. Summo die abeuntibus nobis (tam diligens in Caesare humanitas) xenia sunt missa. Sed mihi ut gravitas cognitionum, consilii honor, suavitas simplicitasque convictus ita locus ipse periucundus fuit.

Villa pulcherrima cingitur viridissimis agris, imminet litori; cuius in sinu fit cum maxime portus. Huius sinistrum brachium firmissimo opere munitum est; dextrum elaboratur. In ore portus insula adsurgit, quae illatum vento mare obiacens frangat tutumque ab utroque latere decursum navibus praestet, adsurgit autem arte visenda; ingentia saxa latissima navis provehit; contra, haec alia super alia deiecta ipso pondere manent ac sensim quodam velut aggere construuntur. Eminent iam et apparet saxeum dorsum impactosque fluctus in immensum elidit et tollit. Vastus illic fragor canumque circa mare. Saxis deinde pilae adicientur, quae procedente tempore

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<sup>a</sup> *calumnia* was the legal term for bringing a false or malicious charge against a person.

the suit, or severally show cause for not doing so; otherwise that he would at least pronounce them guilty of calumny.<sup>a</sup>

Thus you see how honourably and seriously we spent our days, which however were followed by the most agreeable recreations. We were every day invited to Caesar's supper, which, for a prince, was a modest repast; there we were either entertained with interludes, or passed the night in the most pleasing conversation. On the last day he sent each of us presents at our departure, so unremitting is the benevolence of Caesar! As for myself, I was not only charmed with the dignity of the proceedings, the honour paid to the assessors, the ease and unreserved freedom of the conversation, but with the place itself.

Here is a villa, surrounded by the most verdant meadows, and overhanging a bay of the coast where they are at this moment constructing a harbour. The left-hand mole of this port is protected by immensely solid masonry; the right is now being completed. An island is rising in the mouth of the harbour, which will break the force of the waves when the wind blows shorewards, and afford passage to ships on either side. Its construction is highly worth seeing; huge stones are transported hither in a broad-bottomed vessel, and being sunk one upon the other, are fixed by their own weight, gradually accumulating in the manner, as it were, of a rampart. It already lifts its rocky back above the ocean, while the waves which beat upon it, being tossed to an immense height, roar prodigiously, and whiten all the sea round. To these stones are added wooden piles, which in time will give it the appearance of a

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

enatam insulam imitentur. Habebit hic portus et iam habet nomen auctoris eritque vel maxime salutaris. Nam per longissimum spatium litus impertuosum hoc receptaculo utetur. Vale.

### XXXII

C. PLINIUS QUINTILIANO SUO S.

QUAMVIS et ipse sis continentissimus et filiam tuam ita institueris, ut decebat filiam tuam, Tutili neptem, cum tamen sit nuptura honestissimo viro, Nonio Celeri, cui ratio civilium officiorum necessitatem quandam nitoris imponit, debet secundum conditionem mariti veste, comitatu (quibus non quidem augetur dignitas, ornatur tamen) instrui. Te porro animo beatissimum, modicum facultatibus scio. Itaque partem oneris tui mihi vindico et tamquam parens alter puellae nostrae confero quinquaginta milia nummum plus collaturus, nisi a verecundia tua sola mediocritate munusculi impetrari posse confiderem, ne recusares. Vale.

### XXXIII

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

‘TOLITE cuncta, inquit, coeptosque auferte labores.’

Seu scribis aliquid seu legis, tolli, auferri iube et accipe orationem meam ut illa arma divinam (num

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“ The speech of Vulcan to the Cyclopes, when he directs them to prepare arms for Aeneas. *Aeneid*, viii. 439.

natural island. This port will be, and already is, named after its great author, and will prove of infinite benefit; by affording a haven to ships on a long stretch of harbourless coast. Farewell.

## XXXII

## To QUINTILIAN

THOUGH your own tastes are of the simplest, and you have brought up your daughter as befits a child of yours and a grand-child of Tutilius; yet as she is about to marry so distinguished a person as Nonius Celer, whose official station requires a certain display, she must be provided with cloaths and attendance (things which embellish worth, though they do not augment it) suitable to her husband's rank. Now, as I am sensible your material wealth is not equal to the riches of your mind, I claim to myself a part of your expense, and like another father, endow our young lady with fifty thousand sesterces. My contribution should be larger, but that I am well persuaded the smallness of the gift is the only inducement that can prevail with your modesty not to refuse it. Farewell.

## XXXIII

## To ROMANUS

“ ‘HENCE with the rest,’ quoth he, ‘and throw aside Your tasks begun—’ ”<sup>a</sup>

Whether you are engaged in reading or writing, cry “Hence” and “Away” to your book or papers, and take up my oration, which, like those arms in the poem, is divine. Nothing, I think, could outdo

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

superbius potui ? ) re vera, ut inter meas pulchram ; nam mihi satis est certare mecum.

Est haec pro Attia Variola et dignitate personae et exempli raritate et iudicii magnitudine insignis. Nam femina splendide nata, nupta praetorio viro, exheredata ab octogenario patre intra undecim dies quam ille novercam ei <sup>1</sup> amore captus induxerat, quadruplici iudicio bona paternâ repetebat. Sedebant iudices centum et octoginta (tot enim quatuor consiliis colliguntur),<sup>2</sup> ingens utrimque advocatio et numerosa subsellia, praeterea densa circumstantium corona latissimum iudicium multiplici circulo ambibat. Ad hoc stipatum tribunal, atque etiam ex superiore basilicae parte qua feminae qua viri et audiendi, quod difficile, et, quod facile, visendi studio imminebant. Magna exspectatio patrum, magna filiarum, magna etiam novercarum. Secutus est varius eventus. Nam duobus consiliis vicimus, totidem victi sumus. Notabilis prorsus res et mira eadem in causa, isdem iudicibus, isdem advocatis, eodem tempore tanta diversitas accidit, casu, quod non casus videretur. Victa est noverca ipsa heres ex parte sexta, victus Suberinus, qui exheredatus a patre singulari impudentia alieni patris bona vindicabat non ausus sui petere.

<sup>1</sup> ille novercam ei *Dpra*, Müller, ille novercam, *M*, *K*.

<sup>2</sup> colliguntur *Mr*, *Bipons*, *K*, conscribuntur *Dp*, *Catan.*, Müller.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 10, note.

<sup>b</sup> Presumably the son, by a former marriage, of Accia's step-mother.



the arrogance of this remark ! But in good earnest, take this speech into your hands as one of my best ; for I am content to vie only with myself.

'Tis my plea on behalf of Accia Variola, noteworthy from the high rank of the person concern'd, the rarity of such a case in litigation, and the amplitude of the tribunal. For here was a high-born lady, wife to a man of Praetorian rank, suing for her patrimony in the Centumviral Court<sup>a</sup> ; having been disinherited by a father aged eighty, within eleven days after the enamoured ancient had brought home a step-mother to his daughter. The Court was composed of one hundred and eighty jurors (for that is the number of which its four panels consist) ; a host of advocates appeared on both sides ; the benches were infinitely thronged, and the spacious court was encompassed by a circle of people standing several rows deep. In addition, the tribunal was crowded, and the very galleries lined with men and women, hanging over in their eagerness to hear (which was difficult) and see (which was easy). Fathers, daughters, and step-mothers too, anxiously awaited the verdicts. These were divergent, two of the panels being for us, and two against us. It is something remarkable and strange, that the same cause debated before the same jury, and pleaded by the same advocates, and at the same time, should meet with such contrary judgements—by an accident, which seemed not accidental. The step-mother, who took under the will a sixth part of the inheritance, lost her cause. So did Suberinus,<sup>b</sup> who though he was disinherited by his father without daring to sue for his own patrimony, had yet the singular effrontery to claim that of another.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Haec tibi exposui, primum ut ex epistula scires quae ex oratione non poteras, deinde (nam detegam artes) ut orationem libentius legeres, si non legere tibi, sed interesse iudicio videreris; quam, sit licet magna, non despero gratiam brevissimae impetraturam. Nam et copia rerum et arguta divisione et narratiunculis pluribus et eloquendi varietate renovatur. Sunt multa (non auderem nisi tibi dicere) elata, multa pugnacia, multa subtilia. Intervenit enim acribus illis et erectis frequens necessitas computandi ac paene calculos tabulamque poscendi, ut repente in privati iudicii formam centumvirale vertatur. Dedimus vela indignationi, dedimus irae, dedimus dolori et in amplissima causa quasi magno mari pluribus ventis sumus vecti.

In summa solent quidam ex contubernalibus nostris existimare hanc orationem (iterum dicam) ut inter meas ὡς ὑπὲρ Κτησιφώντος esse; an vere, tu facillime iudicabis, qui tam memoriter tenes omnes, ut conferre cum hac, dum hanc solam legis, possis. Vale.

---

" An oration of Demosthenes in defence of Ctesiphon, esteemed the best of that noble orator's speeches. . . . Sidonius Apollinaris says that Pliny acquired more honour by this speech than even by his incomparable panegyric upon Trajan. (Melm.)

I have given you these details, firstly that you might learn from my letter what you could not from my speech ; secondly (for I will lay bare the artifice) that you might read my speech more willingly by fancying yourself not a reader, but a spectator of the trial. Long it may be, but I do not despair of its gaining the same favour with you as the briefest possible oration. For abundance of matter, skilful division of topics, a profusion of anecdote and variety of style combine to give it freshness. I will even venture to say to you (what I durst not to any one else) that a spirit of great fire and sublimity breaks out in many parts of it, at the same time that in others it is wrought up with much delicacy and closeness of reasoning. I was frequently obliged to intermix dry computations with these elevated and vigorous passages, and to descend from the orator almost to the accountant ; so that you will sometimes imagine the scene was changed from the solemnity of the centumviral tribunal, to that of a private and inferior one. I gave a loose to indignation, resentment, and sorrow, and steering through the broad sea of this illustrious cause, was governed by turns with every varying gust of the passions.

In a word, some of our circle look upon this speech (and I will venture to repeat it again) as the *Ctesiphon* <sup>a</sup> of my orations ; whether with reason or not, you will easily judge, who have them all so perfectly in your memory, as to be able while you are reading this to compare it with the rest, without referring to them. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XXXIV

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

RECTE fecisti, quod gladiatorium<sup>1</sup> munus Veronensibus nostris promisisti, a quibus olim amaris, suspiceris, ornaris. Inde etiam uxorem carissimam tibi et probatissimam habuisti, cuius memoriae aut opus aliquod aut spectaculum atque hoc potissimum quod maxime funeri debebatur. Praeterea tanto consensu rogabaris, ut negare non constans, sed durum videretur. Illud quoque egregie, quod tam facilis, tam liberalis in edendo fuisti. Nam per haec etiam magnus animus ostenditur. Vellem Africanæ, quas coëmeras plurimas, ad praefinitum diem occurrissent. Sed, licet cessaverint illae tempestate detentæ, tu tamen meruisti, ut acceptum tibi fieret, quod quominus exhiberes, non per te stetit. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> gladiatorium *Dpr*, *Bipons*, gladiatorum *Ma*, *K*.

## XXXIV

## TO MAXIMUS

You did extremely right to promise a combat of gladiators to our good friends the citizens of Verona, not only since you have long enjoyed from them regard, veneration, and marks of honour, but as it was from thence also you received your most tenderly beloved and excellent wife. And since you owed some monument or public show to her memory, what other spectacle could you have exhibited more proper to a funereal occasion? Besides, you were so unanimously pressed to do so, that to have refused would have had the appearance rather of obstinacy than resolution. The readiness with which you granted this request, and the magnificent manner in which you performed it, is also much to your honour; for a greatness of soul is seen in these smaller instances, as well as in matters of higher moment. I am sorry the African Panthers, which you had largely purchased for this occasion, did not arrive time enough; but though they were delayed by the tempestuous season, the obligation to you is equally the same, since it was not your fault that they were not exhibited. Farewell.

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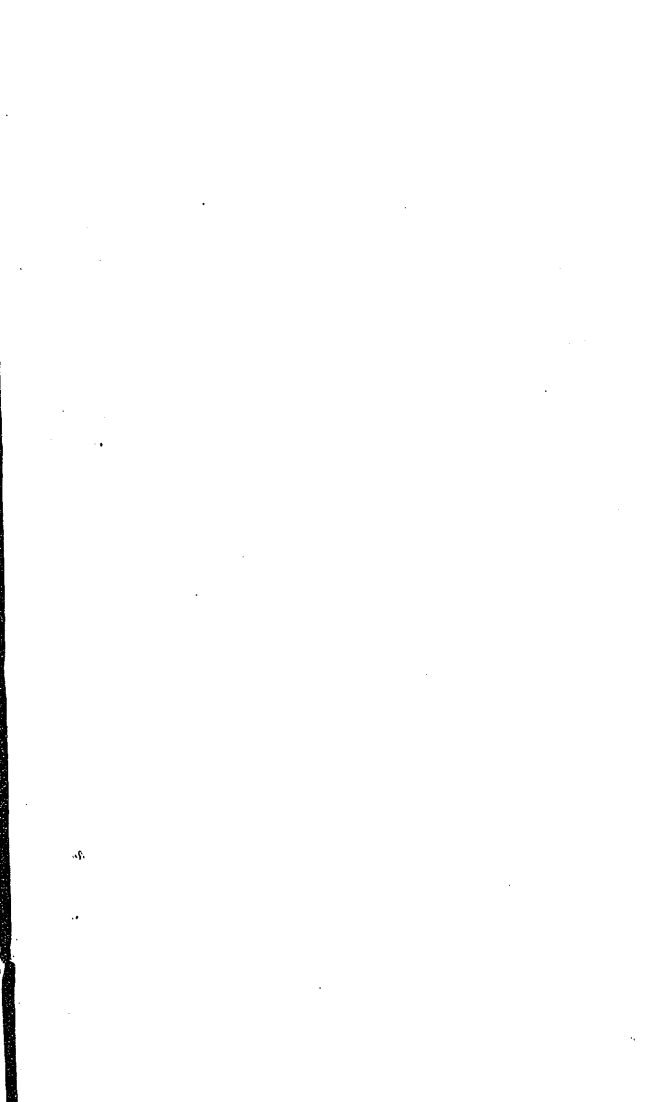
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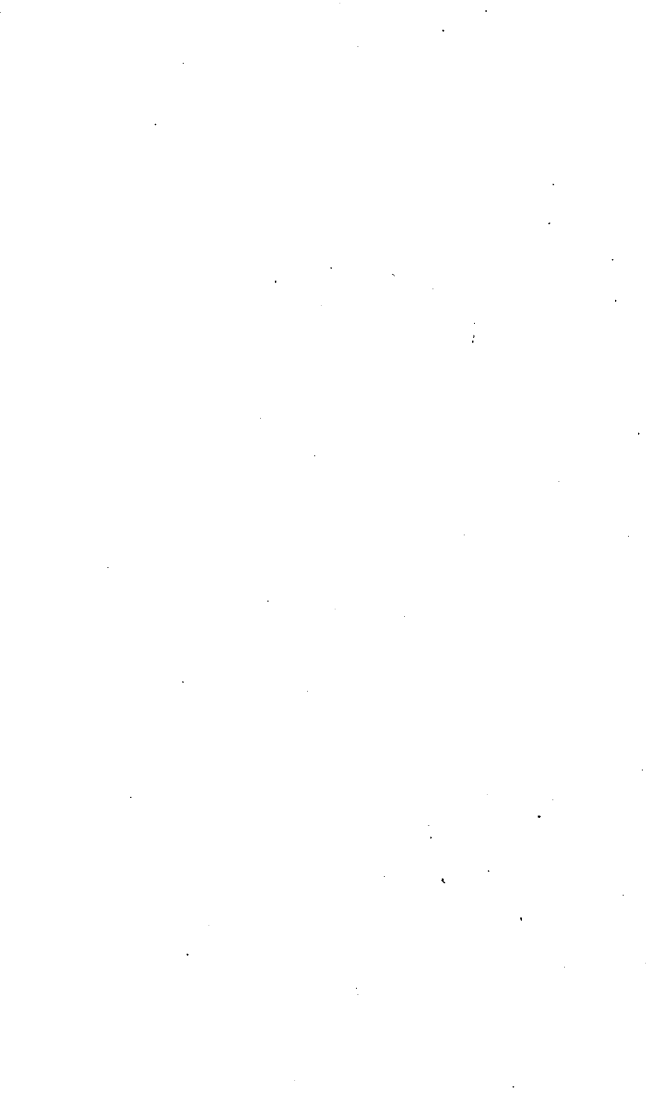
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## PLINY

LETTERS

II



# PLINY

## LETTERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
WILLIAM MELMOTH

REVISED BY  
W. M. L. HUTCHINSON

IN TWO VOLUMES

II



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THE LETTERS OF PLINY  
BOOK VII

# C. PLINII CAECILII SECUNDI EPISTULARUM

## LIBER SEPTIMUS

### I

C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

TERRET me haec tua tam pertinax valetudo et quamquam te temperantissimum noverim, vereor tamen, ne quid illi etiam in mores tuos liceat. Proinde moneo, patienter resistas ; hoc laudabile, hoc salutare. Admittit humana natura, quod suadeo. Ipse certe sic agere sanus cum meis soleo : ‘Spero quidem, si forte in adversam valetudinem incidero, nihil me desideraturum vel pudore vel paenitentia dignum ; si tamen superaverit morbus, denuntio, ne quid mihi detur, nisi permittentibus medicis, sciatisque, si dederitis, ita vindicaturum, ut solent alii, quae negantur.’

Quin etiam, cum perustus ardentissima febre tandem remissus unctusque acciperem a medico

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## BOOK VII

### I

#### TO RESTITUTUS

THIS obstinate distemper<sup>r</sup> which hangs upon you, greatly alarms me; and though I know how extremely temperate you are, yet I am afraid your disease should get the better of your habits. Let me counsel you then to offer a steady resistance; this is the praiseworthy, this is the salutary course. There is nothing beyond the power of human nature in what I recommend. I myself, at least, while in ordinary health, make a practice of giving my household the following directions. "I hope, that should I be attacked with any disorder, I shall desire nothing of which I either ought to be ashamed, or have reason to repent; however, if my distemper should get the upper hand, give me nothing, I charge you, but by the consent of my physicians; be assured that if you do, I shall punish your compliance, as much as another man would your refusal."

I had once, in fact, a most violent fever; when the fit was a little abated, and I had been anointed,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

portionem, porrexi manum, utque tangeret, dixi admotumque iam labris poculum reddidi. Postea cum vicesimo valetudinis die balineo praepararer mussantesque medicos repente vidissem, causam requisivi. Responderunt posse me tuto lavari, non tamen omnino sine aliqua suspicione. 'Quid' inquam 'necesse est?' atque ita spe balinei, cui iam videbar inferri, placide leniterque dimissa ad abstinentiam rursus non secus ac modo ad balineum animum vultumque composui. Quae tibi scripsi, primum ut te non sine exemplo monerem, deinde ut in posterum ipse ad eandem temperantiam adstringeretur, cum me hac epistula quasi pignore obligassem. Vale.

### II

C. PLINIUS IUSTO SUO S.

QUEM ad modum congruit, ut simul et adfirmes te adsiduis occupationibus impediri et scripta nostra desideres, quae vix ab otiosis impetrare aliquid perituri temporis possunt? Patiar ergo aestatem inquietam vobis exercitamque transcurrere et hieme demum, cum credibile erit noctibus saltem vacare te posse, quaeram, quid potissimum ex nugis meis tibi exhibeam. Interim abunde est, si epistulae non sunt molestae; sunt autem et ideo breviores erunt. Vale.

my physician offered me something to drink ; I put out my hand, bade him feel my pulse, and returned the cup, though it was just at my lips. Afterwards, when I was preparing to go into the bath, twenty days from the first attack of my illness, perceiving on a sudden the physicians whispering together, I inquired what they were saying. They replied, I might possibly bathe with safety, however, they were not without some suspicion of hazard. "What need," said I, "of doing it at all?" And thus, with great complacency, I gave up the expected pleasure of bathing, and abstained from the bath with the same inward and outward composure I was going to enter it. I mention this, not only in order to enforce my advice by example, but also that this letter may be a sort of pledge binding me to persevere in the same abstinence for the future. Farewell.

## II

## To JUSTUS

ARE you not inconsistent with yourself, when you assure me you have no intermission from business, and yet at the same time express an earnest desire to see my works ; upon which even the idle will scarce bestow some of their useless hours ? I will not then break in upon your affairs during this busy summer season ; but when the return of winter shall make it reasonable to suppose that your evenings, at least, may be disengaged, I will look over my trifles for something worth showing you. In the meanwhile, I shall be well satisfied, if my letters are not troublesome, as I suspect they are, and therefore shorten them. Farewell.

## III

C. PLINIUS PRAESENTI SUO S.

TANTANE perseverantia tu modo in Lucania, modo in Campania? 'Ipse enim' inquis 'Lucanus, uxor Campana.' Iusta causa longioris absentiae, non perpetuae tamen. Quin ergo aliquando in urbem redis? ubi dignitas, honor, amicitiae tam superiores quam minores. Quousque regnabis? quousque vigilabis, cum voles? dormies, quamdiu voles? quousque calcei nusquam, toga feriata, liber totus dies?

Tempus est te revisere molestias nostras vel ob hoc solum, ne voluptates istae satietate languescant. Saluta paulisper, quo sit tibi iucundius salutari, terere in hac turba, ut te solitudo delectet. Sed quid imprudens, quem evocare<sup>1</sup> conor, retardo? Fortasse enim his ipsis admoneris, ut te magis ac magis otio involvas; quod ego non abrumpi, sed intermitteri volo. Ut enim si cenam tibi facerem, dulcibus cibis acres acutosque miscerem, ut obtusus illis et oblitus stoma-

<sup>1</sup> evocare *Bipons*, Müller, revocare *K*.

## III

## To PRAESENS

ARE you determined then to pass your whole time between Lucania and Campania? Your answer, I suppose, will be, that the former is your native country; and the latter that of your wife. This, I admit, may justify a long absence, but I cannot allow it as a reason for a perpetual one. Why not then at last return to Rome, that theatre of dignities, preferment, and friendships alike of the superior and lower sort? Are you obstinately bent to live despotically, and sleep and rise when you think proper? Will you for ever go unshod, wear full dress only on holy days, and spend your whole day as you please?

It is time, however, you should revisit our troubled scene, were it only that your rural pleasures may not grow languid from a surfeit. Make your bow at one or two levees of the great, that you may enjoy the return of the compliment with more satisfaction; and mix in our crowd, that you may have a stronger relish for the charms of solitude. But am I not inadvertently retarding the friend I would rouse? It is these very circumstances, perhaps, that counsel you every day more and more to wrap yourself up in retirement. All however I mean to persuade you to, is only to intermit, not renounce your repose. As, if I were giving you a dinner, I would blend dishes of a sharper taste with those of a luscious kind, in order to raise the edge of your palate by the one, which had been

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

chus his excitaretur, ita nunc hortor, ut iucundissimum genus vitae non nullis interdum quasi acrioribus condias. Vale.

### IV

C. PLINIUS PONTIO ALLIFANO<sup>1</sup> SUO S.

Ais legisse te hendecasyllabos meos; requiris etiam, quem ad modum coeperim scribere, homo, ut tibi videor, severus, ut ipse fateor, non ineptus. Numquam a poëtica (altius enim repetam) alienus fui; quin etiam quattuordecim natus annos Graecam tragoediam scripsi. 'Qualem?' inquis. Nescio; tragoedia vocabatur. Mox, cum e militia rediens in Icaria insula ventis detinerer, Latinos elegos in illud ipsum mare ipsamque insulam feci. Expertus sum me aliquando et heroo, hendecasyllabis nunc primum, quorum hic natalis, haec causa est.

Legebantur in Laurentino mihi libri Asini Galli de comparatione patris et Ciceronis. Incidit epigramma Ciceronis in Tironem suum. Dein, cum meridie (erat enim aestas) dormiturus me recepissem, nec obreperet somnus, coepi reputare, maximos oratores hoc studii

<sup>1</sup> ALLIFANO *add. Müller.*

<sup>a</sup> See iv. 14, note.

<sup>b</sup> Not Pliny's correspondent (ii. 17, iv. 17, viii. 20), but the son of the famous orator Pollio, and possibly the child whose birth Virgil celebrated in his Fourth Eclogue.

<sup>c</sup> Cicero's well-known character makes it certain that this epigram is spurious. Tiro was his freedman and trusted friend.



flattened and overloaded by the other; so I now advise you to season your agreeable mode of living from time to time with some condiments of a sharper relish. Farewell.

## IV

## TO PONTIUS ALLIFANUS

You have read, you tell me, my hendecasyllabic<sup>a</sup> poems, and are desirous to know how it happened that a man of my gravity (as you are pleased to call me, as I will say for myself, not a trifler) could fall into this way of composition. To take the account then a good way backwards, I must acquaint you that I had always an inclination to poetry, insomuch that, when I was fourteen years of age, I composed a Tragedy in Greek. If you should ask me what sort of one, I protest I don't know; all I can say is, that it was called a Tragedy. Some time afterwards, on my return from the army, being detained in the Island of Icaria by contrary winds, I composed some Latin elegiac verses upon that island and its sea. I have sometimes tried my hand at Epic poetry; but these are the first hendecasyllabic poems I ever composed; to which the following accident gave birth.

The treatise of Asinius Gallus<sup>b</sup> was read to me one day at my Laurentine villa, wherein he draws a comparison between his father and Cicero; and there I met with an epigram of Tully's on his favourite Tiro.<sup>c</sup> Upon retiring to take my afternoon's nap (for it was summer time), and not being visited by sleep, I began to reflect that the greatest orators have been fond of this kind of composition, and

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

genus et in oblectationibus habuisse et in laude posuisse. Intendi animum contraque opinionem meam post longam desuetudinem perquam exiguo temporis momento id ipsum, quod me ad scribendum sollicitaverat, his versibus exaravi :

Cum libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti  
ansus de Cicerone dare est palmamque decusque,  
lascivum inveni lusum Ciceronis et illo  
spectandum ingenio, quo seria condidit et quo  
humanis salibus multo varioque lepore  
magnum ostendit mentes gaudere virorum.  
Nam queritur, quod fraude mala frustratus amantem  
paucula cenato sibi debita savia Tiro  
tempore nocturno subtraxerit. His ego lectis  
'cur post haec,' inquam, 'nostros celamus amores  
nullumque in medium timidi damus atque fatemur  
Tironisque dolos, Tironis nosse fugaces  
blanditias et furta novas addentia flammis?'

Transii ad elegos ; hos quoque non minus celeriter explicui ; addidi alios facilitate corruptus. Deinde in urbem reversus sodalibus legi. Probaverunt. Deinde plura metra, si quid otii, maxime in itinere temptavi. Postremo placuit exemplo multorum unum separatim hendecasyllaborum volumen absolvere, nec paenitet. Legitur, describitur, cantatur etiam et a

valued themselves upon it. I tried therefore what I could do in this way; and though I had long disused myself to things of this nature, I jotted down in almost no time the following lines upon the subject which had prompted me to compose:—

“When Gallus I read, who pretends that his sire  
 Had far more than Tully poetical fire,  
 The wisest of men, I perceived, held it fit  
 To temper his wisdom with love and with wit;  
 For Tully, grave Tully, in amorous strains,  
 Of the frauds of his paramour Tiro complains,  
 That faithless to love, and to pleasure untrue,  
 From his promis'd embrace the arch wanton with-  
 drew.  
 Then said I to my heart, Why shouldst thou  
 conceal  
 The sweetest of passions, the love which you feel?  
 Yes, fly wanton Muse, and proclaim it around,  
 Thy Pliny has lov'd, and his Tiro has found;  
 The coy one so artful, who sweetly denies,  
 And from the soft flame, but to heighten it, flies.”

From this I turned to an elegiac poem, which I finished as rapidly; and yielding to the temptation of facility, I added other verses. At my return to Rome I read my performances to some of my friends, who were pleased to approve of them. Afterwards whenever I had leisure, and particularly when I travelled, I made attempts in several metres. At length I determined, after the example of many others, to complete for publication a separate volume of erotic poems; and I have no reason to repent of my resolution. They are much the mode, copies are in everybody's hands; they are even sung to harp or lyre

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Graecis quoque, quos Latine huius libelli amor docuit, nunc cithara, nunc lyra personatur.

Sed quid ego tam gloriose? Quamquam poëtis furere concessum est; et tamen non de meo, sed de aliorum iudicio loquor; qui sive iudicant sive errant, me delectat.<sup>1</sup> Unum precor, ut posteri quoque aut errent similiter aut iudicent. Vale.

### V

C. PLINIUS CALPURNIAE SUAE S.

INCREDIBILE est, quanto desiderio tui tenear. In causa amor primum, deinde quod non consuevimus abesse. Inde est, quod magnam partem noctium in imagine tua vigil exigo, inde, quod interdiu, quibus horis te visere solebam, ad diaetam tuam ipsi me, ut verissime dicitur, pedes ducunt; quod denique aeger et maestus ac similis excluso, vacuo limine recedo. Unum tempus his tormentis caret, quo in foro et amicorum litibus conteror. Aestima tu, quae vita mea sit, cui requies in labore, in miseria curisque solacium. Vale.

### VI

C. PLINIUS MACRINO SUO S.

RARA et notabilis res Varenò contigit, sit licet adhuc dubia. Bithyni accusationem eius ut temere inchoa-

<sup>1</sup> delectat *M*, *Müller*, delectant *rell*.

## BOOK VII. iv.-vi

accompaniments, and by the Greeks, too, who have been learning Latin out of fondness for my little book.

But what will you think of this boasting? Remember, however, poets have the privilege of raving. Still, I am not giving you my own judgement, but that of others, which, be it just or mistaken I am much pleased with. My one prayer is, that posterity may endorse their judgement, or their mistake, whichever it be. Farewell.

### V

#### TO CALPURNIA

It is incredible how I miss you; such is the tenderness of my affection for you, and so unaccustomed are we to a separation! I lie awake the greatest part of the night in conjuring up your image, and by day (to use a very common, but very true expression) my feet carry me of their own accord to your apartment, at those hours I used to visit you; but not finding you there, I return with as much sorrow and disappointment as an excluded lover. The only intermission my torment knows, is when I am engaged at the bar, and in the causes of my friends. Judge how wretched must *his* life be, who finds no repose but in toil, no consolation but in dealing with distress and anxieties. Farewell.

### VI

#### TO MACRINUS

A VERY singular and remarkable accident has happened to Varenus,<sup>a</sup> the consequence of which is yet in suspense. The Bithynians, it is reported,

<sup>a</sup> v. 20.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tam omisisse narrantur. Narrantur dico? adest provinciae legatus, attulit decretum concilii ad Caesarem, attulit ad multos principes viros, attulit etiam ad nos Varenii advocatos. Perstat tamen idem ille Magnus: quin etiam Nigrinum, optimum virum, pertinacissime exercet. Per hunc a consulibus postulabat, ut Varenus exhibere rationes cogeretur.

Adsistebam Varenio iam tantum ut amicus et tacere decreveram. Nihil enim tam contrarium, quam si advocatus a senatu datus defenderem ut reum, cui opus esset, ne reus videretur. Cum tamen finita postulatione Nigrini consules ad me oculos retulissent, 'Scietis,' inquam, 'constare nobis silentii nostri rationem, cum veros legatos provinciae audieritis.' Contra Nigrinus: 'Ad quem missi sunt?' Ego: 'Ad me quoque; habeo decretum provinciae.' Rursus ille: 'Potest tibi liquere.' Ad hoc ego: 'Si tibi ex diverso liquet, potest et mihi, quod est melius, liquere.'<sup>1</sup> Tum legatus Polyaenus causas abolitae accusationis exposuit postulavitque, ne cognitioni

<sup>1</sup> quod est melius liquere *Bipons, K (ex Ma)*, q. e. mel. causa liqueret (loquetur) legatus *Dpr*, q. e. mel. †causa liquere *Müller*, (q. e. mei iuris) causa liquere *Kukula*.

have dropped their prosecution of him, as an ill-advised proceeding. *Reported*, I said; but 'tis no matter of hearsay. A delegate from that province is arrived, who has brought with him a decree of their assembly; copies of which he has delivered to Caesar, to several of the principal persons in Rome, and to us the advocates for Varenus. Magnus, however, whom I mentioned in my last letter to you, persists in his prosecution; and, moreover, is incessantly teasing the worthy Nigrinus. This excellent person, acting as his counsel, was making application to the consuls, that Varenus might be compelled to produce his accounts.

As at this stage I attended Varenus merely as a friend, I had determined to be silent. I thought it highly prejudicial for me, who was appointed his counsel by the senate, to attempt to defend him as a person accused, when it was his business to make it appear that there was actually no charge subsisting against him. However, when Nigrinus had finished his application, the consuls turning their eyes upon me, I rose up, and, when they should hear, I said, what the real delegates from the province had to say, they would be sensible that my silence was not without just reason. Upon this Nigrinus asked me to whom these deputies were sent? I replied, "To me, amongst others; the decree of the province is in my hands." "*You* may be clear on that point," says he. To which I retorted, "If it is clear to *you* who are our opponent, it may well be clear to *me*, and so much the better." Then Polyaenus, the delegate from the province, stated their grounds for abandoning the prosecution, and desired it might be without prejudice to Caesar's holding an inquiry

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Caesaris praeiudicium fieret. Respondit Magnus iterumque Polyaeus. Ipse raro et breviter interlocutus multum me intra silentium tenui. Accepi enim non minus interdum oratorium esse tacere quam dicere atque adeo repeto quibusdam me capitis reis vel magis silentio quam oratione accuratissima profuisse.

Mater amisso filio (quid enim prohibet, quamquam alia ratio scribendae epistolae fuerit, de studiis disputare?) liberos eius eosdemque coheredes suos falsi et veneficii reos detulerat ad principem iudicemque impetraverat Iulium Servianum. Defenderam reos ingenti quidem coetu. Erat enim causa notissima; praeterea utrinque ingenia clarissima. Finem cognitioni quaestio imposuit; quae secundum reos dedit. Postea mater adiit principem, adfirmavit se novas probationes invenisse. Praeceptum est Suburano, ut vacaret finitam causam retractanti, si quid novi adferret. Aderat matri Iulius Africanus, nepos illius oratoris, quo audito Passienus Crispus dixit: ‘Bene mehercule, bene; sed quo tam bene?’ Huius nepos, iuvenis ingeniosus, sed parum callidus, cum multa dixisset adsignatumque tempus implessset, ‘Rogo,’ inquit, ‘Suburane, permittas mihi unum versum<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> versum *Dpa*, Müller, verbum *Mr*, *Bipons*, *K*.



on the case. Magnus answered him; Polyænus replied; as for myself, I only now and then threw in a word, observing in general a profound silence. For I have learned, that upon some occasions there is as much eloquence in taciturnity, as in speech; nay, I remember, in some criminal cases, to have done even more service to my clients by holding my tongue, than I could have by the most artful pleading.

To enter into the subject of eloquence is indeed very foreign to the intent of my letter, yet allow me to give you one instance. A certain lady having lost her son, suspected that his freedmen, whom he had appointed coheirs with her, were guilty of forging the will and poisoning him. Accordingly she charged them with the fact before the Emperor, who directed Julius Servianus to try the cause. I was counsel for the defendants, and the case being notorious, and the advocates concerned on both sides of high reputation, it drew together a very numerous audience. The event was, the slaves being examined under torture, my clients were acquitted. But the mother applied a second time to the Emperor, asserting she had discovered some new evidence. Suburanus was directed to hear her application for a new trial, and see if she could produce any fresh proofs. Her counsel was Julius Africanus, grandson to the famous orator of that name, of whom it is reported that Passienus Crispus hearing him one day plead, archly said, "Very fine, upon my word, very fine; but what is the point of it?" This Africanus, who is a young man of good parts but not much experience, having harangued a great deal and exhausted the time allotted to him, entreated Suburanus to allow

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

adicere.' Tum ego, cum omnes me ut diu respondurum intuerentur, 'Respondissem,' inquam, 'si unum illud verum<sup>1</sup> Africanus adiecisset, in quo non dubito omnia nova fuisse.' Non facile me repeto tantum consecutum adsensum agendo quantum tunc non agendo.

Similiter nunc et probatum et exceptum est, quod pro Vareno hactenus <tantum><sup>2</sup> non tacui. Consules, ut Polyaenus postulabat, omnia integra principi servaverunt; cuius cognitionem suspensus exspecto. Nam dies ille nobis pro Vareno aut securitatem et otium dabit aut intermissum laborem renovata sollicitudine iniunget. Vale.

### VI.

#### C. PLINIUS SATURNINO SUO S.

Et proxime Prisco nostro et rursus, quia ita iussisti, gratias egi, libentissime quidem. Est enim mihi periucundum, quod viri optimi mihiq̃ue amicissimi adeo cohaesistis, ut invicem vos obligari putetis. Nam ille quoque praecipuam se voluptatem ex amicitia tua capere profitetur certatque tecum honestissimo certamine mutuae caritatis, quam ipsum tempus augebit.

<sup>1</sup> verum *Dpa*, Müller, verbum *Mr*, *Bipons*, *K*.

<sup>2</sup> tantum non *Stangl*, hactenus tacui *Sichardus*, h. non tacui *codd. et edd.* (cum cruce Müller).

him to add one line more. [Suburanus refused.<sup>a</sup>] Then, seeing the eyes of the whole assembly fixed upon me in expectation of a lengthy reply, "I should have answered Africanus," said I, "if he had added that one line he begged leave to do, which I doubt not would have contained all the new proofs we were to hear." I do not remember to have gained so much applause by any speech that I ever made, as I did here upon making none.

On the present occasion the little that I said for Varenus was received with the same general approbation. The consuls, agreeably to the request of Polyaenus, reserved the case for the judgement of the Emperor, whose inquiry I anxiously await; for the day it is held will decide whether I may sit down in full security with respect to Varenus, or must again renew all my toil and solicitude upon his account. Farewell.

## VII

## TO SATURNINUS

THOUGH I had very lately made my acknowledgements to our friend Priscus, yet, since it was your desire, I willingly repeated them again. It is with great pleasure I see so much harmony subsist between two such worthy men, whom I tenderly esteem, that you consider your obligations as mutual. For he professes also on his part to receive much happiness from your friendship, and, with a very generous contention, endeavours to rival you in that reciprocal affection, which time, I am persuaded, will augment.

<sup>a</sup> *Negavit ille*, or the like, has fallen out after *adicere*. (Mommson.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Te negotiis distineri ob hoc moleste fero, quod deservire studiis non potes; si tamen alteram litem per indicem, alteram, ut ais, ipse finieris, incipies primum istic otio frui, deinde satiatas ad nos reverti. Vale.

### VIII

C. PLINIUS PRISCO SUO S.

EXPRIMERE NON POSSUM, quam iucundum sit mihi, quod Saturninus noster summas tibi apud me gratias aliis super alias epistulis agit. Perge, ut coepisti, virumque optimum quam familiarissime dilige magnam voluptatem ex amicitia eius percepturus nec ad breve tempus. Nam cum omnibus virtutibus abundat tum hac praecipue, quod habet maximam in amore constantiam. Vale.

### IX

C. PLINIUS FUSCO SUO S.

QUAERIS, quem ad modum in secessu, quo iamdiu frueris, putem te studere oportere. Utile in primis, et multi praecipiunt,<sup>1</sup> vel ex Graeco in Latinum, vel ex Latino vertere in Graecum; quo genere exercitationis proprietas splendorque verborum, copia figurarum, vis explicandi, praeterea imitatione optimorum similia inveniendi facultas paratur; simul,

<sup>1</sup> praecipiunt *Ma*, *Bipons*, praeceperunt *D*, *Müller*.

## BOOK VII. vii.-ix

I regret your immersion in business, as it prevents your devoting yourself to letters ; however, when you have settled one of your two law-suits by arbitration, and the other out of court (as you say you expect to do), you will begin to enjoy the sweets of leisure down yonder ; and when you are satiated with that, we may hope for your return hither. Farewell.

### VIII

To PRISCUS

THE warm acknowledgements of your favours which our friend Saturninus repeatedly makes in his letters to me, afford me inexpressible satisfaction. Do you go on as you began, and cherish intimacy with so worthy a man, from whose friendship you will receive a strong and lasting pleasure. For as he is rich in every virtue, so particularly, in that of constancy towards those he loves. Farewell.

### IX

To FUSCUS

You desire my sentiments concerning the method of study you should pursue, in that retirement which you have long enjoyed. It is a very advantageous practice (and what many recommend) to translate either from Greek into Latin, or from Latin into Greek. By this sort of exercise one acquires noble and proper expressions, variety of figures, and a forcible turn of exposition. Besides, to imitate the most approved authors, gives one aptitude to invent

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quae legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intellegentia ex hoc et iudicium acquiritur.

Nihil offuerit, quae legeris hactenus, ut rem argumentumque teneas, quasi aemulum scribere lectisque conferre ac sedulo pensitare, quid tu, quid ille commodius. Magna gratulatio, si non nulla tu, magnus pudor, si cuncta ille melius.

Licebit interdum et notissima eligere et certare cum electis. Audax haec, non tamen improba, quia secreta contentio; quamquam multos videmus eius modi certamina sibi cum multa laude sumpsisse, quosque subsequi satis habebant, dum non desperant, antecessisse.

Poteris, et quae dixeris, post oblivionem retractare, multa retinere, plura transire, alia interscribere, alia rescribere. Laboriosum istud et taedio plenum, sed difficultate ipsa fructuosum, recalescere ex integro et resumere impetum fractum omissumque, postremo nova velut membra peracto corpori intexere nec tamen priora turbare.

after their manner, and at the same time, things which you might have overlooked in reading cannot escape you in translating : and this method will open your understanding and improve your judgement.

It may not be amiss when you have read only so much of an author at once, as to carry in your head his subject and argument, to turn, as it were, his rival, and write something on the same topic ; then compare your performance and his, and minutely examine in what points either you or he most happily succeeded. It will be a matter of very pleasing congratulation to yourself, if you shall find that in some things you have the advantage of him, as it will be a great mortification if he should rise above you in all.

You may sometimes venture to pick out and try to emulate the most shining passages of an author. Such a contest is, indeed, something bold ; but as it passes in secret, it cannot be taxed with presumption. Not but that we see many persons enter this sort of lists with great applause, and because they do not despair of themselves, advance before those whom they thought it sufficient honour to follow.

Again, after laying aside a composition until it is no longer fresh in your memory, you may revise it ; retaining several things but rejecting still more ; inserting a passage here, and re-writing one there. It is a laborious and tedious task, I own, thus to re-enflame the mind after the first heat is over, to recover an impulse when its force has been checked and spent, in a word, to interweave new parts into the texture of a composition without disturbing or confounding the original plan ; but the very difficulty of this method renders it a profitable one.

Scio nunc tibi esse praecipuum studium orandi ; sed non ideo semper pugnacem hunc et quasi bellatorium stilum suaserim. Ut enim terrae variis mutatisque seminibus ita ingenia nostra nunc hac, nunc illa meditatione recoluntur. Volo interdum aliquem ex historia locum adprehendas, volo epistulam diligentius scribas. Nam saepe in orationes<sup>1</sup> quoque non historica modo, sed prope poëtica descriptionum necessitas incidit, et pressus sermo purusque ex epistulis petitur. Fas est et carmine remitti, non dico continuo et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otio non potest) sed hoc arguto et brevi, quod apte quantas libet occupationes curasque distinguit. Lusus vocantur ; sed hi lusus non minorem interdum gloriam quam seria consecuntur ; atque adeo (cur enim te ad versus non versibus adhorter ?)

Ut laus est cerae, mollis cedensque sequatur  
 si doctos digitos iussaue fiat opus  
 et nunc informet Martem castamque Minervam,  
 nunc Venerem effingat, nunc Veneris puerum,  
 utque sacri fontes non sola incendia sistunt,  
 saepe etiam flores vernaue prata iuvant,<sup>2</sup>  
 sic hominum ingenium flecti ducique per artes  
 non rigidas docta mobilitate decet.

Itaque summi oratores, summi etiam viri sic se aut exercebant aut delectabant, immo delectabant exer-

<sup>1</sup> orationes *MDa*, *Bipons*, *K I.*, oratione *r*, *K II.*

<sup>2</sup> iuvant *Mr*, *Bipons*, *K*, lavant *Dpa*, *Müller*.



I know your main bent at present is towards forensic oratory; but I would not for that reason advise you always to wield the controversial and, so to say, militant pen. As land is improved by sowing it with various crops in rotation so is the mind by exercising it with different studies. I would have you, therefore, sometimes single out a fine passage of history, and practise epistolary composition. For in pleading one has frequently occasion to use not only the historical, but an almost poetical style for descriptions; while a succinct and chaste style is cultivated by letter-writing. It is well also to unbend your mind with poetry; I do not mean of the long and sustained order (for that can only be achieved by men of leisure), but those little witty pieces which serve as proper reliefs to every degree of care and occupation. They commonly go under the title of *amusements*; but these amusements have sometimes gained as much fame as works of a more serious nature; and indeed (for while I am exhorting you to poetry, why should I not be poetical myself?)

“As wax by pliancy our praise commands,  
 Submissive shap'd beneath the Artist's hands;  
 Now Mars' or chaste Minerva's form puts on,  
 Now moulds the charms of Venus, or her son;  
 As not alone to quench the raging flame  
 The sacred fountain pours her friendly stream;  
 But sweetly gliding through the flow'ry green,  
 Spreads glad refreshment o'er the smiling scene:  
 So, wisely ductile, should man's reasoning part  
 Receive the impress of each various art.”

In this manner the greatest orators, and the greatest men as well, used either to exercise or amuse them-

cebantque. Nam mirum est, ut his opusculis animus intendatur remittaturque. Recipiunt enim amores, odia, iras, misericordiam, urbanitatem, omnia denique, quae in vita atque etiam in foro causisque versantur. Inest his quoque eadem quae aliis carminibus utilitas, quod metri necessitate devincti<sup>1</sup> soluta oratione laetamur et, quod facilius esse comparatio ostendit, libentius scribimus.

Habes plura etiam fortasse, quam requirebas, unum tamen omisi. Non enim dixi, quae legenda arbitrarer; quamquam dixi, cum dicerem, quae scribenda. Tu memineris sui cuiusque generis auctores diligenter eligere. Aiunt enim multum legendum esse, non multa. Qui sint hi, adeo notum probatumque<sup>2</sup> est, ut demonstratione non egeat; et alioqui tam immodice epistulam extendi, ut, dum tibi, quem ad modum studere debeas, suadeo, studendi tempus abstulerim. Quin ergo pugillares resumis et aliquid ex his vel istud ipsum, quod coeperas, scribis? Vale.

<sup>1</sup> devincti *Dpra*, *Bipons*, *Müller*, devinctis *M*, defuncti *K II.* (auct. *Barth.*, *Gesner*).

<sup>2</sup> probatumque *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, pervagatumque *Otto*, *Müller*, provocatumque *Dpra*, pervulgatumque *Schaefer*.

selves, or rather did both. The mind is surprisingly entertained and enlivened by these little compositions, for they turn upon subjects of gallantry, antipathies, quarrels, pity, politeness, and everything, in short, that concerns daily life and even the forensic sphere. Besides, the same advantage attends these as every other sort of poems; that we delight in prose after being fettered by numbers, and more willingly employ what comparison shows to be the easier form of composition.

And now, perhaps; I have more than satisfied your demands; however, there is one thing which I have omitted: I have not told you what books I think you should read, though indeed, that was implied by my telling you what you should write. Pray remember to select with care the standard authors on each subject; for, as the saying is, "though we should read much, we should not read many books." Which those authors are is so clearly settled, and so generally known, that I need not point them out to you; besides, I have already extended this letter to such an immoderate length, that I have curtailed the time, by recommending the course, of your studies. Back, then, to your writing-tablets, and either write something from the hints I have now given you, or continue the composition on which you were already engaged. Farewell.

## X

C. PLINIUS MACRINO SUO S.

QUIA ipse, cum prima cognovi, iungere extrema quasi avulsa cupio, te quoque existimo velle de Vareno et Bitlynis reliqua cognoscere. Acta causa hinc a Polyacno, inde a Magno. Finitis actionibus Caesar 'Neutra' inquit, 'pars de mora queretur; erit mihi curae explorare provinciae voluntatem.' Multum interim Varenus tulit. Etenim quam dubium est, an merito accusetur, qui an omnino accusetur, incertum est! Superest, ne rursus provinciae, quod damnasce dicitur, placeat, agatque paenitentiam paenitentiae suae. Vale.

## XI

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

MIRARIS, quod Hermes libertus meus, hereditarios agros, quos ego iusseram proscribi, non expectata auctione pro meo quincunee ex septingentis milibus Corelliae addixerit. Adicis posse eos nongentis milibus venire ac tanto magis quaeris, an, quod gessit, ratum servem. Ego vero servo; quibus ex causis

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<sup>a</sup> See vii. 6.

## X

## TO MACRINUS

SINCE, for my part, when I have learned the beginning of a story I long to join on the sequel, as if it were a severed fragment, I think you will likewise wish to know the event of the cause between the Bithynians and Varenus.<sup>a</sup> Polyænus pleaded on one side, and Magnus on the other. When Caesar had heard both, "Neither party," said he, "shall have reason to complain of delay; I will undertake to sound the sentiments of the province." In the meanwhile, Varenus has gained a very considerable point; for how doubtful is the justness of an accusation against a person while it remains uncertain whether he is accused at all? We have only to wish that the province may not again approve of what it is said she has condemned, and repent of her repentance. Farewell.

## XI

## TO FABATUS, HIS WIFE'S GRANDFATHER

You are surprised, I find, that my recent legacy of five-twelfths of an estate, which I had directed to be sold to the best bidder, should have been disposed of, by my freedman Hermes, to Corellia (without putting it up to auction) at the rate of seven hundred thousand sesterces. And as you think it might have produced nine hundred thousand, you are so much the more desirous to know whether I am inclined to ratify what he has done. I am; and will now

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

accipe. Cupio enim et tibi probatum et coheredibus meis excusatum esse, quod me ab illis maiore officio iubente secerno.

Corelliam cum summa reverentia diligo primum ut sororem Corelli Rufi, cuius mihi memoria sacrosancta est, deinde ut matri meae familiarissimam. Sunt mihi et cum marito eius, Minicio Iusto, optimo viro, vetera iura: fuerunt et cum filio maxima, adeo quidem, ut praetore me ludis meis praesederit. Haec, cum proxime istic fui, indicavit mihi cupere se aliquid circa Larium nostrum possidere. Ego illi ex praediis meis, quod vellet et quanti vellet, obtuli exceptis paternis maternisque; his enim cedere ne Corelliae quidem possum. Igitur cum obvenisset mihi hereditas, in qua praedia ista, scripsi ei venalia futura. Has epistulas Hermes tulit exigentique, ut statim portionem meam sibi addiceret, paruit.

Vides, quam ratum habere debeam, quod libertus meus meis moribus gessit. Superest, ut coheredes aequo animo ferant separatim me vendidisse, quod mihi licuit omnino non vendere. Nec vero coguntur imitari meum exemplum; non enim illis eadem cum Corellia iura. Possunt ergo intueri utilitatem suam, pro qua mihi fuit amicitia. Vale.

state upon what grounds. For I wish not only that you may approve, but that my fellow coheirs may excuse me, for having in obedience to a higher duty, separated my interest from theirs.

I have the highest esteem for Corellia, both as the sister of Corellius Rufus, whose memory is most sacred to me, and as she was an intimate friend of my mother's. Besides, I am bound by a long-standing friendship to her husband, the excellent Minicius Iustus; as I was by a very close one to her son; so much so, that I fixed upon him to preside at the games which I exhibited as Praetor. This lady, when I was last in your vicinity, expressed a wish to possess something upon our lake of Comum; I made her an offer, at her own price, of any part of my estate there, except what came to me from my father and mother; for that I could not resign, even to Corellia. So, when the inheritance which comprised farms in that district fell to me, I wrote to acquaint her it was to be sold. This letter I sent by Hermes, who upon her requesting him that he would immediately let her have my proportion of the estate, consented to do so.

You see how fully I ought to confirm what my freedman has done agreeably to my inclinations. It only remains to wish my fellow-coheirs may not take it amiss, that I sold what I was at liberty not to sell at all. They are under no necessity of following my example, since they have not the same connexions with Corellia that I have. They are free, therefore, to be guided by self-interest, a motive in my own case supplanted by friendship. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XII

C. PLINIUS MINICIO SUO S.

LIBELLUM formatum a me, sicut exegeras, quo amicus tuus, immo noster (quid enim non commune nobis?), si res posceret, nteretur, misi tibi ideo tardius, ne tempus emendandi eum, id est, disperdendi, haberes. Habebis tamen, an emendandi, nescio, utique disperdendi. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ εὖζηλοι optima quaeque detrahitis. Quod si feceris, boni consulam. Postea enim illis ex aliqua occasione ut meis utar et beneficio fastidii tui ipse laudabor, ut in eo, quod adnotatum invenies et superscripto aliter<sup>1</sup> explicitum. Nam cum suspicarer futurum ut tibi tumidius videretur, quod est sonantius et elatius, non alienum existimavi, ne te torqueres, addere statim pressius quiddam et exilius vel potius humilius et peius, vestro tamen iudicio rectius. Cur enim non usquequaque tenuitatem vestram insequar et exagitem? Haec, ut inter istas occupationes aliquid aliquando rideres; illud serio; vide, ut mihi viaticum reddas, quod impendi data opera cursore dimisso. Ne tu, cum hoc legeris, non partes libelli, sed totum libellum improbabis negabisque ullius pretii esse, cuius pretium reposceris. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> superscripto aliter *Kukula*, suprascr. aliter *codd.*, *K I.*, superscr. alio *K II.*



## XII

## To MINICIUS

I HAVE been so much the longer in sending you the petition which I have drawn up at your request for you, or rather I should say *our*, friend (for what is there that we do not possess in common?) to use if necessary, in order that you might have no time to correct, that is, to spoil it. You will have time, all the same, perhaps not to correct, but at any rate to spoil it; for you hypercritical people throw out the most shining parts of every composition. But you are welcome to do so; for I shall upon some future occasion use these fine passages myself, and win applause from what you fastidiously reject; as for instance in the passage you will find interlined with a differently expressed version. For I suspected you would call every thing bombast which is elevated and sounding; I thought proper therefore for your ease, to subjoin a more concise and dry, or rather, a flatter and inferior, rendering; though you, I know (for why should I not rally your refined taste?) will esteem it an improvement. Thus far in order to make you smile in the midst of your serious occupations I have been jocose; but without doubt, I am wondrous serious in what I am going to add: I expect to be reimbursed the charges I have been at in sending a messenger express with this. Now are you not disposed to condemn this petition, not only in part, but in the whole, and insist upon it that you ought not to pay for a thing which is absolutely of no value? Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XIII

C. PLINIUS FEROCI SUO S.

EADEM epistula et non studere te et studere significat. Aenigmata loquor? Ita plane, donec distinctius, quod sentio, enuntiem. Negat enim te studere, sed est tam polita, quam nisi a studente non potest scribi; aut es tu super omnes beatus, si talia per desidiam et otium perficis. Vale.

## XIV

C. PLINIUS CORELLIAE SUAE S.

Tu quidem honestissime, quod tam impense et rogas et exigis, ut accipi inbeam a te pretium agrorum non ex septingentis milibus, quanti illos a liberto meo, sed ex nongentis, quanti a publicanis partem vicesimam emisti. Invicem ego et rogo et exigo, ut, non solum quid te, verum etiam quid me deceat, aspicias patiarisque me in hoc uno tibi eodem animo repugnare, quo in omnibus obsequi soleo. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> Letter 11 of this book.

<sup>b</sup> Augustus imposed a tax of a twentieth on all legacies and inheritances. It seems that Corellia, on acquiring this

XIII

TO FEROX

You inform me in the same letter, that you do and do not study. I speak in riddles? Yes, to be sure, till I express my meaning more clearly. Well, then, you say that you have bid adieu to study; but such an air of elegance runs through your letter, that it is impossible it should have been written by anyone but a student; or else you are blest beyond the rest of mankind, since you can compose such a finished work in your hours of idleness. Farewell.

XIV

TO CORELLIA

'Tis extremely noble in you to desire and insist so vehemently that I should fix the price you are to pay for my estate, not at seven hundred thousand sesterces (for which sum you bought it of my freedman),<sup>a</sup> but at nine hundred thousand, being the rateable value on which you paid the farmers of the revenues for their twentieth part.<sup>b</sup> But I must desire and insist in my turn, that you will consider not only what befits your character, but also what befits mine; and will suffer me to oppose your inclination in this single instance, with the same warmth that I obey it in all others. Farewell.

property, had to pay the legacy-duty; the literal expression is, "you bought the twentieth part from the tax-farmers."

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XV

C. PLINIUS SATURNINO SUO S.

REQUIRIS, quid agam. Quae nosti; distringor officio, amicis deservio, studeo interdum, quod non interdum, sed solum semperque facere non audeo dicere rectius, certe beatius erat. Te alia omnia, quam quae velis, agere moleste ferrem, nisi ea, quae agis, essent honestissima. Nam et reipublicae suae negotia curare et disceptare inter amicos laude dignissimum est.

Prisci nostri contubernium iucundum tibi futurum sciebam. Noveram simplicitatem eius, noveram comitatem; eundem esse, quod minus noram, gratissimum experior, cum tam iucunde officiorum nostrorum meminisse eum scribas. Vale.

## XVI

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

CALESTRIUM Tironem familiarissime diligo et privatis mihi et publicis necessitudinibus implicitum. Simul militavimus, simul quaestores Caesaris fuimus. Ille me in tribunatu liberorum iure praecessit, ego illum

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<sup>a</sup> The charge of the public treasury.    <sup>b</sup> See vii. 8.

## XV

## To SATURNINUS

You ask me, what I am doing? Just the things you are familiar with. I am immersed in the business of my post;<sup>a</sup> I devote myself to the service of my friends; now and then I study; if the latter were not my occasional, but my sole and constant occupation, I should certainly be more happily (I do not venture to say, more virtuously) employed. It would distress me that your own activities are the reverse of agreeable to you, were it not that they are extremely noble. For nothing can be more worthy of applause, than to be at the same time administering public business and settling disputes between one's private friends.

I was well persuaded you would find our friend Priscus<sup>b</sup> a congenial companion, for I knew the simplicity and politeness of his manners: but I had yet to learn (what I had the pleasure to be informed of by your letter) that he so obligingly remembers the services I had done him. Farewell.

## XVI

## To FABATUS

CALESTRIUS TIRO, to whom I am bound alike by private and public ties, is one of my most cherished intimates. We served together in the army, and were both Quaestors at the same time to Caesar. He got the start of me, indeed, in the Tribunate, by the privilege which the law gives to those who

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

in praetura sum consecutus, cum mihi Caesar annum remississet. Ego in villas eius saepe secessi, ille in domo mea saepe convaleuit.

Hic nunc pro consule provinciam Baeticam per Ticinum est petiturus. Spero, immo confido facile me impetraturum, ut ex itinere deflectat ad te, si voles vindicta liberare, quos proxime inter amicos manumisisti. Nihil est, quod verearis, ne sit hoc illi molestum, cui orbem terrarum circumire non erit longum mea causa. Proinde nimiam istam verecundiam pone teque, quid velis, consule. Illi tam iucundum, quod ego, quam mihi, quod tu iubes. Vale.

### XVII

C. PLINIUS CELERI SUO S.

SUA cuique ratio recitandi; mihi, quod saepe iam dixi, ut, si quid me fugit, ut certe fugit, admonear.

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<sup>a</sup> By a law at first proposed by Augustus, but which on passing with several alterations in 9 A.D. was known as the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea*, it was enacted, amongst other things, "that any person might stand sooner than ordinary for an office, if he had as many children as he wanted years to be capable of bearing such a dignity." (Melm.) See ii. 13, x. 2.

have children;<sup>a</sup> but I overtook him in the Praetorship by the indulgence of the Emperor, who dispensed with my wanting a year of the legal age for that office. I have frequently gone for a holiday to his country villas; he has often recruited his health under my roof.

Tiro is now setting out for Baetica, having been appointed proconsul of that province, and will pass through Ticinum on his way. I hope, nay, I am confident, I can easily prevail with him to turn out of his road to your house, if you should wish to emancipate formally<sup>b</sup> those slaves to whom you have already given their liberty in the presence of your friends. You need be under no apprehension that he will look upon this as a trouble, who would make nothing of travelling round the world for my sake. I beg therefore you would lay aside your excessive delicacy in such matters, and only consider your own convenience. For my commands are as welcome to Tiro, as yours are to me. Farewell.

## XVII

## TO CELER

EVERY author has his particular reasons for reciting his works; mine, I have often said, is, that if I have overlooked any errors (which I am certain to do), they may be brought to my notice. I am the more

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "by the staff" (*vindicta*). The ceremony of touching a slave with a staff in presence of a magistrate was necessary to admit the freedman to full citizenship. Cf. vii 32. To pronounce a slave free in the presence of five friends was one of the informal methods of manumission which only admitted him to the "Latin" franchise. See x. 104, n.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Quo magis miror, quod scribis fuisse quosdam, qui reprehenderent, quod orationes omnino recitarem; nisi vero has solas non putant emendandas. A quibus libenter requisierim, cur concedant, si concedant tamen, historiam debere recitari, quae non ostentationi, sed fidei veritatique componitur, cur tragoediam, quae non auditorium, sed scaenam et actores, cur lyrica, quae non lectorem, sed chorum et lyram poscunt.

At horum recitatio usu iam recepta est. Num ergo culpandus est ille, qui coepit? Quamquam orationes quoque et nostri quidam et Graeci lectitaverunt. Supervacuum tamen est recitare, quae dixeris. Etiam, si eadem omnia, si iisdem omnibus, si statim recites; si vero multa inseras, multa commutes, si quosdam novos, quosdam eosdem, sed post tempus adsumas, cur minus probabilis sit causa recitandi, quae dixeris, quam edendi? Sed difficile est, ut oratio, dum recitatur, satisfaciat. Iam hoc ad laborem recitantis pertinet, non ad rationem non recitandi.

Nec vero ego, dum recito, laudari, sed dum legor, cupio. Itaque nullum emendandi genus omitto. Ac primum, quae scripsi, mecum ipse pertracto;



surprised to find from your letter that there are some who disapprove of my reciting *speeches* at all; I cannot guess why, unless, indeed, they think a speech the one form of composition that ought not to be corrected. I would willingly ask them why they allow (if indeed they do allow) that History may be recited, since it is written in the interests of truth and honesty, not for display? Or why Tragedy, when it requires a stage and actors, not an audience-hall? Or Lyric Poetry, which requires not a reader, but a chorus and a harp-accompaniment?

They will rejoin that in the instances mentioned, recitation has become established by custom. Well, we are not therefore, I suppose, to condemn the person who first introduced the practice? However, I need not labour this point, for certain of our own orators, and the Greeks generally, have been in the habit of reciting their speeches. "But it is superfluous," says someone, "to recite a speech which has already been delivered." Yes, if you recite it exactly as delivered, to the very same audience, and immediately; but if you make several additions and alterations; if you collect an audience composed partly of the same, and partly of different persons, and after an interval, why is it less plausible to recite your speech than to publish it? As to the difficulty they may allege of giving satisfaction by the mere recital of a speech, *that* is simply a question of how much trouble the reciter takes, and no argument against reciting in general.

For my part, it is not whilst I am reciting but whilst I am read, that I would be applauded; accordingly I omit no method of correction. In the first place, I revise my composition in private, next I

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

deinde duobus aut tribus lego; mox aliis trado adnotanda notasque eorum, si dubito, cum uno rursus aut altero pensito; novissime pluribus recito ac, si quid mihi credis, tunc acerrime emendo. Nam tanto diligentius quanto sollicitius intendo. Optime autem reverentia, pudor, metus iudicant; idque adeo sic habe: nonne, si locuturus es cum aliquo quamlibet docto, uno tamen, minus commoveris, quam si cum multis vel indoctis? Nonne, cum surgis ad agendum, tunc maxime tibi ipse diffidis, tunc commutata, non dico plurima, sed omnia cupis? Utique si latior scaena et corona diffusior; nam illos quoque sordidos pullatosque reveremur. Nonne, si prima quaeque improbari putas, debilitaris et concidis? Opinor, quia in numero ipso est quoddam magnum collatumque consilium, quibusque singulis iudicii parum, omnibus plurimum.

Itaque Pomponius Secundus, hic scriptor tragoediarum, si quid forte familiarior amicus tollendum, ipse retinendum arbitraretur, dicere solebat: 'Ad populum provoco' atque ita ex populi vel silentio vel adsensu aut suam aut amici sententiam sequebatur.

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<sup>a</sup> There is a kind of witticism in this expression, which will be lost to the mere English reader, unless he be informed that the Romans had a privilege confirmed to them by several laws which passed in the earlier ages of the republic, of appealing from the decisions of the magistrates to the general assembly of the people: and they did so in the form of words which Pomponius here applies to a different purpose. (Melm.)

read it to two or three friends, and then give it to others to annotate; if I doubt the justness of their corrections, I carefully weigh them again with a friend or two. Last of all, I recite the piece to a numerous assembly, and this is the time, if you can believe me, when I exercise the most rigid criticism; for my attention rises in proportion to my solicitude. Again nothing so much awakens the judgement as that reverence, and modest timidity, which one feels upon those occasions. For do but reflect and tell me whether you would not be infinitely less affected if you were to speak before a single person only, though ever so learned, than before a numerous assembly, even though it were composed of none but illiterate people? Is it not when you rise up to plead, that you are most diffident of yourself, and wish you could alter not merely a great deal, but the whole of your plea? especially if you are to speak in a good-sized court and before a largish attendance of the public; for even the most low and ragamuffin audience inspires one with awe. And if you fancy your exordium meets with disapproval, do you not feel your powers weakened and your resolution sink under you? The reason I imagine to be, that a certain large collective wisdom resides in a crowd, as such; and men whose individual judgement is defective are excellent judges when grouped together.

Agreeably to this notion, Pomponius Secundus (the tragic poet), whenever some particular friend and he differed about retaining or rejecting anything in his plays, used to say, "I appeal" to the people"; and followed either his own or his friend's judgement in accordance with that expressed by their silence or applause in the theatre. So highly did he

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Tantum ille populo dabat. Recte an seens, nihil ad me. Ego enim non populum advocare, sed certos electosque soleo, quos intuear, quibus credam, quos denique et tamquam singulos observem et tamquam non singulos timeam. Nam, quod M. Cicero de stilo, ego de metu sentio. 'Timor est, timor emendator asperrimus.'<sup>1</sup> Hoc ipsum, quod nos recitatu-  
ros cogitamus, emendat, quod auditorium ingredimur, emendat, quod pallemus, horrescimus, circumspicimus, emendat.

Proinde non paenitet me consuetudinis meae, quam utilissimam experior, adeoque non deterreor sermunculis istorum, ut ultro te rogem, monstres aliquid, quod his addam. Nihil enim curae meae satis est. Cogito, quam sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum, nec persuadere mihi possum non et cum multis et saepe tractandum, quod placere et semper et omnibus cupias. Vale.

### XVIII

C. PLINIUS CANINIO SUO S.

DELIBERAS mecum, quem ad modum pecunia, quam municipibus nostris in epulum obtulisti, post

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *de Orat.* i. 33, 150.

rate public opinion ! Whether rightly or not, it does not concern me to determine ; I do not invite the public to my recitals but only a limited and select audience consisting of persons whom I respect and trust, in fine, to whom I pay the attention due to each as an individual, while I stand in awe of them as a collective body. What Cicero says of composing, in my opinion, applies to this awe : " Fear is the most rigid critic imaginable." The mere thought of reciting, the entering an assembly, the fact that we turn pale, shudder, and look about us there—all these are so many aids to emendation.

I cannot, therefore, repent of a practice which I have found exceedingly beneficial ; and am so far from being discouraged by the tittle-tattle of yonder critics, that I beg you would point out some method of correction, which I may add to those I have described. For nothing can satisfy my zeal for perfection. I reflect what a serious thing it is to place a work in the hands of the public ; and I cannot but be persuaded that you should revise repeatedly, and in consultation with numerous advisers, a piece that you wish to be universally and for ever admired. Farewell.

## XVIII

## To CANINIUS

You ask my advice in what manner you shall settle the sum of money, which you have presented to our fellow townsmen for an annual feast, so as to secure the just application of it after your death.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

te quoque salva sit. Honesta consultatio, non expedita sententia. Numeres reipublicae summam? Verendum est, ne dilabatur. Des agros? ut publici, neglegentur. Equidem nihil commodius invenio, quam quod ipse feci. Nam pro quingentis milibus numinum, quae in alimenta ingenuorum ingenuarumque promiseram, agrum ex meis longe pluris actori publico mancipavi; eundem vectigali imposito recepi tricena milia annua daturus. Per hoc enim et reipublicae sors in tuto nec reditus incertus, et ager ipse propter id, quod vectigal large supercurrit, semper dominum, a quo exerceatur, inveniet.

Nec ignoro me plus aliquanto, quam donasse videor, erogavisse, cum pulcherrimi agri pretium necessitas vectigalis infregerit. Sed oportet privatis utilitatibus publicas, mortalibus aeternas anteferre multoque diligentius muneri suo consulere quam facultatibus. Vale.

### XIX

C. PLINIUS PRISCO SUO S.

ANGIT me Fanniae valetudo. Contraxit hanc, dum adsidet Iuniae virgini, sponte primum (est enim

Your question proceeds from a truly generous principle, but the answer to it is not very easy. Should you pay down the money to the community, there is a risk that it will be squandered away. Should you settle lands for that purpose, they will probably be neglected, as those of the public usually are. For my part, I can think of no better plan than what I adopted myself. Having undertaken to give five hundred thousand sesterces for the maintenance of well-born boys and girls, I sold at that price to the public agent some land of mine which was worth considerably more; he reconveyed it back to me, charged with a yearly rent of 30,000 sesterces. By this means the principal was secured to the community, at the same time the interest was certain, and the estate itself (as it was of much greater value than the rent charged upon it) was always sure of finding a tenant.

I am well aware that I have disbursed considerably more than the nominal amount of my gift, since the value of this fine estate has been diminished by the encumbrance with which it is charged. But a man must rate public and permanent, above private and fleeting advantages and study how to render his benefaction most useful, rather than how he may bestow it with least expense. Farewell.

## XIX

## TO PRISCUS

I AM deeply afflicted at the ill state of health of my friend Fannia, which she contracted during her attendance on Junia, one of the Vestal virgins. She

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

adfinis), deinde etiam ex auctoritate pontificum. Nam virgines, cum vi morbi atrio Vestae coguntur excedere, matronarum curae custodiaeque mandantur. Quo munere Fannia dum sedulo fungitur, hoc discrimine implicita est. Insident febres, tussis increscit, summa macies, summa defectio : animus tantum et spiritus viget Helvidio marito, Thrasea patre dignissimus, reliqua labuntur meque non metu tantum, verum etiam dolore conficiunt. Doleo enim maximam feminam eripi oculis civitatis nescio an aliquid simile visuris.

Quae castitas illi, quae sanctitas, quanta gravitas, quanta constantia ! Bis maritum secuta in exsilium est, tertio ipsa propter maritum relegata. Nam, cum Senecio reus esset, quod de vita Helvidi libros composuisset, rogatumque se a Fannia in defensione dixisset, quaerente minaciter Mettius Caro, an rogasset, respondit, ‘Rogavi’ ; an commentarios scripturo dedisset : ‘Dedi’ ; an sciente matre : ‘Nesciente’ ; postremo nullam vocem cedentem periculo emisit. Quin etiam illos ipsos libros, quamquam ex necessi-

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<sup>a</sup> The house adjoining her temple, where they resided.



engaged in this good office at first voluntarily, Junia being her relation; afterwards also by order of the Pontiffs; for these virgins, when severe illness obliges them to remove from the hall of Vesta,<sup>a</sup> are delivered to the care and custody of some matron. It was Fannia's assiduity in the execution of this charge that occasioned her present disorder, which is a continual fever, attended with a cough that increases daily. She is extremely emaciated, and seems in a total decay of everything but spirits: those indeed she preserves in their full vigour; and in a manner worthy the wife of Helvidius and the daughter of Thræsea. In all the rest she is so greatly impaired, that I am more than apprehensive upon her account; I am deeply afflicted. I grieve, my friend, that so excellent a woman is going to be removed from the eyes of the world, which will never, perhaps, again behold her equal.

How consummate is her virtue, her sanctity, her sobriety, her courage! She twice followed her husband into exile, and once was banished herself upon his account. For Senecio, when he was tried for writing the life of Helvidius, having said in his defence that he composed that work at the request of Fannia, Mettius Carus, with a stern and threatening air, asked her whether it was true? She acknowledged it was; and when he further questioned her whether she supplied him likewise with private memoirs for that purpose, and whether her mother was privy to this transaction? she admitted the former, but absolutely denied the latter. In short, she uttered not a single word calculated to lessen her peril. She even had the courage when her effects were confiscated, to preserve a copy of those

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tate et metu temporum abolitos senatus consulto, publicatis bonis servavit, habuit tulitque in exsilium exsilii causam.

Eadem quam iucunda, quam comis, quam denique, quod paucis datum est, non minus amabilis quam veneranda! Erit sane, quam postea uxoribus ostentare possimus; erit, a qua viri quoque fortitudinis exempla sumamus, quam sic cernentes audientesque miramur ut illas, quae leguntur. Ac mihi domus ipsa nutare convulsaque sedibus suis ruitura supra videtur, licet adhuc posteros habeat. Quantis enim virtutibus quantisque factis adsequentur, ut haec non novissima occiderit?

Me quidem illud etiam adffigit et torquet, quod matrem eius, illam (nihil possum illustrius dicere) tantae feminae matrem, rursus videor amittere, quam haec, ut reddit ac refert nobis, sic auferet secum meque et novo pariter et rescisso vulnere adficiet. Utramque colui, utramque dilexi; utram magis, nescio, nec discerni volebant. Habuerunt officia mea in secundis, habuerunt in adversis. Ego solacium relegatarum, ego ultor reversarum. Non feci tamen paria atque eo magis hanc cupio servari, ut mihi

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"Pliny's hyperbolical way of saying "We shall not look upon her like again." Cf. Tennyson on the death of the Duke of Wellington—"The last great Englishman is low."

## BOOK VII. xix

very memoirs which the Senate, over-awed by the tyranny of the times, had ordered to be suppressed; and took with her as the companion of her exile, what had been the cause of it.

How pleasing is her conversation, how polite her address, and (which seldom unites in the same character) how venerable is she as well as amiable! She is indeed a woman whom, when she is gone, we may hold up as a model to our wives; from whose fortitude even our own sex may take example; and whom, while yet we have the pleasure of seeing and conversing with her, we may contemplate with the same admiration as those heroines who are celebrated in ancient story. To me, this illustrious house seems shaken to its very foundations, and ready to fall into ruins with her: for though she leaves descendants behind her, yet what must be their virtues and their exploits, if they are to ensure against this excellent woman dying the last of her race!<sup>a</sup>

It aggravates my affliction that by her death I seem to lose a second time her mother, that worthy mother (and what can I say higher in her praise?) of so amiable a person! who, as she is restored to us in her daughter, so she will now again be taken from us, and the loss of Fannia will thus pierce my heart at once with a fresh stab, and at the same time tear open a former wound. I loved and honoured them both, and know not which I loved and honoured most; nor did they wish this point decided. Alike in their prosperity and their adversity, my services were at their command; I was their comforter in exile, and their avenger on their return. But I have done less for them, than they for me; and am all the more solicitous for the preservation of this lady,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

solvendi tempora supersint. In his eram curis, cum scriberem ad te; quas si deus aliquis in gaudium verterit, de metu non querar. Vale.

### XX

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

LIBRUM tuum legi et, quam diligentissime potui, adnotavi, quae commutanda, quae eximenda arbitrarer. Nam et ego verum dicere adsuevi et tu libenter audire. Neque enim ulli patientius reprehenduntur, quam qui maxime laudari merentur.

Nunc a te librum meum cum adnotationibus tuis exspecto. O iucundas, o pulchras vices! quam me delectat, quod, si qua posteris cura nostri, usquequaque narrabitur, qua concordia, simplicitate, fide vixerimus! Erit rarum et insigne duos homines aetate, dignitate propemodum aequales, non nullius in litteris nominis (cogor enim de te quoque parcius dicere, quia de me simul dico), alterum alterius studia fovisse. Equidem adolescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreres, te sequi, tibi 'longo sed proximus intervallo'<sup>1</sup> et esse et haberi concupiscebam.

Et erant multa clarissima ingenia; sed tu mihi (ita similitudo naturae ferebat) maxime imitabilis,

<sup>1</sup> *Aeneid* v. 320.

## BOOK VII. xix.—xx

as it will give me time to repay my obligations. Such is the anxiety under which I write this letter ; should some deity transmute it into joy, I shall not complain of the alarms I now suffer. Farewell.

### XX

#### To TACITUS

I HAVE perused your oration, and with all the attention I was master of have marked the passages where I think alteration or excision advisable. For 'tis my habit to speak truth, and yours to hear it gladly—very naturally, since none are more patient of censure than those who have the best claim to applause.

I now expect in return, your observations upon the speech of mine which I sent you. How agreeable, how noble is such a commerce ! and how am I pleased with the thought, that posterity, if it shall at all concern itself with us, will not cease to recount in what harmony, what openness, what mutual confidence we lived together ! It will be an instance as remarkable as it is uncommon, that two persons nearly of the same age and official rank, and of some literary reputation (for since I join myself with you, I am obliged to speak of your merit with reserve) should thus foster each other's studies. When I was a very young man, and you already in the prime of your glory and renown, I longed to follow your steps, and to be both really and reputedly "next, but with many a length between," to yourself.

There were at that time many celebrated geniuses in Rome ; but you of all others (owing to a similarity in

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

maxime imitandus videbaris. Quo magis gaudeo, quod, si quis de studiis sermo, una nominamur, quod de te loquentibus statim occurro. Nec desunt, qui utrique nostrum praeferantur. Sed nos, nihil interest mea quo loco, iungimur; nam mihi primus, qui a te proximus. Quin etiam in testamentis debes adnotasse; nisi quis forte alterutri nostrum amicissimus, eadem legata et quidem pariter accipimus. Quae omnia huc spectant, ut invicem ardentius diligamus, cum tot vinculis nos studia, mores, fama, suprema denique hominum iudicia constringant. Vale.

### XXI

C. PLINIUS CORNUTO SUO S.

PAREO, collega carissime, et infirmitati oculorum, ut iubes, consulo. Nam et huc tecto vehiculo undique inclusus quasi in cubiculo perveni et hic non stilo modo, verum etiam lectionibus difficulter, sed abstineo solisque auribus studeo. Cubicula obductis velis opaca nec tamen obscura facio. Cryptoporticus quoque adopertis inferioribus fenestris

our dipositions) appeared to me the easiest and the most worthy object of my imitation. I am the more rejoiced to find that whenever oratory is the topic of conversation, we are always mentioned together, and that my name comes up as soon as anyone talks of you. There are some who prefer you to me, as others, on the contrary, give me the advantage; but I care not in what order we are placed, so that we are united; for in my estimation, whoever is next to you stands before everybody else. You cannot but have remarked that in wills (unless in the case of particular friendship to either of us), we are named side by side, and the legacies bequeathed to us are the same in value. Since therefore we are thus closely linked together by our pursuits, manners, reputation, and even by those last instances of human judgment,<sup>a</sup> should all this not tend to enflame us mutually with the most ardent affection? Farewell.

## XXI

To CORNUTUS.

I OBEY, my dear Colleague, your obliging commands to favour the weakness of my eyes, and accordingly I came hither in a covered litter, in which I was as much sheltered as if I had been in my chamber. I forbear too (with difficulty indeed, however, I do forbear) not only writing but reading, and study only with my ears. By drawing the curtains of my chamber, I make it gloomy, yet not dark, and when in my covered portico, I close the shutters of the lower windows, and by that means enjoy as much

<sup>a</sup> See vii. 31, n. c.

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tantum umbrae quantum luminis habet. Sic paulatim lucem ferre condisco. Balineum adsumo, quia prodest, vinum, quia non nocet, parcissime tamen. Ita adsuevi, et nunc custos adest.

Gallinam ut a te missam libenter accepi; quam satis acribus oculis, quamquam adhuc lippus, pinguis-  
simam vidi. Vale.

### XXII

C. PLINIUS FALCONI SUO S.

MINUS miraberis me tam instanter petisse, ut in amicum meum conferres tribunatum, cum scieris, quis ille qualisque. Possum autem iam tibi et nomen indicare et describere ipsum, postquam polliceris. Est Cornelius Minicianus, ornamentum regionis meae seu dignitate seu moribus. Natus splendide abundat facultatibus, amat studia, ut solent pauperes. Idem rectissimus iudex, fortissimus advocatus, fidelissimus amicus. Accepisse te beneficium credes, cum propius inspexeris hominem omnibus honoribus, omnibus titulis (nihil volo elatius de modestissimo viro dicere) parem. Vale.



shade as light. Thus I endeavour to accustom myself to the light by degrees. The bath being of service in this case, I allow myself the use of it, as I do of wine, because it is not judged prejudicial; but I take it with great moderation. I do so, you know, at all times, but particularly now that I have one who narrowly observes me.<sup>a</sup>

I received the pullet with great pleasure, as coming from you; weak as my eyes still are, they are strong enough, however, to discern that it is extremely fat. Farewell.

## XXII

## To FALCO

You will not wonder I so strongly pressed you to confer the Tribunate upon my friend, when you shall be informed who and what he is; and as you have complied with my request, I may now acquaint you with his name and character. It is Cornelius Minicianus, who both in rank and character is the ornament of that province to which I owe my birth. His family and fortune are noble, and yet he pursues his profession with all the ardour of a poor man. He is a most upright juror, a most strenuous advocate, a most faithful friend. You will look upon the favour as conferred on yourself, when you shall have taken a nearer view of this excellent person, who (not to speak in too lofty terms of so modest a man) is equal to all honours and titles that can be conferred upon him. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> Meaning his wife, perhaps, or his physician. (Melm.)

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## XXIII

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

GAUDEO quidem esse te tam fortem, ut Mediolani occurrere Tironi possis, sed ut perseveres esse tam fortis, rogo, ne tibi contra rationem aetatis tantum laboris iniungas. Quin immo denuntio, ut illum et domi et intra domum atque etiam intra cubiculi limen exspectes. Etenim, cum a me ut frater diligatur, non debet ab eo, quem ego parentis loco observo, exigere officium, quod parenti suo remisisset. Vale.

## XXIV

C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

UMMIDIA QUADRATILLA paulo minus octogesimo aetatis anno decessit usque ad novissimam valetudinem viridis atque etiam ultra matronalem modum compacto corpore et robusto. Decessit honestissimo testamento; reliquit heredes ex besse nepotem, ex tertia parte neptem.

Neptem parum novi; nepotem familiarissime diligo, adolescentem singularem nec iis tantum, quos sanguine attingit, inter propinquos amandum. Ac primum conspicuus forma omnes sermones malignorum et

## XXIII

## TO FABATUS, HIS WIFE'S GRANDFATHER

I GREATLY rejoice that your strength permits of your journeying to meet Tiro at Milan; but that you may continue to enjoy that vigour, I beg you will spare yourself a fatigue so improper for a man of your years. Nay, I must insist that you wait for him at home, and that you do not stir out of your own house, nor even out of your chamber to receive him. As I love him like a brother, it would be unreasonable he should exact from one whom I honour as my parent, an attention which he would not require from his own. Farewell.

## XXIV

## TO GEMINIUS

UMMIDIA QUADRATILLA is dead, having lived almost to her eightieth year. She enjoyed till her last sickness an uninterrupted state of health, with a strength and firmness of body unusual even to matrons in their prime. She has left a will that does her great credit, having disposed of two-thirds of her estate to her grandson, and the rest to her granddaughter.

The young lady I know little of, but the grandson is one of my most intimate friends. He is a young man of singular worth, for whom others than his own kin may well feel the affection due to a kinsman. Though he is extremely beautiful, he escaped every malicious imputation both whilst a

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puer et iuvenis evasit intra quartum et vicesimum annum maritus et, si deus adnuisset, pater.

Vixit in contubernio aviae delicatae severissime et tamen obsequentissime. Habebat illa pantomimos fovebatque effusius, quam principi feminae convenit.<sup>1</sup> Hos Quadratus non in theatro, non domi spectabat; nec illa exigebat. Audivi ipsam, cum mihi commendaret nepotis sui studia, solere se ut feminam in illo otio sexus laxare animum lusu calculorum, solere spectare pantomimos suos; sed, cum factura esset alterutrum, semper se nepoti suo praecepisse, abiret studeretque; quod mihi non amore eius magis facere quam reverentia videbatur.

Miraberis, et ego miratus sum. Proximis sacerdotalibus ludis productis in commissione pantomimis, cum simul theatro ego et Quadratus egrederemur, ait mihi: 'Scis me hodie primum vidisse saltantem aviae meae libertum?' Hoc nepos. At hercule alienissimi homines in honorem Quadratillae (pudet me dixisse honorem) per adulationis officium in theatrum

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<sup>1</sup> convenit *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, conveniret *Dpra*, *Otto*, *Müller*.

<sup>a</sup> See vi. 11.

<sup>b</sup> The *ludi* (a term which included horse-races, theatricals, and athletic games) exhibited at certain religious festivals were severally organised by the various priestly colleges. What especial *ludi* Pliny here refers to, is unknown.

boy and when a youth; he was a husband at four and twenty, and would have been a father if providence had not disappointed his hopes.

He lived in the family of his grandmother, who was exceedingly devoted to the pleasures of the town, with great severity of conduct, yet at the same time with the utmost compliance. She retained a sett of pantomimes, whom she encouraged more than becomes a lady of quality. But Quadratus never witnessed their performances, either when she exhibited them in the theatre, or in her own house; nor did she exact his attendance. I once heard her say, when she was commending her grandson's oratorical studies to my care,<sup>a</sup> that it was her habit, being a woman and as such debarred from active life, to amuse herself with playing at chess or backgammon, and to look on at the mimicry of her pantomimes; but that before engaging in either diversion, she constantly sent away her grandson to his studies: a custom, I imagine, which she observed as much out of a certain reverence, as affection, to the youth.

I was a good deal surprised, as I am persuaded you will be, at what he told me the last time the Sacerdotal Games<sup>b</sup> were exhibited. As we were coming out of the theatre together, where we had been entertained with a contest of these pantomimes, "Do you know," said he, "this is the first time I ever saw one of my grandmother's freedmen dance?" Such was the conduct of the grandson; while a set of men of a far different stamp, in order to do honour to Quadratilla (I am ashamed to employ that word to what, in truth, was but the lowest and grossest flattery) used to flock to the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

cursitabant, exsultabant, plaudebant, mirabantur ac deinde singulos gestus dominae cum canticis reddebant ; qui nunc exiguissima legata, theatralis operae corollarium, accipient ab herede, qui non spectabat.

Haec, quia soles, si quid incidit novi, non invitus audire, deinde quia iucundum est mihi, quod ceperam, gaudium scribendo retractare. Gaudeo enim pietate defunctae, honore optimi iuvenis ; laetor etiam, quod domus aliquando C. Cassi, huius qui Cassianae scholae princeps et parens fuit, serviet domino non minori. Implebit enim illam Quadratus meus et decebit rursusque ei pristinam dignitatem, celebritatem, gloriam reddet, cum tantus orator inde procedet, quantus iuris ille consultus. Vale.

### XXV

C. PLINIUS RUFO SUO S

O QUANTUM eruditorum aut modestia ipsorum aut quies operit ac subtrahit famae ! At nos eos tantum

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<sup>a</sup> This great lawyer, descended from the Cassius who

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theatre, where they would rise up and clap in an excess of admiration at the performances of those pantomimes, slavishly copying all the while, with shrieks of applause, every sign of approbation given by the lady patroness of this *Company*. But now all that these *claqueurs* have got in pay is only a few trifling legacies, which they have the mortification to receive from an heir who was never so much as present at Quadratilla's shows.

I send you this account, as knowing it is not disagreeable to you to hear the news of the town, and because I love to renew a pleasure by relating it. And indeed this instance of family affection in Quadratilla, and the honour done therein to that excellent youth her grandson, has afforded me a very sensible satisfaction; I rejoice also that the house which once belonged to Cassius,<sup>a</sup> the founder and chief of the Cassian school of jurists, is to have a master no wise inferior to him. For be assured, my friend, Quadratus will fill and adorn it with his presence, and revive its pristine dignity, fame, and glory, by making it the home of as eminent an advocate as Cassius was a jurisconsult. Farewell.

## XXV

To RUFUS

WHAT numbers of learned men does their own modesty or love of repose conceal and withdraw from the notice of the world! And yet when we murdered Julius Caesar, lived under Nero and Vespasian. He was an ancestor of Quadratus.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

dicturi aliquid aut lecturi timemus, qui studia sua proferunt; cum illi, qui tacent, hoc amplius praestent, quod maximum opus silentio reverentur. Expertus scribo, quod scribo.

Terentius Iunior equestribus militiis atque etiam procuratione Narbonensis provinciae integerrime functus recepit se in agros suos paratisque honoribus tranquillissimum otium praetulit. Hunc ego invitatus hospitio ut bonum patrem familiae, ut diligentem agricolam intuebar de his locuturus, in quibus illum versari putabam; et coeperam, cum ille me doctissimo sermone revocavit ad studia. Quam tersa omnia, quam Latina, quam Graeca! Nam tantum utraque lingua valet, ut ea magis videatur excellere, qua cum maxime loquitur. Quantum ille legit, quantum tenet! Athenis vivere hominem, non in villa putes.

Quid multa? auxit sollicitudinem meam effecitque, ut illis, quos doctissimos novi, non minus hos seductos et quasi rusticos verear. Idem suadeo tibi. Sunt enim, ut in castris sic etiam in litteris nostris plures cultu pagano, quos cinctos et armatos et quidem ardentissimo ingenio diligentius<sup>1</sup> scrutatus invenies. Vale.

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<sup>1</sup> diligentius *Dpa*, *Bipons*, *Otto*, *Müller*, diligenter *Mr*, *K*.

<sup>a</sup> On joining the army, members of the Equestrian order entered, without passing through the rank of centurion, on what was called the *equestres militiae*, of which the successive grades were (1) *praefectura cohortis*, (2) *praefectura alae*, *tribunatus legionis*. (Hardy.)



are going to speak or recite in public, it is only the men who parade their studies that we are afraid of; whereas in truth, those who say nothing about them have so much a higher claim to regard, as they pay the homage of silence to the noblest of employments. These observations I give you upon experience.

Terentius Junior, having blamelessly passed through the military posts belonging to the Equestrian order<sup>a</sup> and held that of Procurator in Narbonensian Gaul, retired to his estates, preferring an uninterrupted leisure to the offices that awaited him. He invited me lately to his house; looking upon him only as a worthy father of a family and an industrious farmer, I meditated such topics as I imagined him versed in; but I no sooner began, than he led me back to professional subjects by his cultured conversation. How pithy his every remark! How pure his Latin and his Greek! For he is so perfectly master of both languages that whichever he uses at the moment seems to be the one wherein he particularly excels. How extensive is his reading! how tenacious his memory! You would think the man lived in Athens, instead of at a farm-house.

To be short with you, Terentius has augmented my solicitude and taught me to fear these retired and so to speak rustic gentry, no less than the most cultivated men I know. I advise you to do the same, for, believe me, upon a careful observation, you will often find in the literary as well as military world, most formidable abilities concealed under a very rustical appearance. Farewell.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

### XXVI

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

NUPER me cuiusdam amici languor admonuit optimos esse nos, dum infirmi sumus. Quem enim infirmum aut avaritia aut libido sollicitat? Non amoribus servit, non adpetit honores, opes negligit et quantulumcunque ut relicturus satis habet. Tunc deos, tunc hominem esse se meminit, invidet nemini, neminem miratur, neminem despicit ac ne sermonibus quidem malignis aut attendit aut alitur; balinea imaginatur et fontes. Haec summa curarum, summa votorum, mollemque in posterum et pinguem, si contingat evadere, hoc est innoxiam beatamque, destinat vitam.

Possum ergo, quod plurimis verbis, plurimis etiam voluminibus philosophi docere conantur, ipse breviter tibi mihiue praecipere, ut tales esse sani perseveremus, quales nos futuros profitemur infirmi. Vale.

### XXVII

C. PLINIUS SURAE SUO S.

ET mihi discendi et tibi docendi facultatem otium praebet. Igitur perquam velim scire, esse phantas-

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## BOOK VII. xxvi.-xxvii

### XXVI

#### To MAXIMUS

THE lingering disorder of a friend lately reminded me that we are never so virtuous as when we are in sickness. For where is the invalid who is troubled by the promptings of avarice or of lust? Such an one is neither a slave of love, nor covetous of office; he disregards wealth, and is contented with ever so small a portion of it, as being upon the point of leaving even that little. It is then he recollects there are Gods, and that he himself is but a man; no mortal is then the object of his envy, his admiration, or his contempt; and the slanderous reports neither raise his attention nor feed his curiosity; his imagination dwells upon baths and medicinal springs. These form the sum of his cares and prayers; and he resolves that if he has the luck to recover, his life shall be passed in luxurious ease, that is, in harmless happiness.

I may therefore briefly lay down to you and myself a maxim which philosophers endeavour to inculcate at the expense of many words, and even many volumes; namely, that we should be as virtuous in health as we resolve to be in sickness. Farewell.

### XXVII

#### To SURA

THE present recess from business affords you leisure to give, and me to receive, instruction. I am extremely desirous therefore to know your senti-

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

mata et habere propriam figuram numenque aliquod putes an inania et vana ex metu nostro imaginem accipere.

Ego ut esse credam, in primis eo ducor, quod audio accidisse Curtio Rufo. Tenuis adhuc et obscurus obtinenti Africam comes haeserat. Inclinato die spatiabatur in porticu; offertur ei mulieris figura humana grandior pulchriorque: perterrito Africam se futurorum praenuntiam dixit; iturum enim Romanum honoresque gesturum atque etiam cum summo imperio in eandem provinciam reversurum ibique moriturum. Facta sunt omnia. Praeterea accedenti Carthaginem egredientique nave eadem figura in litore occurrisset narratur. Ipse certe implicitus morbo futura praeteritis, adversa secundis auguratus spem salutis nullo suorum desperante proiecit.

Iam illud nonne et magis terribile et non minus mirum est, quod exponam, ut accepi? Erat Athenis

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<sup>a</sup> This story is likewise related by Tacitus *Ann.* xi. 21. (Melm.)

<sup>b</sup> Lucian (*Philopseud.* 29) ridicules a story pretty much resembling this, but lays the scene of it in Corinth. (Melm.)

ments concerning spectres, whether you believe they actually exist and have their own proper shapes and a measure of divinity, or are only the false impressions of a terrified imagination?

What particularly inclines me to give credit to their existence, is a story<sup>a</sup> which I heard of Curtius Rufus. When he was in low circumstances and unknown in the world, he attended the newly-made governor of Africa into that province. One afternoon as he was walking in the public portico he was extremely daunted with the figure of a woman which appeared to him, of a size and beauty more than human. She told him she was the tutelar Genius that presided over Africa, and was come to inform him of the future events of his life:—that he should go back to Rome, where he should hold office, and return to that province invested with the proconsular dignity, and there should die. Every circumstance of this prophecy was actually accomplished. It is said farther, that upon his arrival at Carthage, as he was coming out of the ship, the same figure accosted him upon the shore. It is certain, at least, that being seized with a fit of illness, though there were no symptoms in his case that led his attendants to despair, he instantly gave up all hope of recovery; judging, it should seem, of the truth of the future part of the prediction, by that which had already been fulfilled; and of the misfortune which threatened him, by the success which he had experienced.

To this story, let me add another as remarkable as the former, but attended with circumstances of greater horror; which I will give you exactly as it was related to me.<sup>b</sup> There was at Athens a large

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

spatiosa et capax domus, sed infamis et pestilens. Per silentium noctis sonus ferri et, si attenderes acrius, strepitus vinculorum longius primo, deinde e proximo reddebatur. Mox apparebat idolon, senex macie et squalore confectus, promissa barba, horrenti capillo; cruribus compedes, manibus catenas gerebat quatiebatque. Inde inhabitantibus tristes diraeque noctes per metum vigilabantur; vigiliam morbus et crescente formidine mors sequebatur. Nam interdum quoque, quamquam abscesserat imago, memoria imaginis oculis inerrabat, longiorque causis timoris timor erat. Deserta inde et damnata solitudine domus totaque illi monstro relictæ; proscribatur tamen, seu quis emere seu quis conducere ignarus tanti mali vellet.

Venit Athenas philosophus Athenodorus, legit titulum auditoque pretio quia suspecta vilitas, percunctatus omnia docetur ac nihilo minus, immo tanto magis conducit. Ubi coepit advesperascere, iubet

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<sup>a</sup> There were two Stoic philosophers of this name, both natives of Tarsus or its vicinity. One was long domiciled with Cato, the other taught Augustus. Which of the two is meant here remains unknown.

## BOOK VII. xxvii

and spacious, but ill-reputed and pestilential house. In the dead of the night a noise, resembling the clashing of iron, was frequently heard, which, if you listened more attentively, sounded like the rattling of fetters; at first it seemed at a distance, but approached nearer by degrees; immediately afterward a phantom appeared in the form of an old man, extremely meagre and squalid, with a long beard and bristling hair, rattling the gyves on his feet and hands. The poor inhabitants consequently passed sleepless nights under the most dismal terrors imaginable. This, as it broke their rest, threw them into distempers, which, as their horrors of mind increased, proved in the end fatal to their lives. For even in the day time, though the spectre did not appear, yet the remembrance of it made such a strong impression upon their imaginations that it still seemed before their eyes, and their terror remained when the cause of it was gone. By this means the house was at last deserted, as being judged by everybody to be absolutely uninhabitable; so that it was now entirely abandoned to the ghost. However, in hopes that some tenant might be found who was ignorant of this great calamity which attended it, a bill was put up, giving notice that it was either to be let or sold.

It happened that Athenodorus the philosopher<sup>a</sup> came to Athens at this time, and reading the bill ascertained the price. The extraordinary cheapness raised his suspicion; nevertheless, when he heard the whole story, he was so far from being discouraged, that he was more strongly inclined to hire it, and, in short, actually did so. When it grew towards evening, he ordered a couch to be prepared

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sterni sibi in <sup>1</sup> prima domus parte, poscit pugillares, stilum, lumen; suos omnes in interiora dimittit, ipse ad scribendum animum, oculos, manum intendit, ne vacua mens audita simulacra et inanes sibi metus fingeret. Initio, quale ubique, silentium noctis; deinde <sup>2</sup> concuti ferrum, vincula moveri; ille non tollere oculos, non remittere stilum, sed obfirmare animum auribusque praetendere. Tum crebrescere fragor, adventare et iam ut in limine, iam ut intra limen audiri; respicit, videt agnoscitque narratam sibi effigiem. Stabat innuebatque digito similis vocanti. Hic contra, ut paulum expectaret, manu significat rursusque ceris et stilo incumbit. Illa scribentis capiti catenis insonabat. Respicit rursus idem quod prius innuentem nec moratus tollit lumen et sequitur. Ibat illa lento gradu quasi gravis vinculis. Postquam deflexit in aream domus, repente dilapsa deserit comitem. Desertus herbas et folia concerpta signum loco ponit. Postero die adit magistratus, monet, ut illum locum effodi iubeant. Inveniuntur ossa inserta catenis et implicita, quae corpus aevo terraque putrefactum nuda et exesa reliquerat vinculis. Collecta publice sepeliuntur. Domus postea rite conditis manibus caruit.

<sup>1</sup> in *K*, om. *M*, *Bipons*, *K*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> deinde *pra*, *Bipons*, dein *K*.



for him in the fore-part of the house, and after calling for a light, together with his pen and tablets, he directed all his people to retire within. But that his mind might not, for want of employment, be open to the vain terrors of imaginary noises and apparitions, he applied himself to writing with all his faculties. The first part of the night passed with usual silence, then began the clanking of iron fetters; however, he neither lifted up his eyes, nor laid down his pen, but closed his ears by concentrating his attention. The noise increased and advanced nearer, till it seemed at the door, and at last in the chamber. He looked round and saw the apparition exactly as it had been described to him: it stood before him, beckoning with the finger. Athenodorus made a sign with his hand that it should wait a little, and bent again to his writing, but the ghost rattling its chains over his head as he wrote, he looked round and saw it beckoning as before. Upon this he immediately took up his lamp and followed it. The ghost slowly stalked along, as if encumbered with its chains; and having turned into the courtyard of the house, suddenly vanished. Athenodorus being thus deserted, marked the spot with a handful of grass and leaves. The next day he went to the magistrates, and advised them to order that spot to be dug up. There they found bones commingled and intertwined with chains; for the body had mouldered away by long lying in the ground, leaving them bare, and corroded by the fetters. The bones were collected, and buried at the public expense; and after the ghost was thus duly laid the house was haunted no more.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Et haec quidem adfirmantibus credo; illud adfirmare aliis possum. Est libertus mihi Marcus<sup>1</sup> non illiteratus. Cum hoc minor frater eodem lecto quiescebat. Is visus est sibi cernere quendam in toro residentem admoventemque capiti suo cultros atque etiam ex ipso vertice amputantem capillos. Ubi illuxit, ipse circa verticem tonsus, capilli iacentes reperiuntur. Exiguum temporis medium, et rursus simile aliud priori fidem fecit. Puer in paedagogio mixtus pluribus dormiebat; venerunt per fenestras (ita narrat) in tunicis albis duo cubantemque detonderunt et, qua venerant, recesserunt. Hunc quoque tonsum sparsosque circa capillos dies ostendit. Nihil notabile secutum, nisi forte quod non fui reus; futurus, si Domitianus, sub quo haec acciderunt, diutius vixisset. Nam in scrinio eius datus a Caro de me libellus inventus est; ex quo coniectari potest, quia reis moris est submittere capillum, recisos meorum capillos depulsi, quod imminebat, periculi signum fuisse.

Proinde rogo eruditionem tuam intendas. Digna res est, quam diu multumque consideres, ne ego quidem indignus, cui copiam scientiae tuae facias. Licet etiam utramque in partem, ut soles, disputes,

<sup>1</sup> Marcus *Catan.*, *Müller*, *inclus. Bipons post illit. Dp, om. K, Merrill.*

This story I believe upon the affirmation of others; I can myself affirm to others what I now relate. I have a freed-man named Marcus, who has some tincture of letters. One night, his younger brother, who was sleeping in the same bed with him, saw, as he thought, somebody sitting on the couch, who put a pair of shears to his head, and actually cut off the hair from the very crown of it. When morning came, they found the boy's crown was shorn, and the hair lay scattered about on the floor. After a short interval, a similar occurrence gave credit to the former. A slave-boy of mine was sleeping amidst several others in their quarters, when two persons clad in white came in (as he tells the story) through the windows, cut off his hair as he lay, and withdrew the same way they entered. Daylight revealed that this boy too had been shorn, and that his hair was likewise spread about the room. Nothing remarkable followed, unless it were that I escaped prosecution; prosecuted I should have been, if Domitian (in whose reign these things happened) had lived longer. For an information lodged by Carus<sup>a</sup> against me was found in his scrutore. Hence it may be conjectured, since it is customary for accused persons to let their hair grow, that this cutting of my servants' hair was a sign I should defeat the peril that hung over me.

I beg, then, you will apply learning to this question. It merits your prolonged and profound consideration; and I am not myself an unworthy recipient of your abounding knowledge. And though you should, after your manner, argue on both sides;

<sup>a</sup> See i. 5.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ex altera tamen fortius, ne me suspensum incertumque dimittas, cum mihi consulendi causa fuerit, ut dubitare desinerem. Vale.

### XXVIII

C. PLINIUS SEPTICIO SUO S.

Ais, quosdam apud te reprehendisse, tamquam amicos meos ex omni occasione ultra modum laudem. Agnosco crimen, amplector etiam. Quid enim honestius culpa benignitatis? Qui sunt tamen isti, qui amicos meos me<sup>1</sup> melius norint? Sed, ut norint, quid invident mihi felicissimo errore? Ut enim non sint tales, quales a me praedicantur, ego tamen beatus, quod mihi videntur. Igitur ad alios hanc sinistram diligentiam conferant; nec sunt parum multi, qui carpere amicos suos iudicium vocant; mihi numquam persuadebunt, ut meos amari a me nimium putem.<sup>2</sup> Vale.

### XXIX

C. PLINIUS MONTANO SUO S.

RIDEBIS, deinde indignaberis, deinde ridebis, si legeris, quod nisi legeris, non potes credere. Est via Tiburtina intra primum lapidem (proxime adnotavi)

<sup>1</sup> me *add. Bipons, Mommsen, Müller.*

<sup>2</sup> nimium putem *a, Bipons, K, nimium autem M, nimis unquam Dp, Müller.*

## BOOK VII. xxvii.—xxix

yet I hope you will throw your weightiest reasons into one scale, lest you should dismiss me in suspense and uncertainty, whereas I consult you on purpose to determine my doubts. Farewell.

### XXVIII

#### TO SEPTICIUS

THERE are, you say, who have condemned me to you, as being upon all occasions too lavish in commendation of my friends. I own, nay, welcome the impeachment; for can there be a nobler error than an excess of benevolence? Yet, who are these that know my friends better than I do myself? However, grant there are any such, why will they grudge me the happiest of mistakes? For supposing my friends are not what I proclaim them, nevertheless I am happy in believing they are. Then let these critics transfer their inauspicious attentions to others; there lack not people who call it *sound judgement* to disparage their friends; but never will they persuade *me* into thinking I love mine too well. Farewell.

### XXIX

#### TO MONTANUS

It will raise your laughter first, and then your indignation, and then your laughter again, when you read a fact you could not credit without reading. In the Tiburtine road, before you come to the first mile-stone, stands (as I lately observed) the monu-

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

monumentum Pallantis ita inscriptum: 'Huic senatus ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos ornamenta praetoria decrevit et sestertium centies quinquagies, cuius honore contentus fuit.'

Equidem numquam sum miratus, quae saepius a fortuna quam a iudicio proficiscerentur; maxime tamen hic me titulus admonuit, quam essent mimica et inepta, quae interdum in hoc caenum, in<sup>1</sup> has sordes abicerentur, quae denique ille furcifer et recipere ausus est et recusare atque etiam ut moderationis exemplum posteris prodere. Sed quid indignor? Ridere satius, ne se magnum aliquid adeptos putent, qui huc felicitate perveniunt, ut rideantur. Vale.

### XXX

C. PLINIUS GENITORI SUO S.

TORQUEOR, quod discipulum, ut scribis, optimae spei amisisti, cuius et valetudine et morte impedita studia tua quidni sciam, cum sis omnium officiorum observantissimus, cumque omnes, quos probas, effusissime diligas!

Me huc quoque urbana negotia persecuntur. Non

<sup>1</sup> in *add. Dpra, Bipons, Müller, om. M, K.*

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<sup>a</sup> Freedman and favourite of the Emperor Claudius. The special insignia worn by triumphing generals, consuls,

## BOOK VII. xxix.—xxx

ment of Pallas,<sup>a</sup> with the following inscription: "The Senate decreed to him, as a reward for his fidelity and affection to his patrons, the insignia of a praetor, together with the sum of fifteen million sesterces; but he was contented with accepting only the honour."

I am not indeed apt to wonder at distinctions of this sort, which oftener proceed from Fortune than judgement; but I was forcibly reminded by this inscription, how farcical and ridiculous are those honours, which are thus sometimes thrown away upon dirt and infamy; which such a rascal in short, had the assurance both to accept and to refuse, and then set himself forth to posterity as an example of moderation! Yet why should it raise my indignation? rather let me laugh at it, that those persons may not flatter themselves they have obtained any thing very considerable, whose success procures them nothing more than ridicule. Farewell.

### XXX

#### TO GENITOR

I AM extremely concerned that, as your letter informs me, you have lost a most promising pupil. Can I want to be informed that his sickness and death must have interrupted your studies, knowing as I do, with what exactness you fill up every duty of life, and how unlimited your affection is to all those whom you esteem?

As for myself, the busy cares of town-life follow me even hither; for I am not out of the reach of and praetors were freely bestowed *honoris causa* under the Empire.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

desunt enim, qui me iudicem aut arbitrum faciant. Accedunt querellae rusticorum, qui auribus meis post longum tempus suo iure abutuntur. Instat et necessitas agrorum locandorum perquam molesta; adeo rarum est invenire idoneos conductores.

Quibus ex causis precario studeo, studeo tamen; nam et scribo aliquid et lego; sed, cum lego, ex comparatione sentio, quam male scribam, licet tu mihi bonum animum facias, qui libellos meos de ultione Helvidi orationi Demosthenis κατὰ Μειδίου confers; quam sane, cum componerem illos, habui in manibus, non ut aemularer (improbum enim ac paene furiosum), sed tamen imitarer et sequerer, quantum aut diversitas ingeniorum, maximi et minimi, aut causae dissimilitudo pateretur. Vale.

### XXXI

C. PLINIUS CORNUTO SVO S.

CLAUDIUS POLLIO amari a te cupit dignus hoc ipso, quod cupit, deinde, quod ipse te diligit. Neque enim fere quisquam exigit istud, nisi qui facit. Vir alioqui rectus, integer, quietus ac paene ultra modum, si quis tamen ultra modum, verecundus.



## BOOK VII. xxx.-xxxi

people who oblige me to act either as their judge, or their arbitrator. To this I must add, not only the complaints of the rustics, who claim to weary my ears in virtue of my having been so long absent, but the necessity of letting out my farms; an affair which gives me much trouble, as it is exceedingly difficult to find proper tenants.

For these reasons I can only study by snatches; still, however, I study. For I both read and compose; but my reading teaches me, by comparison, with what ill success I attempt to be an author myself. Though indeed you give me great encouragement, when you compare the piece I wrote *on the avenging of Helvidius*,<sup>a</sup> to the oration of Demosthenes against Midias. I confess I had that speech in my hands when I composed mine; not that I pretend to rival it (that would be an excessive and mad attempt indeed), but I endeavoured, I own, to imitate it, as far as the difference of our subjects would admit, and as nearly as a genius of the lowest rank can copy one of the highest. Farewell.

### XXXI

#### TO CORNUTUS

CLAUDIUS POLLIO is desirous of your affection, and he deserves it not only for that reason, but because he gives you *his*! (few, you know, ever demand that boon without bestowing it). Apart from this, he is an upright, honest, good-natured man, and modest almost beyond measure; if indeed it is possible to be so.

<sup>a</sup> See ix. 13.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Hunc, cum simul militaremus, non solum ut commilito inspexi. Praeerat alae militari; ego iussus a legato consulari rationes alarum et cohortium excutere ut magnam quorundam foedamque avaritiam et negligentiam parem ita huius summam integritatem, sollicitam diligentiam inveni. Postea promotus ad amplissimas procuraciones nulla occasione corruptus ab insito abstinentiae amore deflexit; numquam secundis rebus intumuit, numquam officiorum varietate continuam laudem humanitatis infregit eademque firmitate animi laboribus suffecit, qua nunc otium patitur. Quod quidem paulisper cum magna sua laude intermisit et posuit a Corellio nostro ex liberalitate imperatoris Nervae emendis dividendisque agris adiutor adsumptus. Etenim qua gloria dignum est summo viro in tanta eligendi facultate praecipue placuisse!

Idem quam reverenter, quam fideliter amicos colat, multorum supremis iudiciis, in his Anni Bassi, gravissimi civis, credere potes, cuius memoriam tam grata praedicatione prorogat et extendit, ut librum de vita eius (nam studia quoque sicut alias artes bonas veneratur) ediderit. Pulchrum istud et raritate ipsa probandum, cum plerique hactenus defunctorum meminerint, ut querantur.

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<sup>a</sup> *Alae*, the cavalry divisions (lit. *wings*) of a Roman army; *cohortes*, the auxiliary troops, both horse and foot.

<sup>b</sup> Nerva restored to the Romans all that Domitian had plundered them of, and gave a very large sum to be laid out in the purchase of lands for the support of decayed families. (Melm.)

<sup>c</sup> i.e. from their leaving him legacies. Such complimentary bequests are several times cited by Cicero as a testimonial to the recipient's character; cf. vii. 20.

We served in the army together, and I had a nearer view of his character, than merely what his being my comrade gave me. He commanded a division of horse, when I was appointed by the consular Legate to examine the accounts of the cavalry and the cohorts;<sup>a</sup> and as I found disgusting rapacity and corresponding neglect in some officers, so I found the highest integrity and exactest care in him. He was afterwards promoted to high administrative offices; yet no temptations could turn aside the innate bias of his soul from honesty, no prosperity swell his breast; he preserved in all the variety of posts through which he passed, an unbroken reputation of humanity; and discharged his toilsome duties in the same resolved spirit as he now supports his want of occupation. He once indeed quitted his retirement for a short interval, with great applause, being chosen by our friend Corellius as his coadjutor in purchasing and allotting lands under the benefaction of the Emperor Nerva.<sup>b</sup> And could there be a greater honour than to be selected by so eminent a man, who had, moreover, such an extensive range of choice?

You may believe how faithfully he reveres the ties of friendship, from the dying testimony of many persons,<sup>c</sup> including that most respectable citizen, Annius Bassus. Pollio (who venerates letters as well as every other valuable art) keeps alive, and spreads, the memory of Bassus by the most grateful eulogy, insomuch that he has published a memoir of him. A fine action, and the more commendable from its very uncommonness, since men in general confine their recollection of the dead to what they can complain about.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Hunc hominem adpetentissimum tui, mihi crede, complectere, adprehende, immo et invita ac sic ama, tamquam gratiam referas. Neque enim obligandus, sed remunerandus est in amoris officio, qui prior coepit. Vale.

### XXXII

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

DELECTOR iucundum tibi fuisse Tironis mei adventum; quod vero scribis oblata occasione proconsulis plurimos manumissos, unice laetor. Cupio enim patriam nostram omnibus quidem rebus augeri, maxime tamen civium numero; id enim oppidis firmissimum ornamentum. Illud etiam me non ut ambitiosum, sed tamen iuvat, quod adicis te meque et gratiarum actione et laude celebratos. Est enim, ut Xenophon ait, ἡδιστον ἄκουσμα ἔπαινος,<sup>1</sup> utique si te mereri putes. Vale.

### XXXIII

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

AUGUROR nec me fallit augurium historias tuas immortales futuras; quo magis illis (ingenue fatebor)

<sup>1</sup> Xen. *Mem.* ii. 1, 31.

## BOOK VII. xxxi.-xxxiii

Receive then this worthy man, greatly desirous (believe me) of your friendship, with the embraces of the warmest affection; nay, court and love him as though you were returning a favour; for he who makes the first amicable advances, is not to be obliged, but repaid. Farewell.

### XXXII

#### TO FABATUS

I AM charmed that the advent of my friend Tiro was agreeable to you. But I especially rejoice that (as your letter informs me) you took the opportunity of a proconsul's presence to manumit a large number of slaves.<sup>a</sup> For as I wish to see our country improved by every possible method, so particularly by an increase of citizens, as that is the strongest ornament her townships can receive. I am pleased too (not out of a spirit of vanity, however, I confess I am pleased) with what you add, that you and I were extolled both in the speech of thanks and in the encomiums which were delivered upon this occasion; for as Xenophon observes "*praise is the sweetest hearing*," especially when we think we deserve it. Farewell.

### XXXIII

#### TO TACITUS

I STRONGLY presage (and I am persuaded not falsely) that your histories will be immortal. I ingenuously own therefore, I so much the more covet

<sup>a</sup> See vii. 16.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

inseri cupio. Nam si esse nobis curae solet, ut facies nostra ab optimo quoque artifice exprimatur, nonne debemus optare, ut operibus nostris similis tui scriptor praedicatorque contingat? Demonstro ergo, quamquam diligentiam tuam fugere non possit, cum sit in publicis actis, demonstro tamen, quo magis credas, iucundum mihi futurum, si factum meum, cuius gratia periculo crevit, tuo ingenio, tuo testimonio ornaveris.

Dederat me senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciae Baeticae contra Baebium Massam damnatoque Massa censuerat, ut bona eius publice custodirentur. Senecio, cum explorasset consules postulationibus vacaturos, convenit me et ‘Qua concordia’ inquit ‘iniunctam nobis accusationem exsecuti sumus, hac adeamus consules petamusque, ne bona dissipari sinant, quorum esse in custodia debent.’ Respondi: ‘Cum simus advocati a senatu dati, dispice, num peractas putes partes nostras senatus cognitione finita.’ Et ille: ‘Tu, quem voles, tibi terminum statues, cui nulla cum provincia necessitudo nisi ex beneficio tuo et hoc recenti; ipse et natus ibi et quaestor in ea fui.’ Tum ego: ‘Si fixum tibi istud ac deliberatum,

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<sup>a</sup> Pending restitution to the provincials of the moneys extorted by Massa in his governorship.

a place in them. If we are generally careful to have our faces taken by the best artists, ought we not to desire that our actions may be celebrated by an author like yourself? In view to this, I acquaint you with the following affair, which though it cannot have escaped your attention, as it is mentioned in the journals of the public, still I acquaint you with it, that you may be the more sensible how agreeable it will be to me, that my action, greatly heightened by the hazard which attended it, should receive an additional lustre from the testimony of so bright a genius.

The Senate had appointed Herennius Senecio and myself as counsel for the province of Baetica, in their prosecution of Baebius Massa. He was convicted; and the House ordered his effects to be placed under official custody.<sup>a</sup> Senecio, having learnt that the consuls were about to sit to hear complaints, came to me, and proposed that with the same unanimity with which we had conducted the prosecution enjoined us, we should lodge an application with the consuls, that they would not suffer Massa's effects to be dissipated by those whose duty it was to guard them. I answered, "As we were appointed counsel in this cause by the Senate, you had better consider whether we have not done our part, now the Senate's inquiry is over." "You are at liberty," said he, "to prescribe what bounds you please to yourself, who have no particular connections with the province, except what arise from your late services to them; but it is not so with me, who was born there, and enjoyed the post of Quaestor among them." If such, I told him, was his determined resolution, I was ready to attend him, that whatever resentment

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

sequar te, ut, si qua ex hoc invidia, non tua tantum sit.'

Venimus ad consules; dicit Senecio, quae res ferebat, aliqua subiungo. Vixdum conticueramus, et Massa questus Senecionem non advocati fidem, sed inimici amaritudinem impluisse impietatis reum postulat. Horror omnium; ego autem 'Vereor' inquam 'clarissimi consules, ne mihi Massa silentio suo praevaricationem obiecerit, quod non et me reum postulavit.' Quae vox et statim excepta et postea multo sermone celebrata est. Divus quidem Nerva (nam privatus quoque attendebat his, quae recte in publico fierent) missis ad me gravissimis litteris non mihi solum, verum etiam saeculo est gratulatus, cui exemplum (sic enim scripsit) simile antiquis contigisset.

Haec, utcumque se habent, notiora, clariora, maiora tu facies; quamquam non exigo, ut excedas actae rei modum. Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honeste factis veritas sufficit. Vale.



should be the consequence of this affair, it might not fall singly upon himself.

We went to the consuls; Senecio spoke what was proper to the occasion, to which I subjoined some remarks. We had scarce ended, when Massa, complaining that Senecio had not acted from loyalty to his clients but bitter animosity against himself, desired leave to prosecute him for high treason.<sup>a</sup> The whole assembly was struck with consternation. I immediately rose up; "Most noble consuls," said I, "I am afraid that Massa has tacitly charged me with betrayal of my client's interests, since he has not asked leave to prosecute me likewise." This speech was instantly caught up, and soon afterwards was the talk of the town. The late Emperor Nerva (who while still a subject remarked every worthy action which passed in public) wrote a most impressive letter to me, congratulating not only me, but the age, which had been vouchsafed an example so much in the spirit (as he was pleased to call it) of the ancients.

But be my action what it may, 'tis yours to heighten and spread the lustre of it; not that I require you to exceed the bounds of reality. For History ought not to depart from the truth, and the truth is all the praise that virtuous actions need. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> Under Domitian's reign of terror, such a charge was often brought on the most frivolous pretexts.



## BOOK VIII

## LIBER OCTAVUS

### I

C. PLINIUS SEPTICIO SUO S.

ITER commode explicui, excepto quod quidam ex meis adversam valetudinem ferventissimis aestibus contraxerunt. Encolpius quidem lector, ille seria nostra, ille deliciae, exasperatis faucibus pulvere sanguinem reiecit. Quam triste hoc ipsi, quam acerbum mihi, si is, cui omnis ex studiis gratia, inhabilis studiis fuerit! Quis deinde libellos meos sic leget, sic amabit? quem aures meae sic sequentur? Sed di laetiora promittunt. Stetit sanguis, resedit dolor. Praeterea continens ipse, nos solliciti, medici diligentes. Ad hoc salubritas caeli, secessus, quies tantum salutis quantum otii pollicentur. Vale.

### II

C. PLINIUS CALVISIO SUO S.

ALII in praedia sua proficiscuntur, ut locupletiores revertantur, ego, ut pauperior. Vendideram vinde-

## BOOK VIII

### I

#### TO SEPTICIUS

I HAD a good journey hither, excepting only that some of my servants were disordered by the violent heats. Poor Encolpius, my reader, who is the soul of my studies and amusements, had his throat so much irritated by the dust as to spit blood; an accident that will prove as grievous to me, as to himself, should he be thereby rendered unfit for those literary services which are his prime recommendation. Where, in that event, shall I find one to read, and love, my works as he does; or whose voice will be so grateful to my ears? But the gods seem to favour our better hopes, as his bleeding is stopped and his pain abated. Moreover, he is a temperate man; no solicitude is wanting on my part; no care on that of his physicians. This, with a wholesome air, change to the country, and complete quiet, promises to contribute as much to his health as to his repose. Farewell.

### II

#### TO CALVISIUS

OTHER people visit their estates in order to recruit their purses; whilst I go to mine only to return so much the poorer. I had sold my vintage to the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

mias certatim negotiatoribus ementibus. Invitabat pretium, et quod tunc et quod fore videbatur. Spes fefellit. Erat expeditum omnibus remittere aequaliter, sed non satis aequum. Mihi autem egregium in primis videtur ut foris ita domi, ut in magnis ita in parvis, ut in alienis ita in suis agitare iustitiam. Nam si paria peccata, pares etiam laudes.

Itaque omnibus quidem, ne quis 'Mihi non donatus abiret,'<sup>1</sup> partem octavam pretii, quo quis emerat, concessi; deinde his, qui amplissimas summas emptionibus occupaverant, separatim consului. Nam et me magis iuverant et maius ipsi fecerant damnum. Igitur his, qui pluris quam decem milibus emerant, ad illam communem et quasi publicam octavam addidi decumam eius summae, qua decem milia excesserant. Vereor, ne parum expresserim; apertius calculos ostendam. Si qui forte quindecim milibus emerant, hi et quindecim milium octavam et quinque milium decumam tulerunt.

Praeterea, cum reputarem quosdam ex debito aliquantum, quosdam aliquid, quosdam nihil reposuisse; nequaquam verum arbitrabar, quos non aequasset fides solutionis, hos benignitate remissionis aequare. Rursus ergo iis, qui solverant, eius, quod

<sup>1</sup> *Aeneid* v. 305.

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<sup>a</sup> A doctrine maintained by the Stoics.

merchants, who were eager to purchase it, encouraged by the price it then bore, and what it was probable it would rise to; however they were disappointed in their expectations. To have made the same abatement to them all, would have been the easy, but not the equitable, course. Now the noblest part, according to my estimate, is to pursue justice in one's domestic as well as public conduct; in minute as in great affairs; and in our own, as well as in other men's concerns. For if "all sins are equal,"<sup>a</sup> so are all meritorious actions.

Accordingly, I remitted to all in general one-eighth part of the price they had agreed to give me, that none "without my largesse might depart"; next, I made separate provision for those who had invested large sums in their purchase; since they had not only contributed more to my profit, but lost more heavily. To those, therefore, who had bought to the value of more than ten thousand sesterces, I remitted (over and beside the general and, so to speak, public eighth) a tenth part of what they had paid above that sum. I don't know whether I express myself clearly enough; so I will set out my reckoning more plainly. Suppose a man had purchased to the value of fifteen thousand sesterces, he got back one-eighth part of that amount, *plus* one-tenth of five thousand sesterces.

Besides, considering that some had paid over either large or small instalments of the purchase-money, whilst others had paid nothing; I thought it would be not at all fair to favour with the same remission those who had discharged their debt in varying proportions. To those therefore who had made any payments, I further returned a tenth part

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

solverant, decumam remisi. Per hoc enim aptissime et in praeteritum singulis pro cuiusque merito gratia referri, et in futurum omnes cum ad emendum tum etiam ad solvendum allici videbantur.

Magno mihi seu ratio haec seu facilitas stetit ; sed fuit tanti. Nam regione tota et novitas remissionis et forma laudatur. Ex ipsis etiam, quos non una, ut dicitur, pertica, sed distincte gradatimque tractavi, quanto quis melior et probior, tanto mihi obligatior abiit expertus non esse apud me, ἐν δὲ ἱῇ τιμῇ ἡμὲν κακὸν ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν.<sup>1</sup> Vale.

### III

#### C. PLINIUS SPARSO SUO S.

LIBRUM, quem novissime tibi misi, ex omnibus meis vel maxime placere significas. Est eadem opinio cuiusdam eruditissimi. Quo magis adducor, ut neutrum falli putem, quia non est credibile utrumque falli, et quia tam blandior mihi. Volo enim proxima quaeque absolutissima videri et ideo iam nunc contra istum librum faveo orationi, quam nuper in publicum

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* ix, 319.



upon each of the sums so paid. This was a neat way of my returning thanks to each of them for their past conduct, according to his respective deserts; and at the same time tempting them as a body, not only to deal with me for the future, but to be forward in their payments.

This instance of my good nature or my judgement (call it which you please) was a very considerable expense to me. However, I found my account in it; for all the country-side extols both this novel rebate, and the method in which I conducted it. Even those whom I did not measure (as they say) by the same ell, but distinguished according to their several degrees, thought themselves obliged to me, in proportion to the integrity of their dispositions; and went away pleased with having experienced, that not with me

“The brave and mean like honour find.”

Farewell.

### III

#### TO SPARSUS

You tell me that of all my works, the last I sent you has your decided preference. The same opinion has been expressed by a certain most learned friend; and I am the more persuaded to think you are both in the right, not only as 'tis incredible you should both be in the wrong, but because I am much given to flatter myself. For I always wish my latest performance to be thought the most finished; and so a speech I have just published is already more my

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

dedi communicaturus tecum, ut primum diligentem tabellarium invenero. Erexi expectationem tuam, quam vereor ne destituat oratio in manus sumpta. Interim tamen tamquam placituram (et fortasse placebit) exspecta. Vale.

### IV

C. PLINIUS CANINIO SUO S.

OPTIME facis, quod bellum Dacicum scribere paras. Nam quae tam recens, tam copiosa, tam lata, quae denique tam poëtica et quamquam in verissimis rebus tam fabulosa materia? Dices immissa terris nova flumina, novos pontes fluminibus iniectos, insessa castris montium abrupta, pulsum regia, pulsum etiam vita regem nihil desperantem; super haec, actos bis triumphos, quorum alter ex invicta gente primus, alter novissimus fuit.

Una, sed maxima difficultas, quod haec aequare dicendo arduum, immensum etiam tuo ingenio, quamquam altissime adsurgat et amplissimis operibus increseat. Non nullus et in illo labor, ut barbara et

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<sup>a</sup> Trajan fought two campaigns in Dacia, which he annexed 105 A.D.

<sup>b</sup> Trajan diverted from its course the river Sargetia, on a report that the treasures of Decebalus, the Dacian king, were concealed under its bed; and he built a great bridge across the Danube.

## BOOK VIII. iii.-iv

favourite than the one you have. I will send it you as soon as I can meet with a trustworthy post-carrier. And now I have raised your expectations of this piece I fear you will be disappointed when it comes to your hands. In the meanwhile, however, pray expect it as something that will please you; and who knows but it may? Farewell.

### IV

#### TO CANINIUS

I GREATLY approve your design of writing a poem upon the Dacian war,<sup>a</sup> for where could you have chosen a subject so new, so full of events, so extensive, and so poetical? a subject which while it has all the marvellous of fiction, has all the solidity of truth. You will sing of rivers turned into new channels, and rivers bridged for the first time,<sup>b</sup> of camps pitched upon craggy mountains, and of a king<sup>c</sup> superior to adversity, though forced to abandon his capital city and even his life. You will describe, too, the victor's double triumph, one of which was the first that was ever gained over that nation,<sup>d</sup> 'till then unsubdued, as the other was the final.

I foresee only one difficulty, but that one is serious; to make the style equal to the grandeur of the subject is a vast and arduous undertaking even for *your* genius, though that is capable of the loftiest flights and grows in proportion to the magnitude of its theme. Something, too, there will be of labour in reconciling those barbarous and uncouth names,

<sup>c</sup> Decebalus killed himself to escape falling into the hands of the conqueror.

<sup>d</sup> Domitian celebrated one, 91 A.D., but see iv. 11, note.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

fera nomina, in primis regis ipsius, Graecis versibus non resultent. Sed nihil est, quod non arte curaque, si non potest vinci, mitigetur. Praeterea, si datur Homero et mollia vocabula et Graeca ad lenitatem versus contrahere, extendere, inflectere, cur tibi similis audentia, praesertim non delicata, sed necessaria, negetur? Proinde iure vatum, invocatis dis et inter deos ipso, cuius res, opera, consilia dicturus es, immitte rudentes, pande vela ac, si quando alias, toto ingenio vehere. Cur enim non ego quoque poëtica cum poeta?

Illud iam nunc paciscor; prima quaeque, ut absolveris, mittito, immo etiam ante quam absolveris, sic ut erunt recentia et rudia et adhuc similia nascentibus. Respondebis non posse perinde carptim<sup>1</sup> ut contexta, perinde inchoata placere ut effecta. Scio. Itaque et a me aestimabuntur ut coepta, spectabuntur ut membra extremamque limam tuam opperientur in scrinio nostro. Patere hoc me super cetera habere amoris tui pignus, ut ea quoque norim, quae nosse neminem velles. In summa potero fortasse scripta tua magis probare, laudare, quanto illa tardius cautiusque sed ipsum te magis amabo magisque laudabo, quanto celerius et incautius miseris. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> carptim contexta *Kukula*, carptim <texta> ut contexta *Ernestius*, carptim <coniecta> ut contexta *Leithaüser*.

## BOOK VIII. iv

especially that of the king himself, to the harmony of Grecian number. There is nothing, however, so hard that art and industry cannot at least mitigate, if not absolutely subdue. Besides, if Homer is allowed to contract or lengthen, or change even Grecian names, and those, too, nothing harsh to the ear, in order to make them run more smoothly in his verse ; why should the same licence be forbidden to you, especially since it springs from necessity and not affectation ? Come on then, my friend, and after having, in right of your bardship, invoked the gods, and among the rest that divine hero whose deeds, works, and counsels you are going to celebrate, loosen all your cordage, spread every sail, and now, if ever, give free course to your genius—for you must allow me to be poetical too, when I am talking to a poet !

And now I insist that you send me every part, as soon as it has received your last finishing touches ; nay before, while it is in its first rough and embryonic state. You will tell me, that excerpts cannot please like one entire piece, nor a sketch like a completed design. I am very sensible of that and therefore shall judge your work as an essay only, and survey it, as so many disjointed members ; and shall faithfully lay it up in my scrutoire, to wait your last hand. Indulge me then with this additional pledge of your affection, that you let me into a secret you would wish kept from everybody. In fine I may possibly admire and applaud your poems the more highly, the more tardy and cautious you are in communicating them ; but the more quickly and heedlessly you do so, the more I shall love and applaud the poet himself. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## V

C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

GRAVE vulnus Macrinus noster accepit. Amisit uxorem singularis exempli, etiamsi olim fuisset. Vixit cum hac triginta novem annis sine iurgio, sine offensa. Quam illa reverentiam marito suo praestitit, cum ipsa summam mereretur! quot quantasque virtutes ex diversis aetatibus sumptas collegit et miscuit!

Habet quidem Macrinus grande solacium, quod tantum bonum tam diu tenuit; sed hoc magis exacerbatur, quod amisit. Nam fruendis voluptatibus crescit carendi dolor. Ero ergo suspensus pro homine amicissimo, dum admittere avocamenta et cicatricem pati possit, quam nihil aeque ac necessitas ipsa et dies longa et satietas doloris inducit. Vale.

## VI

C. PLINIUS MONTANO SUO S.

COGNOVISSE iam ex epistula mea debes adnotasse me nuper monumentum Pallantis sub hac inscriptione: 'Huic senatus ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos ornamenta praetoria decrevit et sestertium

## BOOK VIII. v.-vi

### V

#### TO GEMINIUS

OUR friend Macrinus is pierced with the severest affliction. He has lost his wife; a lady whose virtues would have made her a pattern even to ancient times. He lived with her thirty-nine years in the most uninterrupted harmony. How respectful was her behaviour to him! and how did she herself deserve the highest respect! How she blended and united in her character all those amiable virtues that distinguish the different periods of female life!

It should, methinks, afford great consolation to Macrinus, that he has thus long enjoyed so exquisite a blessing. Yet that reflection the more embitters his loss; for the pain of parting with our happiness, still rises in proportion to the length of its continuance. I shall be in suspense, therefore, for so valuable a friend, until he can bring himself to submit to soothing treatment, and endure having his wound closed—a process best effected by the sheer force of necessity, by lapse of time, and by satiety of grief. Farewell.

### VI

#### TO MONTANUS

MY last letter<sup>a</sup> should by this time have informed you, that I remarked lately a monument to Pallas, with this inscription: "The Senate decreed to him for his fidelity and affection to his patrons, the praetorian insignia, together with fifteen million

<sup>a</sup> vii. 29.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

centies quinquagies cuius honore contentus fuit.' Postea mihi visum est pretium operae ipsum senatus consultum quaerere. Inveni tam copiosum et effusum, ut ille superbissimus titulus modicus atque etiam demissus videretur. Conferant se non dico illi veteres Africani, Achaici, Numantini, sed hi proximi, Marii, Sullae, Pompeii, nolo progredi longius; infra Pallantis landes iacebunt.

Urbanos, qui illa censuerunt, putem an miseros? Dicerem urbanos, si senatum deceret urbanitas, miseros sed nemo tam miser est, ut illa cogatur. Ambitio ergo et procedendi libido? Sed quis adeo demens, ut per suum, per publicum dedecus procedere velit in ea civitate, in qua hic esset usus florentissimae dignitatis, ut primus in senatu laudare Pallantem posset?

Omitto, quod Pallanti servo praetoria ornamenta offeruntur (quippe offeruntur a servis), mitto, quod censent non exhortandum modo, verum etiam compellendum ad usum aureorum anulorum (erat enim contra maiestatem senatus, si ferreis praetorius uteretur); levia haec et transeunda, illa memoranda, quod 'nomine Pallantis senatus' (nec expiata postea curia est), 'Pallantis nomine senatus gratias agit Caesari, quod et ipse cum summo honore mentionem eius prosecutus esset et senatui facultatem fecisset

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<sup>a</sup> The badge of equestrian rank, as an iron one was of servitude. (Melm.)



sesterces; but he was contented with accepting only the honour." I afterwards thought it worth while to search for this decree, and found it so copious and effusive that this arrogant inscription seems moderate and actually humble in comparison. Our national heroes all put together—I do not speak of such ancient worthies as the Scipios and the Mummii; but take the more modern ones, the Marii, the Syllas, and the Pompeys, to name no more—all these could not come up to the character it gives of Pallas.

Was it the wit, shall I suppose, or the misery, of its authors that inspired this decree? I should say the former, were not raillery unbecoming the dignity to the Senate; the latter, but that no wretchedness could enforce such baseness. Perhaps then, it was ambition and greed of promotion? But who would be madman enough to dishonour himself and the State for the sake of rising in a commonwealth where the highest office carried with it one function only—to lead the Senate in eulogising Pallas?

I pass by their offering to a slave the Praetorian ornaments (they were slaves themselves who did so). I pass by their voting that Pallas should be not only entreated, but compelled, to wear the golden ring<sup>a</sup> (no doubt it was not consistent with the dignity of the Senate, that a person of Praetorian rank should wear an iron one). These are trifles not worth dwelling upon; but here is a truly memorable clause: "The Senate, on behalf of Pallas" (and the senate-house was not purified after so vile a pollution). "The Senate returns thanks to Caesar on behalf of Pallas, not only for the high honour he was pleased to bestow on him at their recommendation, but for

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

testandi erga eum benevolentiam suam.' Quid enim senatui pulchrius, quam ut erga Pallantem satis gratus videretur? Additur: 'Ut Pallas, cui se omnes pro virili parte obligatos fatentur, singularis fidei, singularis industriae fructum meritissimo ferat.' Prolatos imperii fines, redditos exercitus rei publicae credas.

Adstruitur his: 'Cum senatui populoque Romano liberalitatis gratior repraesentari nulla materia possit, quam si abstinentissimi fidelissimique custodis principum opum facultates adiuvere contigisset.' Hoc tunc votum senatus, hoc praecipuum gaudium populi, haec liberalitatis materia gratissima, si Pallantis facultates adiuvere publicarum opum egestionem contingeret. Iam quae sequuntur, 'voluisse quidem senatum censere dandum ex aerario sestertium centies quinquagies, et quanto ab eiusmodi cupiditatibus remotior eius animus esset, tanto impensius petere a publico parente, ut eum compelleret ad ccedendum senatui.' Id vero deerat, ut cum Pallante auctoritate publica ageretur, Pallas rogaretur, ut senatui cederet, ut illi superbissimae abstinentiae Caesar ipse advocatus esset, ne sestertium centies quinquagies sperneret. Sprevit, quod solum potuit tantis opibus publice oblatis adrogantius facere, quam si accepisset.

Senatus tamen id quoque similis querenti laudibus tulit his quidem verbis: 'sed cum princeps optimus

## BOOK VIII. vi

the opportunity afforded the House of testifying their good will towards him." Nothing you see could more ennoble the Senate, than to appear duly grateful to Pallas! It goes on: "That Pallas to whom we all, as far as in us lies, acknowledge our several obligations, may reap the just reward of his singular fidelity and diligence." One would think he had extended the bounds of the empire, and then resigned to the State the command of the legions he had led!

The next clause is: "Since the Senate and the Roman People could not have a more agreeable occasion for their liberality, than the opportunity of enriching so thrifty and honest a guardian of the Imperial funds." Such at that time was the aspiration of the Senate; such the highest pleasures of the people; such the most agreeable occasion of exercising their liberality—an opportunity to enrich Pallas by depleting the public funds! Now mark the conclusion: "the Senate would have wished to vote him fifteen million sesterces out of the treasury"; and as he has a soul far above desires of this kind they the more urgently request the Father of the State to oblige him to comply with their wish." 'Twas indeed the one thing wanting, that public influence should be brought to bear on Pallas that he should be pressed to yield to the Senate; and Caesar himself be called in to oppose this insolent piece of self denial—all to prevent Pallas from rejecting the gift of fifteen million sesterces! He did reject it—the only way in which he could treat the State's offer of so vast a sum more arrogantly than by accepting it.

Yet even this the Senate endured, and while adopting an injured tone, applauded as follows: "But whereas

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

parensque publicus rogatus a Pallante eam partem sententiae, quae pertinebat ad dandum ei ex aerario centies quinquagies sestertium, remitti voluisset; testari senatum, etsi<sup>1</sup> libenter ac merito hanc summam inter reliquos honores ob fidem diligentiamque Pallanti decernere coepisset,<sup>2</sup> voluntati tamen principis sui, cui in nulla re fas putaret repugnare, in hac quoque re obsequi.'

Imaginare Pallantem velut intercedentem senatus consulto moderantemque honores suos et sestertium centies quinquagies ut nimium recusantem, cum praetoria ornamenta tamquam minus recepisset, imaginare Caesarem liberti precibus vel potius imperio coram senatu obtemperantem (imperat enim libertus patrono, quem in senatu rogat), imaginare senatum usquequaque testantem merito libenterque se hanc summam inter reliquos honores Pallanti coepisse decernere et perseveraturum fuisse, nisi obsequeretur principis voluntati, cui non esset fas in ulla re repugnare. Ita, ne sestertium centies quinquagies Pallas ex aerario ferret, verecundia ipsius, obsequio senatus opus fuit in hoc praecipue non obsecuturi, si in ulla re putasset fas esse non obsequi.

Finem existimas? Mane dum et maiora accipe: 'Utique, cum sit utile principis benignitatem promptissimam ad laudem praemiaque merentium

<sup>1</sup> etsi *r*, *K ii.*, et se *M, a.*

<sup>2</sup> coepisset *Catan.*, coepisse *Ma.*

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. assuming the prerogative of a Tribune of the Plebs.

<sup>b</sup> Because the fiction of the Senate's supreme authority was still kept up.

our excellent prince and father of his country has desired, at the instance of Pallas, to have that clause of the decree rescinded which assigns him fifteen million sesterces out of the treasury ; the Senate declares that although they had gladly and justly set about decreeing that sum to Pallas, amongst other honours, on account of his fidelity and diligence ; yet even in this matter they obey the will of their sovereign, which they think can never be combated without impiety."

Figure to yourself Pallas putting his veto,<sup>a</sup> as it were, on a decree of the Senate ; setting limits to his own honours, and refusing fifteen million sesterces as above his deserts, after accepting the Praetorian insignia as below them. Imagine Caesar obeying the treaties, or rather the commands, of his freedman in the face of the Senate (for a freedman's request to his patron becomes a command when he delivers it from a seat in that House<sup>b</sup>). Imagine the Senate declaring all the time that it had willingly and justly designed, among other honours, to vote Pallas this sum : and that it would have persevered but for its obedience to the will of the Emperor, which it was impious to oppose on any point. Did it need then the obsequiousness of the Senate and his own modesty to prevent Pallas from carrying off fifteen millions out of the treasury ? And was it in this case, of all others, that the Senate would have been disobedient, if they had thought it lawful to be so in any ?

And now, perhaps, you think you are got to the end ? But wait a bit ; here is something still grander for you : "AND WHEREAS IT IS EXPEDIENT, that the gracious promptitude of the Emperor to commend

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

illustrari ubique et maxime his locis, quibus incitari ad imitationem praepositi rerum eius curae possent, et Pallantis spectatissima fides atque innocentia exemplo provocare studium tam honestae aemulationis posset, ea quae IV Kal. Februarias, quae proximae fuissent, in amplissimo ordine optimus princeps recitasset, senatusque consulta de iis rebus facta in aere inciderentur, idque aes figeretur ad statuam loricatam divi Iulii.' Parum visum tantorum dedecorum esse curiam testem, delectus est celeberrimus locus, in quo legenda praesentibus, legenda futuris proderentur. Placuit aere signari omnes honores fastidiosissimi mancipii, quosque repudiasset quosque, quantum ad decernentis pertinet, gessisset. Incisa et insculpta sunt publicis aeternisque monumentis praetoria ornamenta Pallantis sic quasi foedera antiqua, sic quasi sacrae leges. Tanta principis, tanta senatus, tanta Pallantis ipsius—quid dicam, nescio, ut vellent in oculis omnium figi Pallas insolentiam suam, patientiam Caesar, humilitatem senatus.

Nec puduit rationem turpitudini obtendere, egregiam quidem pulchramque rationem, 'ut exemplo Pallantis praemiorum ad studium aemulationis ceteri provocarentur.' Ea honorum vilitas erat, illorum etiam, quos Pallas non dedignabatur. Inveniebantur

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<sup>a</sup> *loricata*, "wearing a cuirass," seems to have been the regular designation of this statue, which stood in the Forum.

## BOOK VIII. vi

and reward merit should be everywhere made public, especially in those places where his departmental officers may be excited to an imitation and the approved fidelity and integrity of Pallas may call forth efforts at so laudable an emulation, IT IS THEREFORE RESOLVED, that the memorial which the Emperor read to the honourable House on the 28th of January last, together with their decree upon this question, shall be engraved on a brazen tablet, and the said tablet affixed to the mail-clad statue<sup>a</sup> of the divine Julius Caesar." It was not deemed sufficient that the senate-house should be witness to this complicated disgrace; the most frequented spot in all Rome was chosen to display the inscription to that and future ages. It was thought proper that all the honours of a most insolent slave, both those which he refused and those which, as much as in the authors of the decree lay, he had borne, should be inscribed in bronze. The granting of the Praetorian insignia to Pallas was deeply engraven, like ancient treaties or sacred laws, upon public and everlasting monuments. The Emperor, the Senate, and Pallas himself behaved—I lack a name for such behaviour—as if Caesar meant to put up a notice of his weakness, the Senate of its servility, and Pallas of his insolence, in the face of all the world!

The Senate was not ashamed to palliate this turpitude with the show of reason, and a vastly noble one it was, even "that others might be stimulated by the rewards conferred upon Pallas, to try to emulate his example!" Thus cheap were all honours rendered, even those which Pallas did not disdain! And yet there were found men of good

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tamen honesto loco nati, qui peterent euperentque, quod dari liberto, promitti servis videbant.

Quam iuvat, quod in tempora illa non incidi, quorum sic me, tamquam illis vixerim, pudet! Non dubito, similiter adfici te. Scio, quam sit tibi vivus et ingenuus animus; ideoque facilius est, ut me, quamquam indignatione quibusdam in locis fortasse ultra epistolae modum extulerim, parum doluisse quam nimis credas. Vale.

### VII

#### C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

NEQUE ut magistro magister neque ut discipulo discipulus (sic enim scribis), sed ut discipulo magister (nam tu magister, ego contra; atque adeo tu in scholam revocas, ego adhuc Saturnalia extendo) librum misisti. Num potui longius hyperbaton facere atque hoc ipso probare eum esse me, qui non modo magister tuus, sed ne discipulus quidem debeam dici? Sumam tamen personam magistri exseramque in librum tuum ius, quod dedisti, eo liberius, quo nihil ex meis interim missurus sum tibi, in quo te ulciscaris. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> *Hyperbaton*, (lit. "transgression") was the grammarians'



## BOOK VIII. vi.-vii

birth, who were humble enough to desire and solicit those very honours, which they thus saw conferred upon a freedman, and promised to slaves.

Happy for me that my lot was not cast in those times, which I blush for as though I actually lived in them! And I doubt not, they raise the same sentiments in you. I know the honest warmth of your temper, which, though I may in some passages have been transported into a higher style than the epistolatory, will easily persuade you that I have expressed too little rather than too much indignation. Farewell.

### VII

#### TO TACITUS

NOT as one master to another, nor as one scholar to another (as you are pleased to say), but as a master to his scholar—for you are the master, I the other party, witness your summoning me back to school, whilst I am prolonging my New Year's holiday—have you sent me your oration. Tell me, now, could I have stretched out an *hyperbaton*<sup>a</sup> further than in this sentence, or given a stronger proof, that far from being called your master, I am not even worthy to be called your pupil? However, I will assume the rôle of master and exert the authority you have given me over your piece; the more freely as I have nothing of my own to send you at present, upon which you may take your revenge. Farewell.

term for “a considerable clause interpolated between two connected parts of a sentence.”

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## VIII

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

VIDISTINE aliquando Clitumnum fontem? Si nondum (et puto nondum; alioqui narrasses mihi), vide, quem ego (paenitet tarditatis) proxime vidi.

Modicus collis adsurgit antiqua cupressu nemorosus et opacus. Hunc subter fons exit et exprimitur pluribus venis, sed imparibus, eluctatusque, quem facit, gurgitem lato gremio patescit purus et vitreus, ut numerare iactas stipes et relucens calculos possis. Inde non loci devexitate, sed ipsa sui copia et quasi pondere, impellitur fons<sup>1</sup> adhuc et iam amplissimum flumen atque etiam navium patiens, quas obvias quoque et contrario nisu in diversa tendentes transmittit et perfert, adeo validus, ut illa, qua properat ipse, quamquam per solum planum, remis non adiuvetur, idem aegerrime remis contisque superetur adversus. Iucundum utrumque per iocum ludumque fluitantibus, ut flexerint cursum, laborem otio, otium labore variare.

Ripae fraxino multa, multa populo vestiuntur, quas perspicuus amnis velut mersas viridi imagine adnumerat. Rigor aquae certaverit nivibus, nec color cedit. Adiacet templum priscum et religiosum. Stat Clitumnus ipse amictus ornatusque praetexta.

<sup>1</sup> impellitur fons *Müller*, impellitur. Fons *edd.*

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<sup>a</sup> It was customary to throw coins as votive offerings into those fountains, lakes, etc., which were accounted sacred. Suetonius mentions this practice, in the annual vows which he says the Roman people made for the health of Augustus. (Melm.)

## BOOK VIII. viii

### VIII

#### TO ROMANUS

HAVE you at last seen the source of the river Clitumnus? As I never heard you mention it, I imagine not; let me therefore advise you to do so immediately. It is but lately, indeed I had that pleasure, and I condemn myself for not having seen it sooner.

At the foot of a little hill, covered with venerable and shady cypress trees, the river head is sent up out from the ground in several and unequal rills, and bursting forth forms a broad pool so clear and glassy that you may count the shining pebbles, and the little pieces of money which are thrown into it.<sup>a</sup> From thence it is carried off not so much by the declivity of the ground, as by its own volume and, as it were, density. As soon as it has quitted its source, it becomes a mighty river, navigable for large vessels, even when they are making up stream and have to contend against the current. This runs so strong, though the ground is level, that boats going with it have no occasion for rowing oars; while it is difficult to advance against it, even with the help of oars and poles. This vicissitude and labour and ease is exceedingly amusing when one sails up and down merely for pleasure.

The banks are thickly clad with ash and poplar trees, whose verdant reflections are as distinctly seen in the translucent stream, as if they were actually sunk in it. The water is cold as snow, and as white too. Near it is a primitive and holy temple, wherein stands the river-god Clitumnus clothed in a purple-

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Praesens numen atque etiam fatidicum indicant sortes. Sparsa sunt circa sacella complura totidemque di. Sua cuique veneratio, suum nomen, quibusdam vero etiam fontes. Nam praeter illum quasi parentem ceterorum sunt minores capite discreti; sed flumini miscentur, quod ponte transmittitur. Is terminus sacri profanique. In superiore parte navigare tantum, infra etiam natare concessum. Balneum Hispellates, quibus illum locum divus Augustus dono dedit, publice praebent, praebent et hospitium. Nec desunt villae, quae secutae fluminis amoenitatem margini insistent.

In summa nihil erit, ex quo non capias voluptatem. Nam studebis quoque; et leges multa multorum omnibus columnis, omnibus parietibus inscripta, quibus fons ille deusque celebratur. Plura laudabis, non nulla ridebis; quamquam tu vero, quae tua humanitas, nulla ridebis. Vale.

### IX

C. PLINIUS URSO SUO S.

OLIM non librum in manus, non stilum sumpsisti, olim nescio, quid sit otium, quid quies, quid denique

## BOOK VIII. viii.-ix

bordered robe. The lots kept here for divining sufficiently testify to the presence and oracular power of the deity. Several little chapels are scattered round, each containing the statue of a different god. Each of these has his peculiar worship and title; and some of them, too, their own springs. For, beside the principal one, which is, as it were, the parent of all the rest, there are several other lesser streams, which, taking their rise from distinct sources, lose themselves in the river; over which a bridge is built, that separates the sacred part from that which lies open to common use. Vessels are allowed to come above this bridge, but no person is permitted to swim, except below it. The Hispellates, to whom Augustus gave this place, maintain a bath, and an inn for travellers, at the expense of the corporation. And villas, wherever the river is most beautiful, are situated upon its banks.

In short, every object that presents itself will afford you entertainment. For you will also find food for study in the numerous inscriptions, by many hands all over the pillars and walls, in praise of the spring and its tutelar deity. Many of them you will admire, others you will laugh at; but I must correct myself when I say so; you are too good-natured I know, to laugh at any. Farewell.

### IX

#### To Ursus

It is a long time since I have taken either a book, or a pen in my hand. It is long since I have known the sweets of leisure and repose; since I have known

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

illud iners quidem, iucundum tamen nihil agere, nihil esse; adeo multa me negotia amicorum nec secedere nec studere patiuntur. Nulla enim studia tanti, ut amicitiae officium deseratur, quod religiosissime custodiendum studia ipsa praecipiunt. Vale.

### X

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

Quo magis cupis ex nobis pronepotes videre, hoc tristior audies neptem tuam abortum fecisse, dum se praegnantem esse puellariter nescit ac per hoc quaedam custodienda praegnantibus omittit, facit omit-tenda. Quem errorem magnis documentis expiavit in summum periculum adducta. Igitur, ut necesse est graviter accipias senectutem tuam quasi paratis posteris destitutam, sic debes agere dis gratias, quod ita tibi in praesentia pronepotes negaverunt, ut servarent neptem, illos reddituri, quorum nobis spem certiore haec ipsa quamquam parum prospere explorata fecunditas facit.

Isdem nunc ego te quibus ipsum me hortor, moneo, confirmo. Neque enim ardentius tu pronepotes,

## BOOK VIII. ix.-x

in fine, that indolent but agreeable situation of doing nothing, and being nothing : so entirely has the pressure of business on my friends' account put a stop alike to my going into the country and my studying. For no studies are of consequence enough to supersede that duty of friendship which they themselves teach us most religiously to observe. Farewell.

### X

#### TO FABATUS, HIS WIFE'S GRANDFATHER

YOUR concern to hear of your grand-daughter's miscarriage will be proportionate, I know, to your earnest desire that we should make you a great-grandfather. The inexperience of her youth rendered her ignorant that she was breeding ; so that she not only omitted the proper precautions, but managed herself in a way extremely unsuitable to a person in her condition. But she has received a severe lesson, paying for her mistake by the utmost hazard of her life. So, though you cannot but feel it an affliction to be bereaved at your advanced age of the immediate prospect of posterity ; yet it deserves your gratitude to the Gods, that while denying you great-grandchildren for the present, they preserved the life of your grand-daughter, as designing yet to bestow them ; a blessing we may expect with more certainty, as she has given this proof, though an unhappy one indeed, of her being capable of bearing children.

I am offering you the reflections in which I seek exhortation, counsel, and strengthening for myself. You cannot more ardently wish to have great-

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

quam ego liberos cupio, quibus videor a meo tuoque latere pronum ad honores iter et audita latius nomina et non subitas imagines relicturus, nascantur modo et hunc nostrum dolorem gaudio mutant. Vale.

### XI

C. PLINIUS HISPULLAE SUAE S.

CUM affectum tuum erga fratris filiam cogito etiam materna indulgentia molliorem, intellego prius tibi, quod est posterius, nuntiandum, ut praesumpta laetitia sollicitudini locum non relinquat. Quamquam vereor, ne post gratulationem quoque in metum redeas atque ita gaudeas periculo liberatam, ut simul, quod periclitata sit, perhorrescas. Iam hilaris, iam sibi, iam mihi reddita incipit refici transmissumque discrimen convalescendo metiri. Fuit alioqui in summo discrimine, impune dixisse liceat, fuit nulla sua culpa, aetatis aliqua. Inde abortus et ignorati uteri triste experimentum.

Proinde, etsi non contigit tibi desiderium fratris amissi aut nepote eius aut nepte solari, memento

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"*imagines*, wax portrait masks of ancestors who had held curule office (carried in their own and their descendants' funeral processions), were kept in the atrium of the family house, "arranged, and connected by coloured lines, in such a way as to exhibit the family pedigree" (Seyffert). Hence "to have *imagines*" meant "to be of noble ancestry," in



## BOOK VIII. x.-xi

grandchildren, than I do to have children; for methinks as your offspring and mine they will inherit an easy path to honours, a fairly well-known name, and an ancestral tree of no mushroom growth.<sup>a</sup> May we but see them born, it will turn our present sorrow into joy. Farewell.

### XI

#### To HISPULLA

WHEN I consider that you love your brother's daughter with a more than maternal fondness, I see I ought to give you my latest news first; that sentiments of joy may forestall and preclude anxiety. Though I fear indeed, even after your transports of gratulation you will feel some renewal of concern, and in the midst of your joy for the danger she has escaped, will tremble at the thought of that which she has undergone. She is now, however, in good spirits, and again restored to herself and to me; already she is making as rapid progress towards recovery, as she did towards her late danger. To tell you the truth, she was in the utmost danger (be it said without ill omen); for which no blame can be laid on her, but a good deal on her youthfulness. To this must be imputed her miscarriage, and the sad result she has experienced of not knowing her condition.

But though you have not been vouchsafed the consolation of a nephew or niece, to supply the loss of your brother; remember, that comfort is rather contrast to being *novus homo*, the first of your family to attain curule rank.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tamen dilatum magis istud quam negatum, cum salva sit, ex qua sperari potest. Simul excusa patri tuo casum, cui paratior apud feminas venia est. Vale.

### XII

C. PLINIUS MINICIANO SUO S.

HUNC solum diem excuso. Recitaturus est Titinius Capito, quem ego audire nescio magis debeam an cupiam. Vir est optimus et inter praecipua saeculi ornamenta numerandus; colit studia, studiosos amat, fovet, provehit, multorumque, qui aliqua componunt, portus, sinus, gremium,<sup>1</sup> omnium exemplum, ipsarum denique litterarum iam senescentium reductor ac reformator. Domum suam recitantibus praebet, auditoria, non apud se tantum benignitate mira frequentat; mihi certe, si modo in urbe est, defuit nunquam.

Porro tanto turpius gratiam non referre, quanto honestior causa referendae. An, si litibus tererer, obstrictum esse me crederem obeunti vadimonia mea, nunc, quia mihi omne negotium, omnis in studiis cura, minus obligor tanta sedulitate celebranti, in

<sup>1</sup> gremium *Schaefer*, praemium *vulg.*

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<sup>a</sup> Fabatus.

## BOOK VIII. xi.-xii

deferred than denied, since her life is preserved from whom it is to be expected. I beg also you will excuse this accident to your father,<sup>a</sup> whose indulgence is always more readily forthcoming when solicited by one of your sex. Farewell.

### XII

#### TO MINICIANUS

I BEG you would excuse me this one day. Titinius Capito is going to recite, and I know not whether it is most my inclination, or my duty to attend him. He is a man of a most amiable disposition, and justly to be numbered among the brightest ornaments of our age; he cultivates the polite arts himself, and generously admires and encourages them in others. To many authors of merit, he is a haven, a refuge, a resting-place; to all, a model. In a word, he is the restorer and reformer of literature itself, now alas! falling into decrepitude. His house is at the disposal of everyone who wishes to give a recital; and it is not there only that he attends these assemblies with the most obliging good nature. I am sure at least he never missed one of mine if he happened to be at Rome.

Besides, it were the more unseemly not to return a favour, when I have such honourable cause. Should not I, if my business lay in lawsuits, think myself obliged to a man who kept the recognizances I had entered into for his appearance? And am I less indebted because my whole care and business is of the literary kind, for his assiduity on a point which,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

quo obligari ego, ne dicam solo, certe maxime possum?

Quod si illi nullam vicem, nulla quasi mutua officia deberem, sollicitarer tamen vel ingenio hominis pulcherrimo et maximo et in summa severitate dulcissimo vel honestate materiae. Scribit exitus illustrium virorum, in iis quorundam mihi carissimorum. Videor ergo fungi pio munere, quorumque exsequias celebrare non licuit, horum quasi funebribus laudationibus seris quidem, sed tanto magis veris interesse. Vale.

### XIII

C. PLINIUS GENIALI SUO S.

PROBO, quod libellos meos cum patre legisti. Pertinet ad profectum tuum a disertissimo viro discere, quid laudandum, quid reprehendendum, simul ita institui, ut verum dicere adsuescas. Vides, quem sequi, cuius debcas implere vestigia. O te beatum, cui contigit vivum atque idem optimum et coniunctissimum exemplar, qui denique eum potissimum imitandum habes, cui natura esse te simillimum voluit! Vale.

## BOOK VIII. xii.-xiii

if not the only, is however the principal instance wherein I can be obliged?

But though I owed him no return, nor what I might call reciprocity of good offices; yet not only the beauty of his extensive genius, as polite as it is severely correct, but the dignity of his subject, would forcibly invite my attendance. He has written an account of the deaths of several illustrious persons, some of whom were my dear friends. It is a pious office, methinks, as I could not be present at their obsequies, to attend this (as I may call it) their funeral oration; which though a late, is however for that reason a more genuine tribute to their memories. Farewell.

### XIII

#### TO GENIALIS

I MUCH approve of your having read my orations with your father. It is important for your progress, to learn from a man of his eloquence what to admire and what to condemn, and by the same course of training to acquire the habit of speaking your real sentiments. You see whose steps you ought to follow; and happy are you in having a living model before you, which is at once the nearest and the noblest you can pursue! Happy, in a word, that he whom nature designed you should most resemble, is, of all others, the person whom you should most imitate! Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XIV

C. PLINIUS ARISTONI SUO S.

Cum sis peritissimus et privati iuris et publici, cuius pars senatorium est, cupio ex te potissimum audire, erraverim in senatu proxime necne, non ut in praeteritum (serum enim) verum ut in futurum, si quid simile inciderit, erudiar.

Dices: 'Cur quaeris, quod nosse debebas?' Priorum temporum servitus ut aliarum optimarum artium sic etiam iuris senatorii oblivionem quandam et ignorantiam induxit. Quotus enim quisque tam patiens, ut velit discere, quod in usu non sit habiturus? Adde, quod difficile est tenere, quae acceperis, nisi exerceas. Itaque reducta libertas rudes nos et imperitos deprehendit; cuius dulcedine accensi cogimur quaedam facere ante quam nosse.

Erat autem antiquitus institutum, ut a maioribus natu non auribus modo, verum etiam oculis disceremus, quae facienda mox ipsi ac per vices quasdam tradenda minoribus haberemus. Inde adolescentuli statim castrensibus stipendiis imbuebantur, ut imperare parendo, duces agere, dum sequuntur, adsuescerent, inde honores petitori adsistebant curiae

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<sup>a</sup> That of Domitian.

<sup>b</sup> On the accession of Nerva, 96 A.D.

## XIV

To ARISTO

As you are equally versed in civil and constitutional law, which latter includes the procedure of the Senate, I am particularly desirous to have your opinion, whether or no I made a mistake in the House the other day. This I request for my better instruction, not as to what is passed, (for that is now too late,) but as regards questions of the same nature that may hereafter arise.

I can fancy your replying, "Why do you ask, what you ought to have known?" But our servitude under a former reign<sup>a</sup> cast a cloud of oblivion and ignorance over all branches of useful knowledge, and not excluding even the usages of the Senate; for who is so tame-spirited as to desire to learn an art of which he will be debarred the exercise? Besides, it is not easy to retain the knowledge one has acquired, without putting it in practice. Thus Liberty at her return<sup>b</sup> found us ignorant and inexperienced; and kindled by her charms, we are sometimes impelled to action, ere we know how to act.

But in the olden time it was an established rule that Romans should learn from their elders, not only by precept, but by example, the principles on which they themselves should one day act, and which they should in their turn transmit to the younger generation. Hence they were inured from boyhood to service in camp, that by being accustomed to obey, they might learn to command and by following others, be trained to play the leader. And hence, on becoming candidates for office, they used to stand

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

foribus et consilii publici spectatores ante quam consortes erant. Suis cuique parens pro magistro, aut cui parens non erat, maximus quisque et vetustissimus pro parente. Quae potestas referentibus, quod consentibus ius, quae vis magistratibus, quae ceteris libertas, ubi cedendum, ubi resistendum, quod silendi tempus, quis dicendi modus, quae distinctio pugnantium sententiarum, quae executio prioribus aliquid addentium, omnem denique senatorium morem, quod fidelissimum praeciendi genus, exemplis docebantur.

At nos iuvenes fuimus quidem in castris, sed cum suspecta virtus, inertia in pretio, cum ducibus auctoritas nulla, nulla militibus verecundia, nusquam imperium, nusquam obsequium, omnia soluta, turbata atque etiam in contrarium versa, postremo obliviscenda magis quam tenenda. Idem prospeximus curiam, sed curiam trepidam et elinguem; cum dicere, quod velles, periculosum, quod nolles, miserum esset. Quid tunc disci potuit, quid didicisse iuvat, cum senatus aut ad otium summum aut ad summum nefas vocaretur, et modo ludibrio, modo dolori retentus, numquam seria, tristia saepe censeret? Eadem mala iam senatores, iam participes malorum multos per

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<sup>a</sup> If any motion proposed in the Senate was thought too general, and to include several distinct articles, some of which might be approved, and others rejected, it was usual to require that it might be divided. (Melm.)

<sup>b</sup> The fourth satire of Juvenal will serve as a comment upon this passage, where he acquaints us that a turbot of a most enormous size being brought to Domitian, he immediately convened the Senate, in order to consult in what manner it should be dressed. (Melm.)



at the senate-house doors, and were spectators, before they were members of the Council of State. The father of each youth served as his instructor, or, if he had none, some person of years and dignity supplied the place of a father. Thus they were taught by that surest method of instruction, example, how far the right of proposing any law to the Senate extended; what privileges a senator had in delivering his opinion; the powers of senators who are magistrates, and the independence of the rest; where it is proper to yield, and where to stand firm; how long to speak, and when to be silent; how to distinguish conflicting motions,<sup>a</sup> and how to discuss an amendment. In a word, they learnt by this means the whole conduct of a senator.

It is true, indeed, I myself served in the army as a young man; but it was at a time when courage was suspected, and cowardice at a premium; when the generals were without authority, and the soldiers without awe; when there was neither command nor obedience; when our whole military system was relaxed, disordered, and actually turned upside down—in short, when it was better to forget than to remember its lessons. I likewise went as a spectator to the Senate, but a Senate that was mute and fearful; since it was dangerous to speak one's real sentiments, and infamous to profess any others. What satisfaction in learning, or indeed what could be learnt, when the Senate was convened either for utter idleness or for business the most criminal; when they were kept sitting either for cruel or ridiculous purposes<sup>b</sup>; and when their resolutions were never serious, though often tragical. On becoming a senator, and a partaker of these miseries,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

annos vidimus tulimusque : quibus ingenia nostra in posterum quoque hebetata, fracta, contusa sunt. Breve tempus (nam tanto brevius omne quanto felicius tempus), quo libet scire, quid simus, libet exercere, quod scimus.<sup>1</sup>

Quo iustius peto, primum ut errori, si quis est error, tribuas veniam, deinde medearis scientia tua, cui semper fuit curae sic iura publica ut privata, sic antiqua ut recentia, sic rara ut adsidua tractare. Atque ego arbitror illis etiam, quibus plurimarum rerum agitatio frequens nihil esse ignotum patiebatur, genus quaestionis, quod adfero ad te, aut non satis tritum aut etiam inexpertum fuisse. Hoc et ego excusator, si forte sum lapsus, et tu dignior laude, si potes id quoque docere, quod in obscuro est, an didiceris.

Referebatur de libertis Afrani Dextri consulis incertum sua an suorum manu, scelere an obsequio peremti. Hos alius ('Quis?' inquis. Ego; sed nihil refert) post quaestionem supplicio liberandos, alius in insulam relegandos, alius morte puniendos arbitrabatur. Quarum sententiarum tanta diversitas

<sup>1</sup> scimus *Reifferscheid. Mus. Rhen.* 1860, p. 636, sumus *vulg.*

## BOOK VIII. xiv

I both witnessed and endured them for many years ; which so broke and damped my spirits, that they have not even yet been able fully to recover themselves. It is but a short time (for every period is shorter, the happier it is) since we could take any pleasure in knowing the rights and duties of our station, or in putting that knowledge into practice.

Upon these grounds I may the more reasonably ask you, in the first place, to condone my error (if I have been guilty of one), and in the next, to remedy it by your expert knowledge : for you have ever been a devoted student of our laws both public and private, ancient and modern, general and exceptional. And I think the point upon which I am going to consult you, is one that even those who by constant and varied practice must have mastered every detail of public business, have seldom or never had to deal with. I shall be more excusable, therefore, if I happen to have been mistaken ; as you will deserve so much the higher applause, if you can teach me a lesson which it is not clear that you have learned yourself.

The case before the House concerned the freed-men of the consul Africanus Dexter, who being found murdered, it was uncertain whether he fell by his own hands or by those of his people ; and if the latter, whether they acted in obedience to his commands, or were prompted by their own villainy. After they had been put to the question, a certain senator (never mind his name, but if you wish to know, it was myself) was for acquitting them ; another moved that they should be banished to an island ; and a third that they should be put to death. These several verdicts were so extremely opposite,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

erat, ut non possent esse nisi singulae. Quid enim commune habet occidere et relegare? Non hercule magis quam relegare et absolvere; quamquam propior aliquanto est sententiae relegantis, quae absolvit, quam quae occidit (utraque enim ex illis vitam relinquit, haec adimit) cum interim, et qui morte puniebant, et qui relegabant, una sedebant et temporaria simulatione concordiae discordiam differebant. Ego postulabam, ut tribus sententiis constaret suus numerus, nec se brevibus induciis duae iungerent. Exigebam ergo, ut, qui capitali supplicio afficiendos putabant, discederent a relegante, nec interim contra absolventis mox dissensuri congregarentur, quia parvulum referret, an idem displiceret, quibus non idem placuisset. Illud etiam mihi permirum videbatur, eum quidem, qui liberos relegandos, servos supplicio adficiendos censuisset, eoactum esse dividere sententiam; hunc autem, qui liberos morte multaret, eum relegante numerari. Nam, si oportuisset dividi sententiam unius, quia res duas comprehendebat, non reperiebam, quem ad modum posset iungi sententia duorum tam diversa censentium.

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<sup>a</sup> Those in favour of a motion in the Senate signified the same by ranging themselves on that side of the House where the proposer was seated.

that it was impossible to put them to the vote otherwise than separately. For what is there in common between a sentence of banishment, and a sentence of death? Nothing more, heaven knows, than there is between a sentence of banishment and an acquittal. (Albeit acquitting a person comes much nearer to banishing him, than does sentencing him to death; for both the former verdicts spare, whereas the latter takes away, his life.) In the meanwhile, those respectively in favour of death, and of banishment, sate together on the same side of the House: and by a temporary appearance of union, suspended their real disagreement. I demanded, that the three verdicts should be counted as three, and that two of them should not coalesce by a momentary truce; consequently, I insisted that members who were for capital punishment should move away<sup>a</sup> from the proposer of banishment; and that those who would shortly be at variance should not meanwhile group themselves in opposition to the party for acquittal, merely to disunite again; for it was not material that they all opposed the same motion, since they did not support the same. It also seemed to me very extraordinary that whereas he who proposed banishment for freedmen and death for the slaves was obliged to put two distinct motions to the House; the proposer of a death-sentence upon the freedmen should be reckoned along with him who proposed to banish them. For if one and the same senator's motion had to be divided, because it comprehended two distinct things, I could not see how the motions of two different persons, whose views were diametrically opposed, could be taken together.

Atque adeo permitte mihi sic apud te tamquam ibi, sic peracta re tamquam adhuc integra rationem iudicii mei reddere, quaeque tunc carptim multis obstrepentibus dixi, per otium iungere. Fingamus tres omnino iudices in hanc causam datos esse, horum uni placuisse perire libertos, alteri relegari, tertio absolvi; utrumne sententiae duae collatis viribus novissimam periment, an separatim unaquaeque tantundem quantum altera valebit, nec magis poterit cum secunda prima conec̄ti, quam secunda cum tertia? Igitur in senatu quoque numerari tamquam contrariae debent, quae tamquam diversae dicuntur. Quodsi unus atque idem et perdendos censeret et relegandos, num ex sententia unius et perire possent et relegari? num denique omnino una sententia putaretur, quae tam diversa coniungeret? Quem ad modum igitur, cum alter puniendos, alter censeat relegandos, videri potest una sententia, quia dicitur a duobus, quae non videretur una, si ab uno diceretur?

Quid? lex non aperte docet dirimi debere sententias occidentis et relegantis, cum ita discessionem fieri iubet: ‘Qui haec sentitis, in hanc partem, qui alia omnia, in illam partem ite, qua sentitis?’ Examina singula verba et expende: ‘Qui haec sentitis,’ hoc est qui relegandos putatis, ‘in hanc partem,’ id est in eam, in qua sedet, qui

Permit me then, notwithstanding the point is determined, to go over it again as if it were still undecided, and to lay before you those reasons at my ease, which I offered to the House in the midst of much interruption and clamour. Let us suppose there had been only three judges appointed to hear this cause, one of whom was of opinion that the freedmen should die; the second that they should be banished; and the third that they ought to be acquitted: should the two former verdicts unite their strength to the destruction of the latter? Or should not each of them separately be balanced, and the first and second be no more combined than the second and third? They ought therefore to be counted in the Senate likewise as contrary, since they were delivered as conflicting opinions. Suppose the same person had moved, that the freedmen be banished and put to death as well; could they on one individual's motion have suffered both punishments? Or could it possibly have been esteemed as one motion, when it united two such contrary proposals? How then can one man's vote for death and another's for banishment, which could not be deemed a single motion if proposed by a single person, pass for such because it has two proposers?

Does not the law manifestly teach that we are to separate a capital verdict from one of banishment, by the formula employed when the House is ordered to divide? "You who hold such an opinion come to this side; you who hold any other go over to the side of him whose opinion you follow." Let us examine and weigh every clause: "You who are of this opinion": that is, you who would banish the freedmen, "come on this side"; namely, where the

censuit relegandos. Ex quo manifestum est non posse in eadem parte remanere eos, qui interficiendos arbitrantur. 'Qui alia omnia.' Animadvertis, ut non contenta lex dicere 'alia' addiderit 'omnia.' Num ergo dubium est alia omnia sentire eos, qui occidunt, quam qui relegant? 'In illam partem ite, qua sentitis.' Nonne videtur ipsa lex eos, qui dissentiunt, in contrariam partem vocare, cogere, impellere? non consul etiam, ubi quisque remanere, quo transgredi debeat, non tantum solemnibus verbis, sed manu gestuque demonstrat?

At enim futurum est ut, si dividantur sententiae interficientis et relegantis, praevaleat illa, quae absolvit. Quid istud ad censentes? quos certe non decet omnibus artibus, omni ratione pugnare, ne fiat, quod est mitius. Oportet tamen eos, qui puniunt capite, et qui relegant, absolvantibus primum, mox inter se comparari. Scilicet, ut in spectaculis quibusdam sors aliquem seponit ac servat, qui cum victore contendat, sic in senatu sunt aliqua prima, sunt secunda certamina, et ex duabus sententiis eam, quae superior exierit, tertia exspectat.

Quid, quod prima sententia comprobata ceterae perimantur? Qua ergo ratione potest esse nunc<sup>1</sup> unus atque idem locus sententiarum, quarum nullus est postea? Planius repetam. Nisi dicente sententiam eo, qui relegat, illi, qui puniunt capite, initio

<sup>1</sup> nunc *Schaefer*, non *codd.*



proposer of that motion is sitting. From whence it is clear that those who would execute the freedmen cannot remain on that side. "You who hold any other": observe, the Law is not contented with barely saying *another*, but it adds *any*. Now can there be a doubt, whether they who declare for a capital conviction are of *any* other opinion, than those who propose exile? "Go over to the side of him whose opinion you follow": does not the Law herself seem to summon, force and urge those who differ to opposite sides? Does not the Consul actually point out, not only by the customary formula, but by waving his hand, where each man is to remain, or to which side he must cross over?

"But," it is objected, "if the House votes separately on the motions for death and for banishment, the motion for acquittal will get a majority." But what is that to the parties who vote? Certainly it ill becomes them to fight tooth and nail to defeat the milder verdict. "Still," they say, "those who would condemn the accused either capitally or to banishment, should be first matched against those who would acquit them, and afterwards against each other." Thus, as in certain public games one competitor is reserved and set apart by lot to engage with the conqueror of the rest; so, it seems, in the Senate there is a first and second combat, and of two motions, the prevailing one has still a third to contend with.

How about the rule that when the first motion proposed is carried, all the rest fall to the ground? On what principle then can motions be simultaneously put now, which cannot later be put at all? To repeat this more plainly; unless those in favour of the death-penalty immediately go over to the side

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

statim in alia discedant, frustra postea dissentient ab eo, cui paulo ante consenserint.

Sed quid ego similis docti? cum discere velim, an sententias dividi an iri in singulas oportuerit? Obtinui quidem, quod postulabam; nihilo minus tamen quaero, an postulare debuerim. Quem ad modum obtinui? Is, qui ultimum supplicium sumendum esse censebat, nescio an iure, certe aequitate postulationis meae victus ommissa sententia sua accessit releganti veritus scilicet, ne, si dividerentur sententiae, quod alioqui fore videbatur, ea, quae absolvendos esse censebat, numero praevaleret. Etenim longe plures in hac una quam in duabus singulis crant. Tum illi quoque, qui auctoritate eius trahebantur, transeunte illo destituti reliquerunt sententiam ab ipso auctore desertam secutique sunt quasi transfugam, quem ducem sequebantur. Sic ex tribus sententiis duae factae, tenuitque ex duabus altera tertia expulsa, quae cum ambas superare non posset, elegit, ab utra vinceretur. Vale.

### XV

C. PLINIUS IUNIORI SUO S.

ONERAVI te tot pariter missis voluminibus, sed oneravi, primum quia exegeras, deinde quia scripseras

of the "Noes" when a member proposes banishment, it will be vain for them to oppose him on a future division, whom they have supported just before.

But why do I talk like one giving instruction, when I wish to learn whether or no these motions should have been taken separately? My demand was at least successful; nevertheless, I ask, was it justifiable? Would you know how I succeeded in it? The proposer of the death penalty, overcome probably by the legality, certainly by the equity of my demand, dropped his own motion and went over to the proposer of exile. He was afraid, to be sure, that if the motions were taken separately (which he saw would anyhow be the case), those for acquittal would have a majority. And truly, the numbers were far greater on that side than on either of the other two, separately counted. The consequence was, that those who had been influenced by his authority, when they saw themselves forsaken by his going over to the other party, gave up a motion which they found abandoned by the first author, and deserted, as it were, with their leader. Thus the three motions were resolved into two; and of those two one prevailed; while the rejected third, as it could not vanquish both the others, had only to choose to which of the two it would yield. Farewell.

## XV

## To JUNIOR

I HAVE over-burthened you by sending you so many volumes at once; but I have done so firstly at your own request; and secondly because you wrote

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tam graciles istic vindemias esse, ut plane scirem tibi vacaturum, quod vulgo dicitur, librum legere. Eadem ex meis agellis nuntiantur. Igitur mihi quoque licebit scribere, quae legas, sit modo, unde chartae emi possint; quae si scabrae bibulaeve sint, aut non scribendum, aut necessario, quidquid scripserimus boni malive, delebimus. Vale.

### XVI

C. PLINIUS PATERNO SUO S.

CONFECERUNT me infirmitates meorum, mortes etiam, et quidem iuvenum. Solacia duo nequaquam paria tanto dolori, solacia tamen, unum facilitas manumittendi (videor enim non omnino immaturos perdidisse, quos iam liberos perdidi), alterum, quod permitto servis quoque quasi testamenta facere eaque, ut legitima, custodio. Mandant rogantque, quod visum; pareo ut iussus. Dividunt, donant, relinquunt duntaxat intra domum; nam servis res publica quaedam et quasi civitas domus est. Sed, quamquam his solaciis adquiescam, de-

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<sup>a</sup> Slaves could not hold or bequeath property.

## BOOK VIII. xv.-xvi

me word that the yield of your vineyards had been so poor, that I might be assured you would have *time*, as people say, to read a book. I have received the same bad accounts of my own little farms; and am myself therefore at full leisure to write books for you, provided I can but raise money enough to furnish me with good paper. For should I be reduced to the coarse and spongy sort, either I must not write at all, or whatever I compose, whether good or bad, must necessarily undergo one cruel blot. Farewell.

### XVI

#### TO PATERNUS

THE sickness which has lately run through my family, and carried off several of my domestics, some of them too in the prime of their years, has deeply afflicted me. I have two consolations, however, which though they are not equal to so considerable a grief, still they are consolations. One is, that I have always very readily manumitted my slaves (for their death does not seem altogether immature, if they lived long enough to receive their freedom); the other, that I have allowed them to make a kind of will, which I observe as religiously as if it were good in law.<sup>a</sup> I receive and obey their last requests, as so many authoritative commands, suffering them to dispose of their effects to whom they please; with this single restriction, that they leave them to some in my household, for to persons in their station the household takes the place of city and commonwealth. But though I solace myself with such reflections,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

bilitor et frangor eadem illa humanitate, quae me, ut hoc ipsum permetterem, induxit.

Non ideo tamen velim durior fieri. Nec ignoro alios huius modi casus nihil amplius vocare quam damnum eoque sibi magnos homines et sapientes videri. Qui an magni sapientesque sint, nescio, homines non sunt. Hominis est enim adfieri dolore, sentire, resistere tamen et solacia admittere, non solaciis non egere. Verum de his plura fortasse, quam debui, sed pauciora, quam volui. Est enim quaedam etiam dolendi voluptas, praesertim si in amici sinu defleas, apud quem lacrimis tuis vel laus sit parata vel venia. Vale.

### XVII

C. PLINIUS MACRINO SUO S.

NUM istic quoque immite et turbidum caelum? Hic adsiduae tempestates et crebra diluvia. Tiberis alveum excessit et demissioribus ripis alte superfunditur. Quamquam fossa, quam providentissimus imperator fecit, exhaustus premit valles, innatat campis, quaque planum solum, pro solo cernitur. Inde, quae solet flumina accipere et permixta devehere, velut obvius sistere cogit atque ita alienis aquis operit agros, quos ipse non tangit. Anio,

## BOOK VIII. xvi.—xvii

I am overpowered by those very sentiments of humanity which led me to grant them that indulgence.

However, I do not therefore wish to become more callous. Others, I know, describe misfortunes of this kind by no higher term than “a pecuniary loss,” and fancy they thereby shew themselves men of sense and spirit. Their wisdom and magnanimity I shall not dispute, but *men*, I am sure, they are not; for it is the very essence of human nature to *feel* those impressions of sorrow, which it yet endeavours to resist, and to admit, not to be above, consolation. But perhaps I have detained you too long upon this subject—though not so long as I would. For there is a certain luxury in grief; especially when we pour out our sorrows in the bosom of a friend, who will approve, or, at least, pardon our tears. Farewell.

### XVII

#### TO MACRINUS

Is the weather in your parts as rude and boisterous as it is with us? All here is tempest and inundation. The Tiber has overflowed its channel, and deeply flooded its lower banks. Though drained by a dyke, which the Emperor providently had cut, it submerges the valleys, swims along the fields, and entirely overspreads the flats. The streams which it ordinarily receives and carries down commingled to the sea, it now forcibly checks in their course, by, so to speak, advancing to meet them; and thus deluges with borrowed waters lands it cannot reach itself. That most delightful of rivers, the Anio,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

delicatissimus annium ideoque adiacentibus villis velut invitatus retentusque, magna ex parte nemora, quibus inumbratur, fregit et rapuit; subruit montes et decidentium mole pluribus locis clausus, dum amissum iter quaerit, impulit tecta ac se super ruinas eiecit atque extulit.

Viderunt, quos excelsioribus terris illa tempestas non deprehendit, alibi divitum apparatus, et gravem supellectilem, alibi instrumenta ruris, ibi boves, aratra, rectores, hic soluta et libera armenta atque inter haec arborum truncos aut villarum trabes atque culmina varie lateque fluitantia. Ac ne illa quidem malo vacaverunt, ad quae non ascendit annis. Nam pro amne imber adsiduus et deiecti nubibus turbines, proruta opera, quibus pretiosa rura cinguntur, quasata atque etiam decussa monumenta. Multi eius modi casibus debilitati, obruti, obtriti; et aucta luctibus damna.

Ne quid simile istic pro mensura periculi, vereor teque rogo, si nihil tale, quam maturissime sollicitudini meae consulas, sed, et si tale, id quoque nunties. Nam parvulum differt, patiaris adversa an exspectes: nisi quod tamen est dolendi modus, non est timendi. Doleas enim, quantum scias accidisse, timeas, quantum possit accidere. Vale.



which seems invited and detained by the villas upon its banks, has destroyed and carried away much of the woods that shade its brink. It has undermined mountains, and its channel being blocked by the resulting landslides, it has wrecked houses in the endeavour to regain its course, and surges high above the ruins.

Dwellers in the uplands, who were out of reach of this fearful inundation, have seen, here the household gear and heavy furniture of lordly mansions, there instruments of husbandry, elsewhere ploughs and oxen with their drivers, elsewhere again herds of cattle let loose and astray, together with trunks of trees, or beams and gables of the neighbouring villas—all floating about far and wide. Nor indeed have even these uplands, to which the river did not rise, escaped calamity. For long torrential rains, and waterspouts hurled down from the clouds, have destroyed all the enclosures on the valuable farms, and shaken, and even overturned, public buildings. Numbers have been maimed, crushed, or buried by such accidents, and loss of property has been aggravated by bereavements.

I am extremely uneasy lest this extensive disaster should have spread to you; I beg therefore, if it has not, you will immediately relieve my anxiety. And indeed, I desire you would inform me though it should; for there is little difference between expecting misfortune and undergoing it; except that grief has limits, whereas apprehension has none. For we grieve only for what we know *has* happened; but we fear all that possibly *may* happen. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XVIII

### C. PLINIUS RUFINO SUO S

FALSUM est nimirum, quod creditur vulgo, testamenta hominum speculum esse morum, cum Domitius Tullus longe melior apparuerit morte quam vita. Nam, cum se captandum prae buisset, reliquit filiam heredem, quae illi cum fratre communis, quia genitam fratre adoptaverat. Prosecutus est nepotes plurimis incundissimisque legatis, prosecutus etiam proneptem. In summa omnia pietate plenissima ac tanto magis, quoniam inexpectata sunt.

Ergo varii tota civitate sermones; alii fictum, ingratum, immemorem loquuntur seque ipsos, dum insectantur illum, turpissimis confessionibus produnt, ut qui de patre, avo, proavo quasi de orbo querantur, alii contra hoc ipsum laudibus ferunt, quod sit frustratus improbas spes hominum, quos sic decipere pro moribus temporum prudentia est. Addunt etiam non fuisse ei liberum alio testamento mori; neque enim reliquisse opes filiae, sed reddidisse, quibus auctus per filiam fuerat. Nam Curtilius Mancianus perosus generum suum Domitium Lucanum (frater is Tulli) sub ea condicione filiam eius, neptem suam,

## XVIII

## TO RUFINUS

THERE is certainly no truth in the popular belief, that a man's will is the mirror of his character. We have an instance to the contrary in Domitius Tullus, who appears a much better man in his death than during his life. After having encouraged the attentions of legacy-hunters, he has left his estate to his brother's daughter, whom he had adopted as his own. He has complimented his grandsons, and also his great grand-daughter, by a number of very agreeable bequests. In a word, all the provisions of the will showed the utmost family feeling, and all the more as they were unexpected.

All Rome has been discussing this affair; some people charge Tullus with feigning, ingratitude, and unmindfulness; and while they thus complain of him as if, instead of leaving three generations of descendants, he had died without natural heirs, their invectives betray their own dishonest designs. Others, on the contrary, applaud him precisely for having disappointed the hopes of this infamous tribe of men, whom, considering the manners of the age, it is but prudence to deceive in this way. And they add, that he was not at liberty to leave any other will; for he did not bequeath, but restore, to his adopted daughter, wealth that accrued to him through her. For Curtilius Mancianus, having taken a dislike to his son-in-law Domitius Lucanus (brother to Tullus) devised his estate to this young lady, his grand-daughter, upon condition that Lucanus, her father,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

effecerat heredem, si esset manu patris emissa. Emiserat pater, adoptaverat patruus, atque ita circumscripto testamento consors frater in patris potestatem emancipatam filiam adoptionis fraude revocaverat et quidem cum opibus amplissimis.

Fuit alioqui fratribus illis quasi fato datum, ut divites fierent invitissimis iis,<sup>1</sup> a quibus facti sunt. Quin etiam Domitius Afer, qui illos in nomen adsumpsit, reliquit testamentum ante octo et decem annos nuncupatum adeoque postea improbatum sibi, ut patris eorum bona proscribenda curaverit. Mira illius asperitas, mira felicitas horum, illius asperitas, qui numero civium excidit, quem socium etiam in liberis habuit, felicitas horum, quibus successit in locum patris, qui patrem abstulerat.

Sed haec quoque hereditas Afri ut reliqua cum fratre quaesita transmittenda erat filiae fratris, a quo Tullus ex asse heres institutus praelatusque filiae fuerat, ut conciliaretur. Quo laudabilius testamentum est, quod pietas, fides, pudor, scripsit, in quo denique omnibus adfinitatibus pro cuiusque officio gratia relata est, relata et uxori. Accepit amoenissimas villas, accepit magnam pecuniam uxor optima et patientissima ac tanto melius de viro merita, quanto

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<sup>1</sup> iis *add. Müller.*

<sup>a</sup> See iv. 2 n.

would renounce his paternal rights over her.<sup>a</sup> He did so, but her uncle adopted her. In this way the purpose of Mancian's will was defeated, and as the brothers held their property in common, Lucanus, despite the act of emancipation, got his daughter under his dominion again, along with her handsome fortune, by this trick of adoption.

It seems, indeed, to have been the fate of these two brothers, to be enriched by those who had the greatest aversion to them. For Domitius Afer, by whom they were adopted, left a will in their favour, which he had made eighteen years before his death; though he afterwards so entirely reversed his intention as to be active in procuring the confiscation of their father's estate. There is something very strange about his harsh conduct, and the good fortune of the other two; strange on the one hand that Domitius should cut off from the citizen order a man with whom he went partner even in children; and on the other, that these brothers should find a second father in him who had ruined their first.

But it was highly just in Tullus, after having been appointed sole heir by his brother, in preference to the latter's own daughter, to make her amends by giving her this estate which came to him from Afer, as well as all the rest which he possessed in common with his brother. His will therefore is the more praise-worthy, since it follows the dictates of family affection, integrity and honour; since, finally, he has therein acknowledged his obligations to all his relatives by marriage, according to their respective good offices. He has made a similar acknowledgement to his wife, having bequeathed to that excellent and much-enduring spouse his delightful villas, besides a

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

magis est reprehensa, quod nupsit. Nam mulier natalibus clara, moribus proba, aetate declivis, diu vidua, mater olim parum decore secuta matrimonium videbatur divitis senis ita perdit morbo, ut esse taedio posset uxori, quam iuvenis sanusque duxisset.

Quippe omnibus membris extortus et fractus tantas opes solis oculis obibat ac ne in lectulo quidem nisi ab aliis movebatur. Quin etiam (foedum miserandumque dictu) dentes lavandos fricandosque praebebat. Auditum frequenter ex illo, cum quereretur de contumeliis debilitatis suae, digitos se servorum suorum quotidie lingere. Vivebat tamen et vivere volebat sustentante maxime uxore, quae culpam inchoati matrimonii in gloriam perseverantia verterat.

Habes omnes fabulas urbis; nam sunt omnes fabulae Tullus. Expectatur auctio. Fuit enim tam copiosus, ut amplissimos hortos eodem, quo emerat, die instruxerit plurimis et antiquissimis statuīs. Tantum illi pulcherrimorum operum in horreis, quae neglegebantur. Invicem tu, si quid istic epistula

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## BOOK VIII. xviii

large sum of money. And indeed, she deserved so much the more at his hands, as she was highly censured for her marriage with him. It was thought indecorous for a woman of her high birth and character, long widowed of a husband by whom she had issue, to marry in her declining years a rich old man, who was so hopelessly diseased, that even a wife whom he had wedded in his youth and health might well have grown weary of him.

He had so entirely lost the use of all his limbs, that he could not move himself in bed without assistance ; and all the enjoyment he had of his riches, was only to contemplate them. He was even reduced to the wretched necessity (which indeed one cannot mention without loathing as well as lamenting) of having his teeth washed and cleansed by others ; and he used frequently to say, when he was complaining of the indecencies which his infirmities obliged him to suffer, that he was every day forced to lick his servants' fingers. Still, however, he lived, and was willing to accept of life which was mainly preserved to him by his wife, who, whatever censure she might incur by contracting the alliance, turned it to praise by her steadfast loyalty afterwards.

Now I have given you all the gossip of the town, where nothing is talked of but Tullus. We are all eagerly awaiting the sale of his effects. For he was so large a collector that he adorned a vast pleasure ground with a quantity of antique statuary the very day he purchased it, so numerous were the exquisite works of art which lay neglected in his granaries. If you have any local news worth communicating in return, I hope you will not refuse the trouble of

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

dignum, ne gravare scribere.<sup>1</sup> Nam cum aures hominum novitate laetantur, tum ad rationem vitae exemplis erudimur. Vale.

### XIX

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

ET gaudium mihi et solacium in litteris, nihilque tam laetum, quod his laetius, tam triste, quod non per has sit minus triste. Itaque et infirmitate uxoris, et meorum periculo, quorundam vero etiam morte turbatus ad unicum doloris levamentum studia confugi, quae praestant, ut adversa magis intellegam, sed patientius feram. Est autem mihi moris, quod sum daturus in manus hominum, ante amicorum iudicio examinare, in primis tuo. Proinde, si quando, nunc intende libro, quem cum hac epistula accipies, quia vereor, ne ipse ut tristis parum intenderim. Imperare enim dolori, ut scriberem, potui, ut vacuo animo laetoque, non potui. Porro ut ex studiis gaudium sic studia hilaritate proveniunt. Vale.

### XX

C. PLINIUS GALLO SUO S.

Ad quae noscenda iter ingredi, transmitters mare solemus, ea sub oculis posita neglegimus, seu quia

<sup>1</sup> scribere *add. a.*



## BOOK VIII. xviii.-xx

writing to me: not only as we all love to hear some new thing, but because our moral education is promoted by examples. Farewell.

### XIX

#### TO MAXIMUS

LITERATURE proves both an entertainment and consolation to me; and as there is no pleasure I prefer to it, so there is no pain it does not alleviate. Accordingly, distracted as I am by my wife's ill-health, the dangerous sickness of some of my servants, and the death of others, I fly to my studies, those sovereign composers of my grief. It is true, they give me a keener perception of misfortunes, but they teach me too how to bear them more patiently. It is an established rule with me, before I publish anything, to take the judgement of my friends upon it, especially yours. I beg therefore you would examine the speech I here send you with particular care, as I am afraid my dejection may have prevented me from doing so myself. For though I could command my grief so far as to write, I could not master it enough to write with ease and cheerfulness. Moreover, if study promotes a pleasing serenity, so does a cheerful mood promote study. Farewell.

### XX

#### TO GALLUS

THOSE works of art or nature which are usually the motives of our travels by land or sea, are often overlooked and neglected if they lie within our

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ita natura comparatum, ut proximorum incuriosi longinqua sectemur, sen quod omnium rerum cupido languescit, cum facilis occasio, seu quod differimus tamquam saepe visuri, quod datur videre, quoties velis cernere. Quacunque de causa permulta in urbe nostra iuxtaque urbem non oculis modo, sed ne auribus quidem novimus, quae si tulisset Achaia, Aegyptus, Asia aliave quaelibet miraculorum ferax commendatrixque terra, audita, perlecta, lustrata haberemus.

Ipse certe nuper, quod nec audieram ante nec videram, audiui pariter et vidi. Exegerat prosocer meus, ut Amerina praedia sua inspicerem. Haec perambulanti mihi ostenditur subiacens lacus nomine Vadimonis; simul quaedam incredibilia narrantur. Pervenì ad ipsum. Lacus est in similitudinem iacentis rotæ circumscriptus et undique aequalis; nullus sinus, obliquitas nulla, omnia dimensa, paria et quasi artificis manu cavata et excisa. Color caeruleo albidior, viridior et pressior, sulphuris odor saporque medicatus, vis, qua fracta solidantur. Spatium modicum, quod tamen sentiat ventos et fluctibus intumescat. Nulla in hoc navis (sacer enim), sed innatant insulae herbidæ omnes arundine et iunco

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<sup>a</sup> "The water, as it evaporated, depositing a crust of sulphurous or calcareous character" (Merrill).

## BOOK VIII. xx

reach; whether it be that we are naturally less inquisitive concerning those things which are near us, while we are pushed forward in pursuit of remote objects; or because the easiness of gratifying a desire is always sure to damp it; or, perhaps, that we defer from time to time viewing what we know we have an opportunity of seeing when we please. Whatever the reason be, it is certain there are several rarities in and near Rome which we have not only never seen, but even never so much as heard of: and yet if they had been the produce of Greece, or Egypt, or Asia, or any other country which offers us a rich display of wonders, we would long since have heard about them, read about them, and surveyed them ourselves.

For myself at least, I confess, I have lately become acquainted with one of these curiosities, to which I was an entire stranger before. My wife's grandfather desired I would view his estate near Ameria. As I was walking over his grounds I was shewn a lake that lies below them, called Vadimon, and given at the same time an incredible account of it. So I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular; there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, and somewhat cloudy; it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures.<sup>a</sup> Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels are suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred; but several grassy islands swim about it, covered

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tectae, quaeque alia fecundior palus ipsaque illa extremitas lacus effert. Sua cuique figura ut modus; cunctis margo derasus, quia frequenter vel litori vel sibi illisae terunt terunturque. Par omnibus altitudo, par levitas; quippe in speciem carinae humili radice descendunt. Haec ab omni latere perspicitur eademque suspensa pariter et mersa. Interdum innctae copulataeque et continenti similes sunt, interdum discordantibus ventis digeruntur; non numquam destitutae tranquillitate singulae fluitant.

Saepe minores maioribus velut cumbulae onerariis adhaerescunt, saepe inter se maiores minoresque quasi cursum certamenque desumunt; rursus omnes in eundem locum adpulsae, qua steterunt, promovent terram et modo hac, modo illac lacum reddunt auferuntque ac tum demum, cum medium tenuere, non contrahunt. Constat pecora herbas secuta sic in insulas illas ut in extremam ripam procedere solere nec prius intellegere mobile solum, quam litori abrepta quasi illata et imposita circumfusum undique lacum paveant, mox, quo tulerit ventus, egressa non magis se descendisse sentire, quam senserint ascendisse. Idem lacus in flumen egeritur, quod, ubi se paulisper oculis dedit, specu mergitur alteque con-

with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce.\* No two are alike in size or shape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and one another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy; for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view; the hull lies half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent; sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds; at times, when it is calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately.

You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat; or perhaps, seeming to strive which shall outswim the other; then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they thus advance, and now here, now there, diminish or restore the area of the lake; only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the border of the lake, without perceiving that they are on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship; and when they presently land wherever the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been of embarking. This lake empties itself into a river, which after running a little way above ground, sinks

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ditum meat ac si quid, antequam subduceretur, accepit, servat et profert.

Haec tibi scripsi, quia nec minus ignota quam mihi nec minus grata credebam. Nam te quoque, ut me, nihil aequae ac naturae opera delectant. Vale.

### XXI

C. PLINIUS ARRIANO SUO S.

UT in vita sic in studiis pulcherrimum et humanissimum aestimo severitatem comitatemque miscere, ne illa in tristitiam, haec in petulantiam excedat. Qua ratione ductus graviora opera lusibus iocisque distinguo. Ad hos proferendos et tempus et locum opportunissimum elegi, utque iam nunc adsuescerent et ab otiosis et in triclinio audiri, Iulio mense, quo maxime lites interquiescunt, positis ante lectos cathedris amicos collocavi.

Forte accidit, ut eo die mane in advocationem subitam rogarer, quod mihi causam prae loquendi dedit. Sum enim deprecatus, ne quis ut irreverentem operis argueret, quod recitaturus, quamquam et amicis et paucis, idem iterum amicis, foro et negotiis

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<sup>a</sup> Apparently that the guests might jot down comments during the reading.

into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course and if anything is thrown in brings it up again where the stream emerges.

I have given you this account because I imagined it would not be less new, nor less agreeable to you than it was to me; as I know you take the same unique pleasure as myself, in contemplating the works of nature. Farewell.

## XXI

## TO ARRIANUS

NOTHING, in my opinion, gives a more amiable and becoming grace to our studies, as well as our manners, than to temper gravity with gaiety, lest the former should degenerate into austereness, and the latter run up into levity. Upon this maxim it is, that I diversify my more serious works with light and playful effusions. I had chosen a convenient place and season to introduce some of these; and designing to accustom them early to a disengaged audience, and to the dinner table, I invited my friends in July, when the courts of justice are usually shut up, and I placed writing-desks before their dining-couches.<sup>a</sup>

But as I happened that morning to be suddenly called on to plead a cause, I took occasion to preface my recital with an apology. I begged my audience not to infer that I slighted the affair in hand, because when on the point of reading my works, though merely to a small circle of friends, I had not kept clear of other friends and of legal business. I

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

non abstinuissem. Addidi hunc ordinem me et in scribendo sequi, ut necessitates voluptatibus, seria iucundis anteferrem ac primum amicis, tum mihi scriberem.

Liber fuit et opusculis varius et metris. Ita solemus, qui ingenio parum fidimus, satietatis periculum fugere. Recitavi biduo. Hoc adsensus audientium exegit. Et tamen, ut alii transeunt quaedam imputantque, quod transeant, sic ego nihil praetereo atque etiam non praeterire me, testor. Lego enim omnia, ut omnia emendem, quod contingere non potest electa recitantibus. At illud modestius et fortasse reverentius. Sed hoc simplicius et amantius. Amat enim, qui se sic amari putat, ut taedium non pertimescat; et alioqui quid praestant sodales, si conveniunt voluptatis suae causa? Delicatus ac similis ignoto est, qui amici librum bonum mavult audire quam facere.

Non dubito cupere te pro cetera mei caritate quam maturissime legere hunc adhuc musteum librum. Leges, sed retractatum, quae causa recitandi fuit; et tamen nonnulla iam ex eo nosti. Haec vel emendata postea vel, quod interdum longiore mora solet, deteriora facta quasi nova rursus et rescripta



added that I observed the same rule, as an author, of giving precedence to the necessary over the entertaining, the preference to the grave over the gay, and of writing for my friends first, myself afterwards.

The poems I read composed a variety of subjects and measures. It is thus that we, who dare not rely upon the single force of our genius, endeavour to avoid giving our readers satiety. In compliance with the unanimous demand of my audience, I read for two days successively. And this although, just as others omit their less shining passages, and make a merit of doing so, I omit nothing, and actually affirm that fact. I read the whole, that I may correct the whole; which it is impossible those who only read select passages should do. True, the latter plan is more modest, perhaps more respectful; but the former is more artless and affectionate. For to be so confident of your friends' affection that you feel no dread of wearying them, is a sure indication of your own. Besides, what good do your company do you if they assemble merely with a view to their own entertainment. He who had rather find his friend's performance correct, than make it so, is to be considered as a stranger, or one who is too indolent to give himself any trouble.

Your affection for me leaves me no room to doubt, that you are impatient to read my yet unripened book. You shall do so, when I have corrected it; which was indeed the design of my recital. You are already acquainted with some parts of it; but even those, after they have been polished (or perhaps spoiled, as is sometimes the case by over-keeping) will seem new to you. For when a composition

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

cognosces. Nam plerisque mutatis ea quoque mutata videntur, quae manent. Vale.

### XXII

C. PLINIUS GEMINIO SUO S.

NOSTINE hos, qui omnium libidinum servi sic aliorum vitiis irascuntur, quasi invideant, et gravissime puniunt, quos maxime imitantur? cum eos etiam, qui non indigent clementia ullius, nihil magis quam lenitas deceat. Atque ego optimum et emendatissimum existimo, qui ceteris ita ignoscit, tamquam ipse quotidie peccet, ita peccatis abstinet, tamquam nemini ignoscat. Proinde hoc domi, hoc foris, hoc in omni vitae genere teneamus, ut nobis implacabiles simus, exorabiles istis etiam, qui dare veniam nisi sibi nesciunt, mandemusque memoriae, quod vir mitissimus et ob hoc quoque maximus, Thrasea, crebro dicere solebat: ‘Qui vitia odit, homines odit.’

Quaeris fortasse, quo commotus haec scribam. Nuper quidam—sed melius coram; quamquam ne tunc quidem. Vereor enim, ne id, quod improbo, eos sectari, carpere, referre huic, quod cum maxime praecipimus, repugnet. Quisquis ille, qualiscunque, sileatur, quem insignire exempli nihil, non insignire, humanitatis plurimum refert. Vale.

has been extensively altered, it contracts an air of novelty even in those parts which remain untouched. Farewell.

## XXII

## TO GERMINIUS

HAVE you ever observed a sort of people, who, though they are themselves slaves to every lust, shew a kind of jealous resentment against the vices of others; and are most severe upon those whom they most resemble? yet, surely tolerance, even in persons who have the least occasion for clemency themselves, is of all virtues the most becoming. To my mind, the best and most faultless character is his, who is as ready to pardon the rest of mankind, as though he daily transgressed himself; and at the same time as cautious to avoid a fault, as if he never forgave one. Be it our rule, then, at home, abroad, and in every sphere of conduct to be relentless to ourselves, placable to others, even such as forgive no failings but their own; remembering always what the humane, and therefore, as well as upon other accounts, the great Thræsea used frequently to say: "He who hates vice, hates mankind."

You will ask, perhaps what has moved me to these reflections? The other day, a certain person—but of that when we meet—though upon second thoughts, not even then, lest whilst I inveigh against and expose conduct I disapprove, I should act counter to that maxim I particularly recommend. Who therefore, and what he is, shall remain in silence: for to brand the man would point no moral, while to refrain is to take the side of humanity. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XXIII

C. PLINIUS MARCELLINO SUO S.

OMNIA mihi studia, omnes curas, omnia avocamenta exemit, excussit, eripuit dolor, quem ex morte Iuni Aviti gravissimum cepi. Latum clavum in domo mea induerat, suffragio meo adiutus in petendis honoribus fuerat, ad hoc ita me diligebat, ita verebatur; ut me formatore morum, me quasi magistro uteretur. Rarum hoc in adolescentibus nostris. Nam quotusquisque vel aetati alterius vel auctoritati ut minor cedit? Statim sapiunt, statim sciunt omnia, neminem verentur, imitantur neminem atque ipsi sibi exempla sunt.

Sed non Avitus, cuius haec praecipua prudentia, quod alios prudentiores arbitrabatur, haec praecipua eruditio, quod discere volebat. Semper ille aut de studiis aliquid aut de officiis vitae consulebat, semper ita recedebat ut melior factus et erat factus vel eo, quod audierat, vel quod omnino quaesierat.

Quod ille obsequium Serviano, exactissimo viro, praestitit! quem legatum tribunus ita et intellexit et cepit, ut ex Germania in Pannoniam transeuntem non ut commilito, sed ut comes adsectatorque sequeretur. Qua industria, qua modestia quaestor

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\* ii. 9, note.

## XXIII

## To MARCELLINUS

THE deep concern I am under for the death of Junius Avitus, has rendered me incapable of business, study or amusement. He was invested with the *alaticlave* in my house; my interest supported him whenever he stood for office; more than that, his affection and esteem for me were so great that he formed his manners and regulated his conduct by my example and direction. An uncommon proceeding, this, with the youth of our day; for which of them pays submission as an inferior to age or authority? These young gentlemen begin life as sages, and know everything from the first; there is no one they revere or imitate, as they are their own models.

But not so Avitus; he especially shewed his wisdom, in believing there were some who had more; and discovered his knowledge, in his desire to learn. He constantly sought advice on points relating to his studies, or his duties in life, and always went away with the feeling of being morally improved; and improved he was, if not by the advice he received, by the mere act of seeking it.

How implicitly he obeyed that strict disciplinarian, Servianus! During the latter's command as Legate, Avitus, who was tribune under him, so fully learnt his merit, and so endeared himself to him, that when Servianus was transferred from Germany to Pannonia, he attended him, not as a fellow-officer, but as a friend and admirer. How diligent, how respectful, he must have been as *Quaestor*, to make himself no

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

consulibus suis (et plures habuit) non minus iucundus et gratus quam utilis fuit! Quo discursu, qua vigilantia hanc ipsam aedilitatem, cui praereptus est, petiit! quod vel maxime dolorem meum exulcerat.

Obversantur oculis cassi labores et infructuosae preces et honor, quem meruit tantum. Redit animo ille latus clavus in penatibus meis sumptus: redeunt illa prima, illa postrema suffragia mea, illi sermones, illae consultationes. Adficio adolescentia ipsius, adficio necessitudinum casu. Erat illi grandis natu parens, erat uxor, quam ante annum virginem acceperat; erat filia, quam paulo ante sustulerat. Tot spes, tot gaudia dies unus in adversa convertit. Modo designatus aedilis, recens maritus, recens pater intactum honorem, orbam matrem, viduam uxorem, filiam pupillam ignaramque patris reliquit.

Accedit lacrimis meis, quod absens et impendentis mali nescius pariter aegrum, pariter decessisse cognovi, ne gravissimo dolori timore consuescerem. In tantis tormentis eram, cum scriberem haec, scriberem sola; neque enim nunc aliud aut cogitare aut loqui possum. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. "had taken up from the ground"; the ceremony by which a father admitted a new-born child (which he had the right to rear or not, as he pleased) into the family.

less pleasing and acceptable, than useful, to the several Consuls he served under! With what energy and vigilance did he canvass for this very aedileship, from which he is now prematurely snatched—a circumstance that intensely aggravates my grief!

His wasted labours, his fruitless solicitations, and the office which he only merited, never enjoyed, are ever in my mind's eye. That memorable investiture of the laticlave under my roof; the first and the last occasions of my supporting his candidature; the conversations we have had, and the consultations we have held, all return fresh upon my mind. I am affected by his own youth, and the misfortune of his family. He had an aged parent; a wife, who was his virgin bride only a year ago; a daughter, whom he had only lately given a father's first embrace:<sup>a</sup> so many pleasing hopes, so many tender joys, were all reversed and destroyed in one day! When he was just elected aedile; when he was lately commenced husband and father, he had to leave his office untasted, his mother childless, his wife a widow, his daughter a mere infant, never to know a father's love.

But what increases my tears upon this melancholy occasion is that, being absent and unconscious of the impending stroke, I never knew of his sickness, till I heard of his death, and had no time to prepare myself for this cruel blow, by previously apprehending it! Such is the distress of my mind as I communicate these tidings. You must not wonder then that they are the whole subject of my letter; for I am not able at present to think or talk of anything else. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY .

## XXIV

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

AMOR in te meus cogit, non ut praecipiam (neque enim praeceptore es), admoneam tamen, ut, quae scis, teneas et observes aut scias melius.

Cogita te missum in provinciam Achaïam, illam veram et meram Graeciam, in qua primum humanitas, litterae, etiam fruges inventae esse creduntur, missum ad ordinandum statum liberarum civitatum, id est ad homines maxime homines, ad liberos maxime liberos, qui ius a natura datum virtute, meritis, amicitia, foedere denique et religione tenuerunt.

Reverere conditores deos et numina deorum, reverere gloriam veterem et hanc ipsam senectutem, quae in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque. Nihil ex cuiusquam dignitate, nihil ex libertate, nihil ex iactatione decerpseris. Habe ante oculos hanc esse terram, quae nobis miserit iura, quae leges non victis, sed petentibus dederit, Athenas esse, quas adeas, Lacedaemonem esse, quam regas; quibus reliquam umbram et residuum libertatis nomen eripere durum, ferum, barbarum est. Vides a medicis,

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<sup>a</sup> Achaia is so called in contrast to the province of Macedonia, not only as including most of Greece proper, but because it contained Athens and Sparta.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* enjoying nominal independence, and more or less autonomy under Roman rule.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* the "Laws of the Twelve Tables" (451-50 B.C.) on which the whole of Roman jurisprudence was founded. Previous to framing this code, the Romans sent commissioners to study the laws of the chief Greek cities.



## XXIV

To MAXIMUS

THE love I bear you obliges me to give you, not indeed a precept (for you are far from needing a preceptor), but a reminder that you should resolutely act up to the knowledge you already have, or else improve it. Consider that you are sent to the province of Achaia, that real, genuine Greece<sup>a</sup> where politeness, learning, and even agriculture itself, are supposed to have first arisen. You are commissioned to superintend the affairs of free states;<sup>b</sup> in other words, of men who are in the fullest sense men, and freemen who are in the highest sense free; who have maintained the right they received from Nature, by courage, by virtue, by friendship—in fine, by civil treaties and religious sanctions.

You will revere their Divine Founders, and the workings of divine powers among them; their ancient glory, and even their very age, which as it is venerable in men, in states it is sacred. Cherish sentiments of respect for their antiquity, their colossal achievements, and even for their legends. Let no man's dignity, liberty, or vanity, suffer the least diminution at your hands. Remember it was from this land we derived our legal code,<sup>c</sup> that she gave us laws not by right of conquest, but as a favour. Remember it is Athens you approach; it is Lacedaemon you govern; and to snatch from such a people the shadow that remains, the name that is left, of their freedom, would be a harsh, cruel, nay, barbarous, act. Physicians, you see, though in

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

quamquam in adversa valetudine nihil servi ac liberi differant, mollius tamen liberos clementiusque tractari.

Recordare, quid quaeque civitas fuerit, non ut despicias, quod esse desierit; absit superbia, asperitas. Nec timueris contemptum. An contemnitur, qui imperium, qui fascēs habet, nisi humilis et sordidus, et qui se primus ipse contemnit? Male vim suam potestas aliorum contumeliis experitur, male terrore veneratio acquiritur, longeque valentior amor ad obtinendum, quod velis, quam timor. Nam timor abit, si recedas, manet amor: ac sicut ille in odium hic in reverentiam vertitur.

Te vero etiam atque etiam (repetam enim) meminisse oportet officii tui titulum ac tibi ipsi interpretari, quale quantumque sit ordinare statum liberarum civitatum. Nam quid ordinatione civilius, quid libertate pretiosius? Porro quam turpe, si ordinatio eversione, libertas servitute mutetur!

Accedit, quod tibi certamen est tecum. Onerat te quaesturae tuae fama, quam ex Bithynia optimam revexisti, onerat testimonium principis, onerat tribunatus, praetura atque haec ipsa legatio quasi praemium data. Quo magis nitendum est, ne in longinqua provincia quam suburbana, ne inter servientes quam

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. of local rights and institutions.

sickness there is no difference between slaves and freemen, yet give the latter milder and more gentle treatment.

Recollect each city's former greatness, but not so as to despise her for having lost it. Far be pride and asperity from my friend; nor fear that a proper condescension can breed contempt. Can he who is vested with the powers and bears the ensigns of the state—can he be contemned, unless he is a low, sordid being, and sets the example by his self-contempt? To put affronts upon others is an ill way of testing the force of your authority; ill-gotten the homage inspired by terror; and love will help you to gain your ends far more effectually than fear. For while fear departs the moment you withdraw your presence, love abides! and as fear turns to hatred, so does love to respect.

It behoves you then (I cannot but repeat it), to recall again and again the terms of your commission, and to make yourself clearly comprehend the nature and importance of your task as comptroller of free states. For what is more constitutional than such control, or more precious than liberty? How infamous, then, his conduct, who transforms controlling into overturning<sup>a</sup> and liberty into slavery!

Moreover, you are your own rival. The reputation of having been an admirable Quaestor, which you brought home from Bithynia; the approbation of the Emperor; your conduct as Tribune and Praetor; in a word, this very mission, which may be looked upon as the reward of your services—all these are so many weighty responsibilities. So much the more must you endeavour to avoid the imputation, that you showed more honesty, sympathy, and

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

liberos, ne forte quam iudicio missus, ne rudis et incognitus quam exploratus probatusque humanior, melior, peritior fuisse videaris, cum sit alioqui, ut saepe audisti, saepe legisti, multo deformius amittere quam non adsequi laudem.

Haec velim credas, quod initio dixi scripsisse me admonentem, non praecipientem; quamquam praecipientem quoque. Quippe non vereor, in amore ne modum excesserim. Neque enim periculum est, ne sit nimium, quod esse maximum debet. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> sc. of the Emperor, by whose appointment Maximus was sent to Greece.

skill in a remote, than in a suburban province ; among a subject, than among a free people ; when you held office by lot, than when you did so by deliberate choice<sup>a</sup> ; whilst you were still a novice and unknown, than after you had been tried and tested. For, speaking generally, the maxim you have often heard and read holds true—'tis far more disfiguring to lose, than to lack, men's praises.

Pray believe, what I began by saying, that I have written as your monitor, not your preceptor, though I have played the preceptor also. For, to be sure, I am not afraid of carrying affection beyond its just limits : since there cannot be any danger of excess where we ought to advance as far as possible. Farewell.



## BOOK IX

## LIBER NONUS

### I

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

SAEPE te monui, ut libros, quos vel pro te vel in Plantam, immo et pro te et in illum (ita enim materia coge-  
bat) composuisti, quam maturissime emitteres, quod nunc praecipue morte eius audita et hortor et moneo. Quamvis enim legeris multis legendosque dederis, nolo tamen quemquam opinari defuncto demum inchoatos, quos incolumi eo peregisti. Salva sit tibi constantiae fama. Erit autem, si notum aequis iniquisque fuerit non post inimici mortem scribendi tibi natam esse fiduciam, sed iam paratam editionem morte praeven-  
tam. Simul vitabis illud

‘Οὐχ ὁσίη φθιμένοισιν.’

Nam, quod de vivente scriptum, de vivente recitatum

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<sup>a</sup> *Odyss.* 23. 412.



## BOOK IX

### I

#### TO MAXIMUS

I HAVE frequently recommended it to you, to be as expeditious as possible in publishing what you have written either in defence of yourself, or against Planta; or rather indeed (as your materials demanded) what you drew up with both those views: but I particularly press this advice upon you *now* that I hear he is dead. For though you read this piece to several of your friends, and put it into the hands of others, yet I should regret extremely, that the world should suspect you only began after his death, what it is most certain you had finished during his life. Let not the character my friend has acquired of firmness and resolution be called in question. And it will; unless both the candid and the malicious shall know, that the death of your adversary did not give you confidence to compose this piece, but merely forestalled the appearance of a work you were on the point of giving to the world. And thus you will also avoid the imputation,

“With impious joy to triumph o’er the dead.”<sup>a</sup>

For what you wrote and recited on the subject of a living personage, will be considered as published so

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

est, in defunctum quoque tamquam viventem adhuc editur, si editur statim. Igitur, si quid aliud in manibus, interim differ; hoc perface, quod nobis, qui legimus, olim absolutum videtur. Sed iam videatur et tibi, cuius cunctationem nec res ipsa desideret et temporis ratio praecedit. Vale.

### II

C. PLINIUS SABINO SUO S.

FACIS iucunde, quod non solum plurimas epistulas meas, verum etiam longissimas flagitas; in quibus parcior fui, partim quia tuas occupationes verebar, partim quia ipse multum distringebar plerumque frigidis negotiis, quae simul et avocant animum et comminuunt. Praeterea nec materia plura scribendi dabatur. Neque enim eadem nostra condicio quae M. Tulli, ad cuius exemplum nos vocas. Illi enim et copiosissimum ingenium et ingenio quae varietas rerum qua magnitudo largissime suppetebat, nos quam angustis terminis claudamur, etiam tacente me perspicis, nisi forte volumus scholasticas tibi atque, ut ita dicam, umbraticas litteras mittere. Sed nihil minus aptum arbitramur, cum arma vestra, cum castra, cum denique cornua, tubas, sudorem, pulverem, soles cogitamus. Habes, ut puto, iustam

too, provided you publish it at once. If therefore you have any other work upon your hands, let me intreat you to lay it aside, and give your last finishing touches to this performance. It seemed to me, indeed, when I formerly read it, to want no improvements; and so let it now seem to you; as neither the thing itself requires, nor the occasion will admit, of any farther delay. Farewell.

## II

## To SABINUS

YOUR request that I would write to you not only very frequent, but very long letters, is extremely agreeable to me. If I have forborne to do so, it is partly in consideration of your being much occupied, and partly from some very cold and uninteresting engagements of my own, which distract and at the same time dissipate my ideas. Besides I had not sufficient matter for frequent letters; and am by no means in the same situation that Tully was, whom you point out to me as an example. He not only possessed a most enlarged genius, but the times wherein he lived furnished a variety of noble occasions for exercising it. As for myself, you know (without my telling you) to what narrow limits I am confined; unless I should take into my head to write you rhetorical, and what I might call, *armchair letters*. But nothing seems to me more out of place, when I imagine you in the midst of arms and encampments, in short, inflamed with martial music and toiling in dust and heat. This is my apology, and I think a

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

excusationem, quam tamen dubito an tibi probari velim. Est enim summi amoris negare veniam brevibus epistulis amicorum, quamvis scias illis constare rationem. Vale.

### III

C. PLINIUS PAULINO SUO S.

ALIUS alium, ego beatissimum existimo, qui bonae mansuraeque famae praesumptione perfruitur certusque posteritatis cum futura gloria vivit. Ac mihi nisi praemium aeternitatis ante oculos, pingue illud altumque otium placeat. Etenim omnes homines arbitror oportere aut immortalitatem suam aut mortalitatem cogitare, et illos quidem contendere, eniti, hos quiescere, remitti nec brevem vitam caducis laboribus fatigare, ut video multos, misera simul et ingrata imagine industriae ad vilitatem sui pervenire. Haec ego tecum, quae quotidie mecum, ut desinam mecum, si dissenties tu; quamquam non dissenties, ut qui semper clarum aliquid et immortale mediteris. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. Cowley :

“What shall I do to be for ever known,  
And make the age to come my own?”

## BOOK IX. ii.-iii

reasonable one ; however, I almost wish you would not accept it. For to reject a friend's excuses for writing briefly, be they ever so just, bespeaks the warmest affection. Farewell.

### III

#### TO PAULINUS

MANKIND differ in their notions of supreme happiness ; but in my opinion it consists in the foretaste of an honest and abiding fame, the assurance of being admired by posterity, the realization, while yet living, of future glory.<sup>a</sup> I confess if I had not the reward of an immortal reputation in view, I should choose to live in the lap of Leisure, as people say. There seem to be but two points worthy our attention ; either the endless duration of fame, or the short extent of life. Those who are governed by the former consideration, must pursue it with the full exertion of the most laborious efforts ; while such as are influenced by the latter should quietly resign themselves to repose, nor wear out a short life in perishable pursuits : as some, we may observe, do, and then sink at last into self-contempt, in the midst of a wretched and fruitless course of false industry. These are my daily reflections, which I communicate to you, in order to renounce them if you do not join with me in the same sentiments : as undoubtedly you will, who are for ever meditating some glorious and immortal enterprise. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## IV

C. PLINIUS MACRINO SUO S.

VERERER, ne immodicam orationem putares, quam cum hac epistula accipies, nisi esset generis eius, ut saepe incipere, saepe desinere videatur. Nam singulis criminibus singulae velut causae continentur. Poteris ergo, undecunque inceperis, ubicunque desieris, quae deinceps sequentur, et quasi incipientia legere et quasi cohaerentia meque in universitate longissimum, brevissimum in partibus iudicare. Vale.

## V

C. PLINIUS TIRONI SUO S.

EGREGIE facis (inquiero enim, et persevere) quod iustitiam tuam provincialibus multa humanitate commendas; cuius praecipua pars est honestissimum quemque complecti atque ita a minoribus amari, ut simul a principibus diligere. Plerique autem, dum verentur, ne gratiae potentium nimium impertire videantur, sinisteritatis atque etiam malignitatis famam consequuntur. A quo vitio tu longe recessisti (scio), sed temperare mihi non possum, quo minus

## BOOK IX. iv.-v

### IV

#### TO MACRINUS

I SHOULD fear you would think the oration which you receive with this letter, immoderately long, but that it is of such a nature as to require several breaks; and as it consists of different charges, has the appearance of so many distinct speeches. Wherever therefore you begin or end, you may consider what follows, either as connected with what went before, or making of itself a new subject; so that you may look upon it as very long upon the whole, and yet as extremely short with respect to its particular parts. Farewell.

### V

#### TO TIRO

You are to be highly applauded for the courtesy by which as I am informed (and I make very strict enquiry), you commend your administration of justice to the people of your province; one principal branch of which virtue is to distinguish merit in every degree, and so to gain the love of the lower rank, as to preserve at the same time the regard of their superiors. But it is an error many have fallen into, that while they endeavour to avoid the appearance of favouring the great, they run into the contrary extreme, and gain the character of acting with ill manners, or ill nature. A mistake this, which you are far from committing, I well know: however, I cannot forbear throwing in a caution with

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

laudem similis monenti, quod eum modum tenes, ut discrimina ordinum dignitatumque custodias; quae si confusa, turbata, permixta sunt, nihil est ipsa aequalitate inaequalius. Vale.

### VI

C. PLINIUS CALVISIO SUO S.

OMNE hoc tempus inter pugillares ac libellos iucundissima quiete transmisi. 'Quem ad modum,' inquis, 'in urbe potuisti?' Circenses erant; quo genere spectaculi ne levissime quidem teneor. Nihil novum, nihil varium, nihil quod non semel spectasse sufficiat. Quo magis miror tot milia virorum tam pueriliter identidem cupere currentes equos, insistentes curribus homines videre. Si tamen aut velocitate equorum aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio nonnulla; nunc favent panno, pannum amant, et si in ipso cursu medioque certamine hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium favorque transibit, et repente agitadores illos, equos illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquunt.

Tanta gratia, tanta auctoritas in una vilissima

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\* The games in the Circus Maximus, chiefly consisting of chariot-races, for which the Roman people had the same passion as the English now have for football matches.



my applause, and recommending it to you, to conduct yourself in such a manner as to keep up the distinctions of rank and dignity. For to level and confound the different orders of mankind, is far from producing an equality among them; it is, in truth, the most unequal thing imaginable. Farewell.

## VI

## To CALVISIUS

I HAVE spent these several days past among my papers with the most pleasing tranquillity imaginable. You will ask how that can possibly be in the midst of Rome? Why, the Circensian Games<sup>a</sup> were taking place; a kind of entertainment for which I have not the least taste. They have no novelty, no variety, nothing, in short, one would wish to see twice. I am the more astonished that so many thousands<sup>b</sup> of grown men should be possessed again and again with a childish passion to look at galloping horses, and men standing upright in their chariots. If, indeed, they were attracted by the swiftness of the horses or the skill of the men, one could account for this enthusiasm. But in fact it is a bit of cloth they favour, a bit of cloth that captivates them. And if during the running the racers were to exchange colours, their partisans would change sides, and instantly forsake the very drivers and horses whom they were just before recognizing from afar, and clamorously saluting by name.

Such favour, such weighty influence, hath one

<sup>b</sup> The elder Pliny (*N.H.* xxxvi. 102) says that the Circus Maximus, as enlarged by Nero, held 250,000 spectators.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tunica, mitto apud vulgus, quod vilis tunica, sed apud quosdam graves homines; quos ego cum recordor in re inani, frigida, adsidua tam insatiabiliter desiderare, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hac voluptate non capior. Ac per hos dies libentissime otium meum in litteris colloco, quos alii otiosissimis occupationibus perdunt. Vale.

### VII

#### C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

AEDIFICARE te scribis. Bene est; inveni patrocinium; aedifico enim iam ratione, quia tecum. Nam hoc quoque non dissimile, quod ad mare tu, ego ad Larium lacum.

Huius in litore plures villae meae, sed duae ut maxime delectant ita exercent. Altera imposita saxi more Baiano lacum prospicit, altera aequo more Baiano lacum tangit. Itaque illam tragœdiam, hanc appellare comoediam solco; illam, quod quasi cothurnis, hanc quod quasi socculis, sustinetur. Sua utrique amoenitas, et utraque possidenti ipsa diversitate incundior. Haec lacu propius, illa latius utitur; haec unum sinum molli curvamine

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<sup>a</sup> The charioteers and their teams were hired out by rival companies or "factions," named from the colours of their livery. The "Greens" and "Blues," introduced in early Imperial times, eclipsed the two older Red and White

cheap tunic<sup>a</sup>—never mind it with the vulgar herd, who are more worthless than the tunics they wear—but with certain grave personages. When I observe such men thus insatiably fond of so silly, so low, so uninteresting, so common an entertainment, I congratulate myself that I am insensible to these pleasures: and am glad to devote the leisure of this season to literature, which others throw away upon the most idle employment. Farewell.

## VII

## To ROMANUS

Your letter informs me that you are engaged in building; 'tis mighty well; I have now found patronage; for I am doing the same, and since I have you, who shall deny I have reason on my side? We are pretty-much agreed likewise, I find, in our situations; as you are building upon the sea-coast, and I beside the Larian lake.

I have several villas upon this shore, but there are two particularly, in which as I take most delight, so they give me the most employment. They are both situated in the manner of those at Baiae; one of them stands upon a rock, and overlooks the lake; the other touches it. The first, supported as it were by the lofty buskin, I call my *Tragedy*; the other, as resting upon the humble sock, my *Comedy*. Each has its peculiar beauties, and recommends itself the more to their owner by mere force of contrast. The former enjoys a wider, the latter a nearer prospect of factions, and had frantic partisans among all classes. Caligula and Nero were devotees of the "Greens." See Gibbon, c. xl. 2.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

amplectitur, illa editissimo dorso duos dirimit; illic recta gestatio longo limite super litus extenditur, hic spatiosissimo xysto leviter inflectitur; illa fluctus non sentit, haec frangit; ex illa possis despicere piscantes, ex hac ipse piscari hamumque de cubiculo ac paene etiam de lectulo ut e navicula iacere. Hae mihi causae utrique, quae desunt, adstruendi ob ea quae supersunt. Sed quid ego rationem tibi? apud quem pro ratione erit idem facere. Vale.

### VIII

C. PLINIUS AUGURINO SUO S.

Si laudatus a te laudare te coepero, vereor, ne non tam proferre iudicium meum quam referre gratiam videar. Sed, licet videar, omnia scripta tua pulcherrima existimo, maxime tamen illa, quae de nobis. Accidit hoc una eademque de causa. Nam et tu, quae de amicis, optime scribis, et ego, quae de me, ut optima lego. Vale.

## BOOK IX. vii.-viii

the lake. This follows the gentle curve of a single bay; the salient ridge upon which the other stands, forms two. Here you have a straight alley extending itself along the shore, there, a spacious terrace that falls by a gentle descent towards it. The former does not perceive the force of the waves; the latter breaks them: from *that* you see the fishermen at work below; from *this* you may fish yourself, and throw your line out of your chamber, and almost as you lie in bed, as out of a boat. It is the beauties therefore these agreeable villas possess, that tempt me to add to them those which are wanting.—But I need not assign a reason to you; who, undoubtedly, will think it a sufficient one that you are about the same business. Farewell.

### VIII

#### TO AUGURINUS

WERE I to begin praising you from whom I have received so much applause, I am afraid I should seem not so much to profess my genuine opinion as to confess my gratitude. Nevertheless I will not scruple to say, that I think all your productions are beautiful, but especially those of which I am the subject. And the same reason will account both for their deserving that character, and for my thinking so: for as on the one hand you ever succeed best when writing about your friends; so, on the other, I always admire most what is written about myself. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## IX

C. PLINIUS COLONI SUO S.

UNICE probo, quod Pompeii Quintiani morte tam dolenter adficeris, ut amissi caritatem desiderio extendas, non ut plerique, qui tantum viventes amant, seu potius amare se simulant ac ne simulant quidem, nisi quos florentes vident. Nam miserorum non secus ac defunctorum obliviscuntur. Sed tibi perennis fides tantaque in amore constantia, ut finiri nisi tua morte non possit. Et hercule is fuit Quintianus, quem diligi deccat ipsius exemplo. Felices amabat, miseros tuebatur, desiderabat amissos. Iam illa quanta probitas in ore, quanta in sermone cunctatio, quam pari libra gravitas comitasque! quod studium litterarum, quod iudicium! qua pietate cum dissimillimo patre vivebat! quam non obstabat illi, quo minus vir optimus videretur, quod erat optimus filius!

Sed quid dolorem tuum exulcero? Quamquam sic amasti iuvenem, ut hoc potius quam de illo sileri velis, a me praesertim, cuius praedicatione putas vitam eius ornari, memoriam prorogari, ipsamque illam, qua est raptus, aetatem posse restitui. Vale.

## BOOK IX. ix

### IX

#### To Colo

I GREATLY approve your being so poignantly affected by the death of Pompeius Quintianus, as to keep alive by your regrets your love for a lost friend. Far different from the majority, who love, or rather, who counterfeit love to, none but the living; nor even counterfeit it, save to those whom they see in the height of prosperity! For the unfortunate they forget as quickly as they do the dead. But *your* fidelity is perennial, and the constancy of your affection can only end with your life. Quintianus, most certainly, well deserved to meet with that generous warmth from his friends, of which he was himself so bright an example. He loved them in prosperity; he protected them in adversity; he lamented them in death. How honest was his countenance! how deliberate his speech! how equally did he hold the balance between dignity and courtesy! how fond was he of learning! how judicious his sentiments! how dutiful his commerce with a father of a very different character! how completely did he surmount the difficulty of proving himself a good son, without forfeiting the title of a good man!

But I must not sharpen your affliction—yet I know your affection for this excellent youth was such, that you had rather endure such a recital, than have his virtues passed over in silence; especially by me, whose applause, you imagine, will adorn his actions, extend his fame, and restore him, as it were, to that life from which he is unhappily snatched. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## X

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

CURIO praeceptis tuis parere ; sed aprorum tanta penuria est, ut Minervae et Dianae, quas ais pariter colendas, convenire non possit. Itaque Minervae tantum serviendum est, delicate tamen ut in secessu et aestate. In via plane non nulla leviora statimque delenda ea garrulitate, qua sermones in vehiculo seruntur, extendi. His quaedam addidi in villa, cum aliud non liberet. Itaque poëmata quiescunt, quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas. Oratiunculam unam, alteram retractavi ; quamquam id genus operis inamabile, inamoenum magisque laboribus ruris quam voluptatibus simile. Vale.

## XI

C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

EPISTULAM tuam iucundissimam accepi, eo maxime, quod aliquid ad te scribi volebas, quod libris inseri posset. Obveniet materia, vel haec ipsa quam mon-



## X

## To TACITUS

I SHOULD like extremely well to follow your advice ; but there is such a scarcity of boars, that it is impossible to reconcile Minerva with Diana, who, you think, ought to be worshipped together. I must content myself then with paying my service to the former ; and even that half-heartedly, considering it is holiday time and summer weather. I composed, indeed, a few trifles in my journey hither, which are only fit to be destroyed, as they are written with the same negligence and inattention that one usually chats upon the road. Since I came to my villa, I have made some few additions to them, not finding myself in a humour for work of more consequence. Thus my poetry, which you imagine is carried on with so much advantage amidst the silence and solemnity of woods and groves, is, in truth, at a stand. I have revised a small oration or two ; though that kind of work is disagreeable and unentertaining enough, and has a much nearer affinity with rustic labours, than with rural pleasures. Farewell.

## XI

## To GEMINUS

YOUR letter was particularly agreeable to me, as it mentioned your desire that I would address some epistle to you which might appear in my published correspondence. I shall find matter either in the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

stras, vel potior alia. Sunt enim in hac offendicula non nulla : circumfer oculos, et occurrent.

Bibliopolas Lugduni esse non putabam, ac tanto libentius ex litteris tuis cognovi venditari libellos meos, quibus peregre manere gratiam, quam in urbe collegerint, delector. Incipio enim satis absolutum existimare, de quo tanta diversitate regionum discreta hominum iudicia consentiunt. Vale.

### XII

C. PLINIUS IUNIORI SUO S.

CASTIGABAT quidam filium suum, quod paulo sumptuosius equos et canes emeret. Huic ego iuvene digresso ; ‘ Heus tu, numquamne fecisti, quod a patre corripui posset ? fecisti, dico, non interdum facis, quod filius tuus, si repente pater ille, tu filius, pari gravitate reprehendat ? Non omnes homines aliquo errore ducuntur ? non hic in illo sibi, in hoc alius, indulget ? ’

Haec tibi admonitus immodicae severitatis exemplo pro amore mutuo scripsi, ne quando tu quoque filium tuum acerbius duriusque tractares. Cogita et illum puerum esse et te fuisse atque ita hoc, quod es pater,

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## BOOK IX. xi.-xii

subject you indicate or some preferable one. For *yours* contains some points of offence; look about you, and they will be obvious.

As I did not imagine there were any booksellers at Lyons, I am so much the more pleased to learn from your letter that my volumes are sold there. I rejoice to find they retain the favour abroad, which they gained at home; and I begin to flatter myself they are finished compositions, since persons living in entirely different localities are agreed in their sentiments concerning them. Farewell.

## XII

### TO JUNIOR

A CERTAIN friend of mine lately corrected his son with great severity before me, for being something too profuse in the article of dogs and horses. "And pray," said I to him (when the youth was withdrawn), "did you never do anything yourself which deserved your father's correction? Nay, are you not sometimes even now guilty of acts which your son, were your relations suddenly reversed, might with equal gravity reprove? Are not all mankind subject to errors of some kind? have we not each of us our particular foibles in which we fondly indulge ourselves?"

The great affection subsisting between us, has induced me to set this instance of unreasonable severity before you, as a caution not to treat *your* son with too much rigour and austerity. Consider he is but a boy, and that there was a time when you

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

utere, ut memineris et hominem esse te et hominis patrem. Vale.

### XIII

C. PLINIUS QUADRATO SUO S.

QUANTO studiosius intentiusque legisti libros, quos de Helvidi ultione composui, tanto impensius postulas, ut perscribam tibi, quaeque extra libros quaeque circa libros, totum denique ordinem rei, cui per actatem non interfuisti.

Occiso Domitiano statui mecum ac deliberavi esse magnam pulchramque materiam insectandi nocentes, miseros vindicandi, se proferendi. Porro inter multa scelera multorum nullum atrocius videbatur, quam quod in senatu senator senatori, praetorius consulari, reo iudex manus intulisset. Fuerat alioqui mihi cum Helvidio amicitia, quanta potuerat esse cum eo, qui metu temporum nomen ingens, pares virtutes secessu tegebat, fuerat cum Arria et Fannia, quarum altera Helvidi noverca, altera mater novercae. Sed non ita me iura privata ut publicum fas et indignitas facti et exempli ratio incitabat.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* his speech against Publicius Certus, revised, enlarged, and divided into "books." See iv. 21, vii. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Sept. 18, 96 A.D.

<sup>c</sup> See iii. 16.

were so too. In exerting, therefore, the authority of a father, remember always that you are a man, and the parent of a man. Farewell.

## XIII

## TO QUADRATUS

THE pleasure and attention with which you read my books<sup>a</sup> *On the Avenging of Helvidius*, has made you, it seems, more earnest in requesting I would fully inform you of particulars not included in, yet relevant to, my work, and, in short, of the whole course of the affair, as you were too young to witness it.

When Domitian was killed,<sup>b</sup> I judged, on mature consideration, that a glorious opportunity now offered of pursuing the guilty, vindicating the injured, and advancing one's own career. Further, amidst the many crimes whereof many had been guilty, none appeared to me more atrocious, than that one who was at once an ex-prætor and a judge, a senator, should in the very senate itself have laid violent hands upon a senator and ex-consul, who then stood arraigned before him. Apart from this, I had maintained with Helvidius the closest friendship that was possible with one who, fearing the tyranny of the times, endeavoured to hide his glory and his no less glorious virtues, by a retired life. I had been intimate, too, with Arria and her daughter Fannia,<sup>c</sup> who was step-mother to Helvidius. But it was not so much private attachments as the rights of the public, indignation at the crime, and the importance of establishing a precedent, that incited me to action.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Ac primis quidem diebus redditae libertatis pro se quisque inimicos suos, dumtaxat minores, incondito turbidoque clamore postulaverant simul et oppresserant. Ego et modestius et constantius arbitratus immanissimum reum non communi temporum invidia, sed proprio crimine urgere, cum iam satis primus ille impetus defervisset et languidior in dies ira ad iustitiam redisset, quamquam tum maxime tristis amissa nuper uxore mitto ad Anteiam (nupta haec Helvidio fuerat), rogo, ut veniat, quia me recens adhuc luetus limine contineret. Ut venit, 'Destinatum est' inquam 'mili maritum tuum non inultum pati. Nuntia Arriae et Fanniae' (ab exsilio redierant); 'consule te, consule illas, an velitis adscribi facto, in quo ego comite non egeo; sed non ita gloriae meae faverim, ut vobis societate eius invideam.' Perfert Anteia mandata, nec illae morantur.

Opportune senatus intra diem tertium. Omnia ego semper ad Corellium retuli, quem providentissimum aetatis nostrae sapientissimumque cognovi; in hoc tamen contentus consilio meo fui, veritus ne vetaret; erat enim cunctantior cautiorque. Sed non sustinui inducere in animum, quo minus illi eodem die facturum me indicarem, quod an facerem

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. of Nerva's reign.

<sup>b</sup> Tacitus also uses *constans* in this sense, *Hist.* iii. 1, (Church and Brodribb.)

<sup>c</sup> See x. 2 n.

In the first days of restored liberty<sup>a</sup> every man had singled out his personal enemy (though it must be confessed, those only of a lower rank) and in the midst of much clamour and confusion, no sooner accused, than crushed him. But for myself, I thought it the more moderate and also the more effectual<sup>b</sup> course against a defendant so steeped in crime, to rely not on the universal detestation of the last reign, but on a specific indictment. When, therefore, that first outburst of rage had fairly subsided and daily declining resentment gave way to justice, though I was at that time saddened by the recent loss of my wife,<sup>c</sup> I sent to Anteia, the widow of Helvidius, and desired her to come to me, as my recent mourning obliged me to keep at home. When she arrived, "I am resolved," I said, "not to suffer your husband to remain unavenged. Pray make this known to Arria and Fannia" (they had returned from exile), "and consider along with them whether you will jointly lodge an accusation. Not that I want an associate, but I am not so fond of my own renown as to grudge your participating in it." Anteia carried my message to those ladies, who at once embraced the proposal.

It happened very opportunely, that the Senate met the next day but one. I never acted without consulting Corellius, in whom I recognised the most far-seeing and the wisest man of our time. However, in the present case, I contented myself with following my own plan, which I feared he would veto, as he was of a very slow and cautious temper. But I could not prevail with myself to forbear acquainting him, on the day of the event, that I was about to take a step, on which I did not consult

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

non deliberabam, expertus usu de eo, quod destina-veris, non esse consulendos; quibus consultis obsequi debeas. Venio in senatum, ius dicendi peto, dico paulisper maximo adsensu. Ubi coepi crimen attingere, reum destinare, adhuc tamen sine nomine, undique mihi reclamari. Alius: 'Sciamus, quis sit, de quo extra ordinem referas,' alius: 'Quis est ante relationem reus?' alius: 'Salvi simus, qui super sumus.' Audio imperturbatus, interritus; tantum susceptae rei honestas valet, tantumque ad fiduciam vel metum differt, nolint homines, quod facias, an non probent.

Longum est omnia, quae tunc hinc inde iacta sunt, recensere. Novissime consul: 'Secunde, sententiae loco dices, si quid volueris.' 'Permiseras' inquam, 'quod usque adhuc omnibus permisisti.' Resido. Aguntur alia. Interim me quidam ex consularibus amicis secreto accuratoque sermone quasi nimis fortiter incauteque progressum corripit, revocat, monet, ut sistam: adiecit etiam notabilem me futuris principibus. 'Esto' inquam, 'dum malis.'

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<sup>a</sup> Ordinarily, motions were put to the Senate by the presiding Consul, who then called upon the members, in formal order, to express their opinions. But any Senator might bring in a private motion by leave of the House.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "out of the regular order," i.e. by the privilege explained above.      <sup>c</sup> sc. Domitian's reign of terror.

<sup>d</sup> "'Tis very remarkable, that when any senator was asked his opinion in the house, he had the privilege of speaking as long as he pleased upon any other affair." (Melm.)

<sup>e</sup> Nerva had not yet adopted an heir. His choice of Trajan (97 A.D.) put an end to wide-spread anxiety.



anyone; experience having taught me the unwisdom of consulting on a predetermined affair those whose judgment you are bound to follow, if you do consult them. The Senate being assembled, I came into the house, and begged leave to introduce a motion;<sup>a</sup> I spoke for a few moments with universal assent. When I began to touch upon the charge, and indicate whom I intended to accuse (though as yet without mentioning him by name) I was attacked on all sides. "Let us know," says one, "who is the object of this extraordinary motion."<sup>b</sup> "Who is it," asked another, "that is thus actually put on trial before the question of indicting him has been submitted to the House?" "Let us be safe," added a third, "who have survived."<sup>c</sup> I heard all this unruffled and undismayed; such strength is derived from a good cause, and so much difference it makes with respect to confidence or fear, whether the world deprecates, or disapproves, your action.

It would be too tedious to relate all that was thrown out by different sides upon this occasion. At length the Consul said, "You will be at liberty, Secundus, to speak on whatever you wish to propose, when you are called upon to give your opinion on the business of the day."<sup>d</sup> "The permission you granted and now withdraw," said I, "you never yet refused to any," and so sat down; when immediately the House went upon other affairs. In the meanwhile, one of my consular friends took me aside, and with great earnestness telling me he thought I had carried on this affair with more boldness than prudence, used every method of reproof and persuasion, to prevail with me to desist. He even added that I should find myself a marked man under future Emperors.<sup>e</sup> "So be it,"

Vix ille discesserat, rursus alter: 'Quid audes? quo ruis? quibus te periculis obiicis? quid praesentibus confidis incertus futurorum? lacessis hominem iam praefectum aerarii et brevi consulem, praeterea qua gratia, quibus amicitiiis fultum!' Nominat quendam, qui tunc ad orientem amplissimum et famosissimum exercitum non sine magnis dubiisque rumoribus obtinebat. Ad haec ego: "Omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi"<sup>1</sup> nec recuso, si ita casus attulerit, luere poenas ob honestissimum factum, dum flagitiosissimum ulciscor.'

Iam censendi tempus. Dicit Domitius Apollinaris, consul designatus, dicit Fabricius Veiento, Fabius Postumius, Vettius Proculus, collega Publici Certi, de quo agebatur, uxoris autem meae, quam amiseram, vitricus, post hos Ammius Flaccus. Omnes Certum nondum a me nominatum ut nominatum defendunt, crimenque quasi in medio relictum defensione suscipiunt. Quae praeterea dixerint, non est necesse narrare; in libris habes. Sum enim cuncta ipsorum verbis persecutus

Dicunt contra Avidius Quietus, Cornutus Tertullus; Quietus, iniquissimum esse querclas dolentium excludi, ideoque Arriae et Fanniae ius

<sup>1</sup> Verg. *Aen.* vi. 105.

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<sup>a</sup> sc. of Saturn; see x. 3 A, note b.

quoth I, "if they are bad Emperors." He had scarce left me, when a second came up: "For God's sake," said he, "what are you attempting? Will you ruin yourself? Do you consider to what hazards you are exposed? Why will you presume on the present situation of public affairs, when it is so uncertain what turn they may hereafter take? You are attacking a man who is actually at the head of the treasury," and will shortly be Consul. Besides, consider what credit he has, and with what powerful friendships he is supported!" Upon which he named a certain person, who (not without several strong and suspicious rumours) was then commanding a powerful army in the east. I replied,

"All I've foreseen, and oft in thought revolv'd; and am willing, if so it falls out, to suffer pains and penalties for an honourable action, provided I avenge an infamous one."

The time for the members to give their opinion was now arrived. Domitius Apollinaris, the consul elect, spoke first; after him Fabricius Veiento, Fabius Postumius, Vettius Proculus, (my late wife's step-father, and the colleague of Publicius Certus, on whom the debate turned,) and lastly Ammius Flaccus. They all defended Certus, as if I had named him (tho' I had not yet done so), and thus as it were took up the challenge of my accusation. I need not relate what they said further, as you can read it all word for word in my speech.

Avidius Quietus and Cornutus Tertullius spoke in the opposite sense. The former observed, that it was extremely unjust not to hear the complaints of those in distress, and therefore that Arria and

querendi non auferendum, nec interesse, cuius ordinis quis sit, sed quam causam habeat; Cornutus, datum se a consulibus tutorem Helvidi filiae petentibus matre eius et vitrico; nunc quoque non sustinere deserere officii sui partes, in quo tamen et suo dolori modum imponere et optimarum feminarum perferre modestissimum adfectum; quas contentas esse admonere senatum Publici Certi cruentae adulationis et petere, si poena flagitii manifestissimi remittatur, nota certe quasi censoria inuratur. Tum Satrius Rufus medio ambiguoque sermone 'Puto' inquit, 'iniuriam factam Publicio Certo, si non absolvitur; nominatus est ab amicis Arriae et Fanniae, nominatus ab amicis suis. Nec debemus solliciti esse; idem enim nos, qui bene sentimus de homine, iudicaturi sumus; si innocens est, sicuti et spero et malo, donec aliquid probetur, credo poteritis absolvere.'

Haec illi, quo quisque ordine citabantur. Venitur ad me; consurgo, utor initio, quod in libro est,

<sup>a</sup> A reply to the plea above, *salvi simus, qui supersumus*, against any further prosecutions of *Senators*, so many of whom had perished in that way under Domitian.

<sup>b</sup> Towards Domitian, at whose desire he brought a capital charge against Helvidius.

<sup>c</sup> During the Republic, the list of senators was revised once in five years by the Censors, who affixed a mark (*nota*) to the names of those whom they thought proper to degrade. Annual revision of the list, and expulsion of any senator at discretion had now become part of the emperor's prerogative,

Fannia ought not to be denied the privilege of laying their grievances before the house; and that the point to be considered was not the rank of the person, but the merit of the cause.<sup>a</sup> Cornutus told the house, that as he was appointed guardian to the daughter of Helvidius by the consuls, upon the petition of her mother and her step-father, he could not bring himself to abandon the duty of his trust on this occasion. In fulfilling it, however, he would restrain his personal indignation, and report the extremely moderate sentiments of those excellent ladies. They desired no more, he said, than to bring to the Senate's notice the bloodshed which Certus procured in his obsequiousness,<sup>b</sup> with the request that, if the legal penalty of his notorious crime were remitted, at least Certus might be branded with some disgrace equivalent to degradation by the Censors.<sup>c</sup> Satrius Rufus then expressed himself in neutral and ambiguous terms. "I am of opinion," said he, "that injustice will be done to Certus, if he is not acquitted (I do not scruple to name him, since the friends of Arria and Fannia, as well as his own, have done so). Nor has the Senate any grounds for anxiety; for we, who think well of the man, are to be his judges. If he is innocent (as I hope and wish, and till something be proved against him, shall believe he is), it will be in your power to acquit him."

Thus they delivered their several opinions, in the order in which they were called upon. When it came to my turn, I rose up, and using the same exordium as appears in the published speech, I replied to them

and he might be induced to degrade Certus if the senate expressed condemnation of him. (Merrill.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

respondeo singulis. Mirum qua intentione, quibus clamoribus omnia exceperint, qui modo reclamabant; tanta conversio vel negotii dignitatem, vel proventum orationis, vel actoris constantiam subsecuta est. Finio. Incipit respondere Veiento; nemo patitur; obturbatur, obstrepitur adeo quidem, ut diceret: 'Rogo, patres conscripti, ne me cogatis implorare auxilium tribunorum.' Et statim Murena tribunus: 'Permitto tibi, vir clarissime Veiento, dicere.' Tunc quoque reclamatur. Inter moras consul citatis nominibus et peracta discessione mittit senatum, acp aene adhuc stantem temptantemque dicere Veientonem reliquit. Multum ille de hac (ita vocabat) contumelia, questus est Homericoversu:

ᾠ γέρον, ἧ μάλα δὴ σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχητάι.<sup>1</sup>

Non fere quisquam in senatu fuit, qui non me complecteretur, exoscularetur, certatimque laude cumlaret, quod intermissum iamdiu morem in publicum consulendi susceptis propriis simlatabus rednxissem, quod denique senatum invidia liberassem, qua flagrabat apud ordines alios, quod severus in ceteros senatoribus solis dissimulatione quasi mutua parceret.

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* viii. 102.

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<sup>a</sup> Theoretically, the Tribunes could still control the procedure of the Senate by interposing their veto. Veiento appealed to them to protect him in exercising his right of giving his opinion (*ius censendi*).

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* introducing a bill, which had become virtually a prerogative of the Emperor. See next note.

severally. It is surprising with what attention, with what applause I was heard by those who just before were exclaiming against me; such a wonderful conversion was wrought either by the importance of the affair, the successful progress of the speech, or the resolution of the advocate. After I had finished, Veiento began to reply; not a soul would hear him; the general clamour raised against him was so overpowering that he was reduced to saying, "I hope, my lords, you will not oblige me to implore the assistance of the Tribunes."<sup>a</sup> Immediately the Tribune Murena cried out, "You have my leave, most illustrious Veiento, to proceed." But still the uproar was renewed. In the interval the Consul put the question severally to the rest, and having taken a division, dismissed the Senate, leaving Veiento in the midst, still attempting to speak. He made great complaints of this affront (as he called it) applying the following lines of Homer to himself:

"Great perils, father, wait th' unequal fight;  
Those younger champions will oppress thy might."

There was scarce a man in the House that did not embrace and kiss me, and vie in loading me with praises. They extolled me because, at the risk of exciting private animosities, I had revived the custom so long disused, of consulting the Senate in the interest of the public<sup>b</sup>; in fine, because I had wiped off that reproach which was thrown upon the Senate by the other orders of citizens, that while severe towards the rest of the community, it let its own members escape its justice by a sort of mutual connivance.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Haec acta sunt absente Certo; abfuit enim, seu tale aliquid suspicatus, sive, ut excusabatur, infirmus. Et relationem quidem de eo Caesar ad senatum non remisit; obtinui tamen, quod intenderam. Nam collega Certi consulatum, successorem Certus accepit; planeque factum est, quod dixeram in fine, 'Reddat praemium sub optimo principe, quod a pessimo accepit.'

Postea actionem meam, utcunque potui, recollegi, addidi multa. Accidit fortuitum, sed non tamquam fortuitum quod editis libris Certus intra paucissimos dies implicitus morbo decessit. Audivi referentes hanc imaginem menti eius, hanc oculis oberrasse, tamquam videret me sibi cum ferro imminere. Verane haec, adfirmare non ausim; interest tamen exempli, ut vera videantur.

Habes epistulam, si modum epistulae cogites, libris, quos legisti, non minorem; sed imputabis tibi, qui contentus libris non fuisti. Vale.

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\* From Vespasian's time, the *ius relationis*, i.e. the right to submit a motion to the Senate, belonged to the Emperor: *relationem remittere* was the technical term for his doing so at the request of the Senate itself (addressed to him through the Consuls). We gather that Pliny's motion for leave to prosecute Certus was carried by a large majority, but that the Senate could not proceed further without a formal



All this was transacted in the absence of Certus ; who kept out of the way either because he suspected something of the kind was on foot, or (as was said in his excuse) that he was really indisposed. Caesar did not, it is true, refer his case to the Senate.<sup>a</sup> But I obtained nevertheless, what I aimed at, for his colleague was appointed to a consulship, while he himself was superseded. And thus, the wish with which I concluded my speech, was actually accomplished : “ May he be obliged,” said I, “ to renounce under a virtuous prince that reward he received under an infamous one.” <sup>b</sup>

Some time after I reconstituted my speech as well as I could, and considerably enlarged it. It chanced (though such an event seemed more than a coincidence) that a few days after I had published those books, Certus was taken ill and died. I heard reports that he not only imagined, but actually saw, a figure haunting him—and the apparition was none other than myself, threatening him with a sword. Whether this story is true or not, I cannot venture to affirm ; but with a view to pointing a moral, 'tis important that it should be accounted true.

And here you have a letter which, if you consider the limits of a letter, is as long as the books you have perused. But you must blame yourself for that, since the books did not suffice you. Farewell.

*relatio* from Nerva, whose policy was to let bygones be bygones, and who accordingly allowed the matter to drop.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. “ May Nerva deprive him of the treasurership Domitian gave him.”

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XIV

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

NEC ipse tibi plaudis, et ego nihil magis ex fide quam de te scribo. Posteris an aliqua cura nostri, nescio, nos certe meremur, ut sit aliqua, non dico ingenio (id enim superbum), sed studio et labore et reverentia posterorum. Pergamus modo itinere instituto, quod ut paucos in lucem famamque provexit ita multos e tenebris et silentio protulit. Vale.

## XV

C. PLINIUS FALCONI SUO S.

REFUGERAM in Tuscos, ut omnia ad arbitrium meum facerem. At hoc ne in Tuscis quidem; tam multis undique rusticorum libellis et tam querulis inquietor, quos aliquanto magis invitus quam meos lego: nam et meos invitus. Retracto enim actiunculas quasdam, quod post intercapedinem temporis et frigidum et acerbum est. Rationes quasi absente me negleguntur. Interdum tamen equum conscendo et patrem familiae hactenus ago, quod aliquam

## XIV

To TACITUS

You do not blow your own trumpet, and I, for my part, never write more sincerely than when I write about you. Whether future generations will pay us some regard, I know not; but let us anyhow earn some regard, I will not say by our genius (that would be arrogant) but by our zeal, our labours, and our reverence for posterity. Let us but proceed in the course we have begun; which, as it has conducted some few to the sunshine of fame, so it has led out numbers from nameless obscurity. Farewell.

## XV

To FALCO

I fled to my Tuscan estate in order to do just as I pleased; but that privilege is denied me even here, so greatly am I harassed by showers of petitions—which are so many complaints—from my various tenants. I look over their papers with more reluctance than my own; for, to confess the truth, it is with great unwillingness I review even them. I am revising, however, some little orations; an employment which, after a length of time has intervened, is but of a very cold and unentertaining kind. In the meanwhile my private affairs are neglected as much as if I were absent. Yet I sometimes so far act the part of a careful master of a family, as to mount my horse and ride about my

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

partem praediorum, sed pro gestatione percurro. Tu consuetudinem serva nobisque sic rusticis urbana acta perscribe. Vale.

### XVI

C. PLINIUS MAMILIANO SUO S.

SUMMAM te voluptatem percepisse ex isto copiosissimo genere venandi non miror, cum historicorum more scribas numerum iniri non potuisse. Nobis venari nec vacat, nec libet; non vacat, quia vindemiae in manibus; non libet, quia exiguae. Devehimus tamen pro novo musto novos versiculos tibi que iucundissime exigenti, ut primum videbuntur deferuisse, mittemus. Vale.

### XVII

C. PLINIUS GENITORI SUO S.

RECEPI litteras tuas, quibus quereris taedio tibi fuisse quamvis lautissimam cenam, quia scurrae, cinaedi, moriones mensis inerrabant. Vis tu remittere aliquid ex rugis? Equidem nihil tale habeo,

## BOOK IX. xv.-xvii

farms, but merely in lieu of taking exercise in my *allée*. As for you, I hope you will keep up your old custom, and give your rustic friend an account of what is going forward in town. Farewell.

### XVI

#### TO MAMILIANUS

It is no wonder a chace on the vast scale you mention afforded you infinite pleasure, "the number of the slain" (as you write in true historian phrase) "was not to be counted." As for myself, I have neither leisure nor inclination for sports of that kind: not leisure because I am in the midst of my vintage; not inclination because it has proved an extreme bad one this season. However, I shall be able, I hope, to *draw off* some new verses, in default of new wine, for your entertainment, which (since you request them in so agreeable a manner) I will not fail to send you as soon as they shall be thoroughly *settled*. Farewell.

### XVII

#### TO GENITOR

I HAVE received your letter, in which you complain of being highly disgusted lately at an entertainment, though exceeding splendid, by a set of buffoons, fools, and wanton prostitutes, who were playing their antic tricks round the tables. But let me advise you to smoothe your brow a little. I confess, indeed, I admit nothing of this kind at my own

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

habentes tamen fero. Cur ergo non habeo? Quia nequaquam me ut inexpectatum festivumve delectat, si quid molle a cinaedo, petulans a scurra, stultum a morione profertur. Non rationem, sed stomachum tibi narro. Atque adeo quam multos putas esse, quos aequae ea, quibus ego et tu capimur et ducimur, partim ut inepta, partim ut molestissima offendant! Quam multi, cum lector aut lyristes aut comoedus inductus est, calceos poscunt aut non minore cum taedio recubant, quam tu ista (sic enim appellas) prodigia perpersus es! Demus igitur alienis oblectationibus veniam, ut nostris impetremus. Vale.

### XVIII

C. PLINIUS SABINO SUO S.

QUA intentione, quo studio, qua denique memoria legeris libellos meos, epistula tua ostendit. Ipse igitur exhibes negotium tibi, qui elicis et invitas, ut quam plurima communicare tecum velim. Faciam, per partes tamen et quasi digesta, ne istam ipsam

house; however, I bear with it in others. “And why then (you will be ready to ask) “should you not have them yourself?” The truth is, because the soft gestures from a wanton, the pleasantries from a buffoon, or the folly from a professed fool, give me no entertainment, as they give me no surprise. It is my taste, you see, not my principles, that I plead against them. And indeed, what numbers are there, think you, who distaste the entertainments which you and I are most delighted with, and consider them either trivial or wearisome! How many are there, who as soon as a reader, a musician, or a comedian is introduced, either take their leave of the company, or if they continue at the table, show as much dislike to this kind of diversions, as you did at those *monsters*, as you call them! Let us bear therefore, my friend, with others in their amusements, that they, in return, may shew indulgence to ours. Farewell.

## XVIII

## TO SABINUS

WITH what care and attention you have read my works, and how perfectly treasure them in your memory, your letter is a sufficient testimony. Do you consider then, what a troublesome affair you are bringing upon your hands, when you kindly entice me, by every friendly art, to communicate to you as many of them as possible? I cannot, certainly, refuse your request; but shall comply with it, however, at different intervals, and observe some kind of

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

memoriam, cui gratias ago, adsiduitate et copia turbem oneratamque et quasi oppressam cogam pluribus singula, posterioribus priora dimittere. Vale.

### XIX

C. PLINIUS RUSONI SUO S.

SIGNIFICAS legisse te in quadam epistula mea iussisse Verginium Rufum inscribi sepulcro suo :

‘ Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam Imperium adseruit non sibi, sed patriae.’

Reprehendis, quod iusserit, addis etiam melius rectiusque Frontinum, quod vetuerit omnino monumentum sibi fieri, meque ad extremum, quid de utroque sentiam, consulis. Utrumque dilexi, miratus sum magis, quem tu reprehendis, atque ita miratus, ut non putarem satis unquam laudari posse, cuius nunc mihi subeunda defensio est. Omnes ego, qui magnum aliquod memorandumque fecerunt, non modo venia, verum etiam laude dignissimos iudico si immortalitatem, quam meruere, sectantur victurique nominis famam supremis etiam titulis prorogare nituntur.



## BOOK IX. xviii.-xix

succession. For I would not by too copious and too frequent a supply, over-burthen and confound a memory to which I already owe so many acknowledgments ; nor, in short, pour in such an unreasonable quantity, as to oblige it to discharge what it had before received, in order to retain what follows. Farewell.

### XIX

To Russo

You have read, it seems, in a letter of mine,<sup>a</sup> that Virginius Rufus directed the following lines to be inscribed upon his tomb :

“ Here Rufus lies, who raised in victory’s hour  
His country, not himself, to sovran power : ”

for which you blame him, adding that Frontinus acted much more worthily in forbidding any monument whatsoever to be erected to his memory. And in the conclusion of your letter you desire my sentiments upon each. I loved them both ; but I confess I admired *him* most whom you condemn ; and to such a degree, that so far from imagining I ever should have occasion to rise up in his defence, I thought he could never be sufficiently applauded. In my opinion, every man who has acted a great and memorable part, deserves not only to be excused but extolled, if he pursues that glorious immortality of fame he has merited and endeavours to perpetuate an everlasting remembrance of himself, even by an epitaph.

<sup>a</sup> vi. 10. Cf. ii. 1.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Nec facile quemquam nisi Verginium invenio, cuius tanta in praedicando verecundia quanta gloria ex facto. Ipse sum testis, familiariter ab eo dilectus probatusque, semel omnino me audiente provectum, ut de rebus suis hoc unum referret, ita secum aliquando Cluvium locutum: 'Scis, Vergini, quae historiae fides debeatur; proinde si quid in historiis meis legis aliter ac velis, rogo ignoscas.' Ad hoc ille: 'Tune, Cluvi, ignoras, ideo me fecisse, quod feci, ut esset liberum vobis scribere, quae libuisset?'

Age dum, hunc ipsum Frontinum in hoc ipso, in quo tibi parciore videtur et pressior, comparemus. Vetuit exstrui monumentum; sed quibus verbis? 'Impensa monumenti supervacua est; memoria nostri durabit, si vita meruimus.' An restrictius arbitraris per orbem terrarum legendum dare duraturam memoriam suam, quam uno in loco duobus versiculis signare, quod feceris? Quamquam non habeo propositum illum reprehendendi, sed hunc tuendi; cuius quae potest apud te iustior esse defensio quam ex collatione eius, quem praetulisti? Meo quidem iudicio neuter culpandus, quorum uterque ad gloriam pari cupiditate, diverso itinere contendit, alter, dum expetit debitos titulos; alter, dum mavult videri contempsisse. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> Consul under Caligula; pro-consul of Spain under Nero. Tacitus, Plutarch, and Suetonius seem to have drawn upon his (lost) history of his own times for their accounts of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

Yet hardly could I name a man, who had performed such great achievements, so modestly reserved upon the subject of his own actions, as Virginius was. I can bear him witness (and I had the happiness to enjoy his intimacy and affection) that I never but once heard him mention his own conduct ; and that was, in giving an account of a conversation which passed between him and Cluvius <sup>a</sup> : “ You well know, Virginius,” (said Cluvius to him,) “ the fidelity required in an historian ; you will pardon me therefore, I hope, if you should meet with any thing in my works, that is not agreeable to you.” “ O Cluvius,” he replied, “ can you be ignorant that what I did, was done in order that you historians might enjoy the liberty of writing what you please ? ”

But let us compare Frontinus with him in that very instance wherein you think the former is more modest and reserved. He forbid a monument to be erected to him, it is true ; but in what words ? “ The expense of a monument,” says he, “ is superfluous ; my memory will endure if my actions deserve it.” Is there less vanity, do you think, thus to put on record for all the world to read that his memory would endure ; than to mark upon a single tombstone, in two lines, the actions one has performed ? It is not, however, my design to condemn your favourite ; I only mean to defend Virginius ; and what defence can be more prevailing with you, than one drawn from a comparison between him and the person you prefer ? In my own opinion, indeed, neither of them is blameworthy, since they both pursued glory with equal passion, but by different roads ; the former in desiring those monumental honours he had merited : the latter in rather choosing the appearance of despising them. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XX

C. PLINIUS VENATORI SUO S.

TUA vero epistula tanto mihi iucundior fuit, quanto longior erat, praesertim cum de libellis meis tota loqueretur; quos tibi voluptati esse non miror, cum omnia nostra perinde ac nos ames.

Ipse cum maxime vindemias graciles quidem, uberiores tamen quam expectaveram, colligo, si colligere est, non numquam decerpere uvam, torculum invisere, gustare de lacu mustum, obrepere urbanis, qui nunc rusticis praesunt meque notariis et lectoribus reliquerunt. Vale.

## XXI

C. PLINIUS SABINIANO SUO S.

LIBERTUS tuus, cui succensere te dixeras, venit ad me, advolutusque pedibus meis, tamquam tuis haesit. Flevit multum, multumque rogavit, multum etiam tacuit; in summa, fecit mihi fidem poenitentiae. Vere credo emendatum, quia deliquisse se sentit

## XX

## TO VENATOR

THE longer your letter was, so much the more agreeable I thought it, especially as it turned entirely upon my works. I am not at all surprised you should find a pleasure in them, since I know you have the same affection for every thing that belongs to me, as you have for myself.

The getting in of my vintage (which though it has proved but a slender one this season, is, however, more plentiful than I expected) particularly employs me at present. If indeed I can with any propriety say so, who only gather a grape now and then, visit the vine-press, taste the must in the vat, and saunter to my town-servants; who being now engaged in assisting their rustic fellows, have wholly abandoned me to my readers and my secretaries. Farewell.

## XXI

## TO SABINIANUS

YOUR freedman, whom you lately mentioned as having displeased you, has been with me; he threw himself at my feet and clung there with as much submission as he could have done at yours. He earnestly requested me with many tears, and even with the eloquence of silent sorrow, to intercede for him; in short, he convinced me by his whole behaviour, that he sincerely repents of his fault. And I am persuaded he is thoroughly reformed, because he seems entirely sensible of his delinquency.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Irascaris, scio ; et irascaris merito, id quoque scio ; sed tunc praecipua mansuetudinis laus, cum irae causa iustissima est. Amasti hominem et, spero, amabis ; interim sufficit, ut exorari te sinas. Licebit rursus irasci, si meruerit, quod exoratus excusatius facies. Remitte aliquid adulescentiae ipsius, remitte lacrimis, remitte indulgentiae tuae ; ne torseris illum, ne torseris etiam te. Torqueris enim, cum tam lenis irascaris.

Vereor, ne videar non rogare, sed cogere, si precibus eius meas iunxero. Iungam tamen tanto plenius et effusius, quanto ipsum acrius severiusque corripui destrictae minatus numquam me postea rogaturum. Hoc illi, quem terreri oportebat, tibi non idem. Nam fortasse iterum rogabo, impetrabo iterum ; sit modo tale, ut rogare me, ut praestare te deceat. Vale.

### XXII

C. PLINIUS SEVERO SUO S.

MAGNA me sollicitudine adfecit Passenni Pauli valetudo et quidem plurimis iustissimis de causis.

I know you are angry with him, and I know too, it is not without reason ; but clemency can never exert itself with more applause, than when there is the justest cause for resentment. You once had an affection for this man, and, I hope, will have again : in the meanwhile, let me only prevail with you to pardon him. If he should incur your displeasure hereafter, you will have so much the stronger plea in excuse for your anger, as you shew yourself more exorable to him now. Allow something to his youth, to his tears, and to your own natural mildness of temper : do not make him uneasy any longer, and I will add too, do not make yourself so ; for a man of your benevolence of heart cannot be angry without feeling great uneasiness.

I am afraid, were I to join my entreaties with his, I should seem rather to compel, than request you to forgive him. Yet I will not scruple to do it ; and so much the more fully and freely as I have very sharply and severely reprov'd him, positively threatening never to interpose again in his behalf. But though it was proper to say this to him, in order to make him more fearful of offending, I do not say it to you. I may, perhaps, again have occasion to intreat you upon his account, and again obtain your forgiveness ; supposing, I mean, his error should be such as may become me to intercede for, and you to pardon. Farewell.

## XXII

## TO SEVERUS

I HAVE been much alarmed by the ill state of health of Passennus Paulus, as indeed I had many and just reasons. He has a most excellent and

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Vir est optimus, honestissimus, nostri amantissimus; praeterea in litteris veteres aemulatur, exprimit, reddit, Propertium in primis, a quo genus ducit, vera soboles eoque simillima illi, in quo ille praecipuus. Si elegos eius in manus sumpseris, leges opus tersum, molle, iucundum et plane in Properti domo scriptum.

Nuper ad lyrica deflexit, in quibus ita Horatium, ut in illis illum alterum effingit. Putes, si quid in studiis cognatio valet, et huius propinquum. Magna varietas, magna mobilitas. Amat ut qui verissime, dolet ut qui impatientissime, laudat ut qui benignissime, ludit ut qui facetissime, omnia denique tamquam singula absolvit

Pro hoc ego amico, pro hoc ego ingenio non minus aeger animo, quam corpore ille, tandem illum, tandem me recepi. Gratulare mihi, gratulare



generous heart, of which I have the happiness to share the warmest friendship. In his writings he very successfully emulates the antients, whose spirit and manner he has closely imitated and happily restored; especially that of Propertius, to whom he is no less related by genius, than by blood, as he particularly resembles that poet in his chief excellency. When you read his elegies, whatever is elegant, tender, and agreeable, will conspire to charm you; as you will clearly discover they derive their lineage from Propertius.

He has lately made some attempts in the lyric kind, in which he as successfully copies the manner of Horace as in his elegies he has that of the other poet just mentioned. You would imagine, were there such a thing as a kindred in genius, that the blood of Horace likewise flowed in his veins. He displays a most wonderful variety and versatility; when he describes the passion of love, you perceive his heart is entirely possessed by the most tender sentiments; when he paints the emotions of grief, you see his breast is penetrated with the deepest sorrow; when he enters upon topics of panegyric, it is with all the ardour of the warmest benevolence; when he diverts himself with subjects of pleasantry, it is in the spirit of the most agreeable gaiety; in short, whatever species of poetry he engages in, he executes it with such a masterly hand, that one would imagine it were the single branch to which he had applied himself.

The dangerous indisposition of such a friend and such a genius afflicted me in mind no less than him in body. But at length *he* is recovered, and *my* peace is restored. Congratulate me, my friend, and

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

etiam litteris ipsis, quae ex periculo eius tantum discrimen adierunt, quantum ex salute gloriae consequentur. Vale.

### XXIII

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

FREQUENTER agenti mihi evenit, ut centumviri, cum diu se intra iudicium auctoritatem gravitatemque tenuissent, omnes repente quasi victi coactique consurgerent laudarentque; frequenter e senatu famam, qualem maxime optaveram, rettuli; numquam tamen maiorem cepi voluptatem, quam nuper ex sermone Corneli Taciti. Narrabat sedisse secum circensibus proximis equitem Romanum. Hunc post varios eruditosque sermones requisisse: 'Italicus es, an provincialis?' Se respondisse: 'Nosti me et quidem ex studiis.' Ad hoc illum, 'Tacitus es an Plinius?' Expressere non possum, quam sit iucundum mihi, quod nomina nostra quasi litterarum propria, non hominum, litteris redduntur, quod uterque nostrum his etiam ex studiis notus, quibus aliter ignotus est.

Accidit aliud ante pauculos dies simile. Recumbat mecum vir egregius, Fabius Rufinus, super eum

congratulate also literature itself, which ran as great a hazard by his danger, as it will receive glory by his recovery. Farewell.

## XXIII

## TO MAXIMUS

It has frequently happened, as I have been pleading before the centumviri, that those judges, after having preserved as long as possible the gravity and solemnity suitable to their character, have at length as though overcome and compelled, suddenly risen up with one consent to applaud me. I have often likewise gained as much glory in the senate, as my utmost wishes could desire: but I never was touched with a more sensible pleasure than by an account which I lately received from Cornelius Tacitus. He informed me, that at the last Circensian games, he sat next to a Roman knight, who, after much discourse had passed between them upon various points of learning, asked him if he was an Italian or a provincial? Tacitus replied, "Your acquaintance with literature must have informed you who I am." "Ay!" said the knight, "Pray then is it Tacitus or Pliny I am talking with?" I cannot express how highly I am pleased to find, that our names, as if they were rather the proper appellatives of letters than of men, are ascribed to literature itself; and that those very pursuits render us known to those, who would be ignorant of us by any other means.

An accident of the same nature happened to me a few days ago. Fabius Rufinus, a person of dis-

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municeps ipsius, qui illo die primum venerat in urbem; cui Rufinus demonstrans me: 'Vides hunc?' Multa deinde de studiis nostris. Et ille 'Plinius est' inquit. Verum fatebor, capio magnum laboris mei fructum. An, si Demosthenes iure laetatus est, quod illum anus Attica ita noscitavit, 'Οὗτός ἐστι Δημοσθένης,' ego celebritate nominis mei gaudere non debeo? Ego vero et gaudeo et gaudere me dico. Neque enim vereor, ne iactantior videar, cum de me aliorum iudicium non meum profero, praesertim apud te, qui nec ullius invides laudibus et faves nostris. Vale

### XXIV

C. PLINIUS SABINIANO SUO S.

BENE fecisti, quod libertum aliquando tibi carum reducentibus epistulis meis in domum, in animum recepisti. Invabit hoc te; me certe iuvat, primum quod te tam tractabilem<sup>1</sup> video, ut in ira regi possis, deinde quod tantum mihi tribuis, ut vel auctoritati

<sup>1</sup> tam tractabilem *M*, *Müller*, talem *a*, *Bipons*.

tinguished merit, was placed next to me at table ; and above him a fellow-townsmen of his, who was just then come to Rome for the first time. Rufinus desired his friend to take notice of me, and fell to expatiating upon the subject of my eloquence ; to whom the other immediately replied, "That must undoubtedly be Pliny." To own the truth, I look upon these instances as a very considerable recompense of my labours. Had Demosthenes reason to be pleased with the old woman of Athens crying out on recognizing him "There goes Demosthenes !" and may I not be allowed to congratulate myself upon the extensive reputation my name has acquired ? Yes, my friend, I will rejoice in it, and without scruple own that I do. As I only mention the judgement of others concerning me, not the opinion I conceive of myself, I am not afraid of incurring the censure of vanity ; especially from you, who, as you envy no man's reputation, so you are particularly zealous for mine. Farewell.

## XXIV

To SABINIANUS

I GREATLY approve of your having, under conduct of my <sup>a</sup> letter, received again into your family and favour, a freed-man, whom you once admitted into a share of your affection. It will afford you, I doubt not, great satisfaction. It certainly, at least, has me, both as it is a proof that you are capable of being governed in your anger, and as it is an instance of your paying so much regard to me, as either to obey

<sup>a</sup> ix. 21.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

meae pareas vel precibus indulgeas. Igitur et laudo et gratias ago; simul in posterum moneo, ut te erroribus tuorum, etsi non fuerit, qui deprecetur, placabilem praestes. Vale.

### XXV

C. PLINIUS MAMILIANO SUO S.

QUERERIS de turba castrensiū negotiorum et, tamquam summo otio perfruare, lusus et ineptias nostras legis, amas, flagitas meque ad similia condenda non mediocriter incitas. Incipio enim ex hoc genere studiorum non solum oblectationem, verum etiam gloriam petere post iudicium tuum, viri gravissimi, eruditissimi ac super ista verissimi. Nunc me rerum actus modice, sed tamen dstringit; quo finito aliquid earundem Camenarum in istum benignissimum sinum mittam. Tu passerculis et columbulis nostris inter aquilas vestras dabis pennas, si tamen et sibi et tibi placebunt, si tantum sibi, continendos cavea nidove curabis. Vale.

### XXVI

C. PLINIUS LUPERCO SUO S.

DIXI de quodam oratore seculi nostri recto quidem et sano, sed parum grandi et ornato, ut opinor, apte :

## BOOK IX. xxiv.—xxvi

my authority or to yield to my entreaty. You will accept therefore, at once, both of my applause and my thanks. At the same time, I must advise you for the future to be placable towards erring servants, though there should be none to interpose in their behalf. Farewell.

### XXV

#### TO MAMILIANUS

THOUGH you complain of the crowd of military affairs which press upon you, yet, as if you were enjoying the most uninterrupted leisure, you read, admire and demand my poetical trifles and not a little encourage me still to persevere in them. I begin, indeed, to pursue this kind of study, not only with a view to my amusement, but my glory, since they have approved themselves to the judgement of a man of your gravity and learning, and what is more than all, of your veracity. At present I have some causes upon my hands, which (though not very deeply indeed, however) engage me; when I shall have dispatched these, I will again trust my Muse in your candid bosom. You will suffer my little doves and sparrows to take wing among your eagles, if you should have the same good opinion of them as they have of themselves; if not, you will kindly confine them to their cage or their nests. Farewell.

### XXVI

#### TO LUPERCUS

I SAID once (and I think not improperly) of a certain orator of the present age, whose compositions are extremely regular and correct, but by no means

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‘Nihil peccat, nisi quod nihil peccat.’ Debet enim orator erigi, attolli, interdum etiam effervescere, efferri ac saepe accedere ad praecepta. Nam plerumque altis et excelsis adiacent abrupta; tutius per plana, sed humiliter et depressius iter; frequentior currentibus quam reptantibus lapsus, sed his non labentibus nulla, illis non nulla laus, etiamsi labantur. Nam ut quasdam artes ita eloquentiam nihil magis quam ancipitia commendant. Vides, qui per funem in summa nituntur, quantos soleant excitare clamores, cum iam iamque casuri videntur. Sunt enim maxime mirabilia, quae maxime insperata, maxime periculosa, utque Graeci magis exprimunt, *παράβολα*. Ideo nequaquam par gubernatoris est virtus, cum placido et cum turbato mari vehitur; tunc admirante nullo illaudatus, inglorius subit portum; at, cum stridunt funes, curvatur arbor, gubernacula gemunt, tunc ille clarus et dis maris proximus.

Cur haec? Quia<sup>1</sup> visus es mihi in scriptis meis adnotasse quaedam ut tumida, quae ego sublimia, ut improba, quae ego audientia, ut nimia, quae ego plena arbitrabar. Plurimum autem refert, reprehendenda

<sup>1</sup> Cur haec? Quia *Dpa*, *K ii.*, Haec, quia *M*, *K i.*



sublime and ornamented, "His only fault is, that he has none." For the true orator should be bold and elevated, and sometimes even flame out and be hurried away with all the warmth and violence of passion, in short, he should frequently soar to great, and even dangerous heights. For precipices are generally near whatever is towering and exalted, whereas the plain affords a safer, but for that reason a more humble and inglorious path; they that run are more likely to stumble than they that creep; but the latter gain no honour by not slipping, while the former even fall with glory. It is with eloquence as with some other arts; she is never more pleasing than when she hazards most. Have you not observed what acclamations our rope-dancers excite at the instant when they seem on the point of falling? Whatever is most unexpected and hazardous, or, as the Greeks strongly express it, desperate, has always the greatest share of our admiration. The pilot's skill is by no means equally proved in a calm, as in a storm; in the former case he tamely enters the port, unnoticed and unapplauded; but when the cordage creaks, the mast bends, and the rudder groans, then is it that he shines forth in full lustre, and is adored as little inferior to a sea-god.

The reason of my making this observation is, because, if I mistake not, you have condemned some passages in my writings as tumid which I thought sublime, excessive which I deemed bold, and overloaded which seemed to me copious. But it is material to consider, whether your criticism turns upon such points as are real faults, or only striking

adnotes an insignia. Omnis enim advertit, quod eminet et exstat; sed acri intentione diiudicandum est, inmodicum sit an graude, altum an enorme. Atque, ut Homerum potissimum attingam, quem tandem alterutram in partem potest fugere 'Ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγγεν μέγας οὐρανός.'<sup>1</sup> 'ἥρι δ' ἔγχος ἐκέκλιτο'<sup>2</sup> et totum illud, 'οὔτε θαλάσσης κῦμα τόσον βοάει'<sup>3</sup>? Sed opus est examine et libra, incredibilia sint haec et immania an magnifica et coelestia. Nec nunc ego me his similia aut dixisse aut posse dicere puto. Non ita insanio; sed hoc intellegi volo, laxandos esse eloquentiae frenos, nec angustissimo gyro ingeniorum impetus refringendos.

At enim alia condicio oratorum, alia poetarum. Quasi vero M. Tullius minus audeat. Quamquam hunc omitto; neque enim ambigi puto. Sed Demosthenes ipse, ille norma oratoris et regula, num se cohibet et comprimit, cum dicit illa notissima:

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xxi. 388.      <sup>2</sup> *Il.* v. 356.      <sup>3</sup> *Il.* xiv. 394.

<sup>a</sup> Speaking of Mars. (Melm.)

and remarkable expressions. Whatever is salient is sure to be criticized; but it requires a very nice judgement to distinguish the bounds between extravagance and grandeur; between a just and enormous height. To give instances out of Homer, by preference—what reader, whether he incline to one side or the other, can fail to remark—

“Heav’n in loud thunder bids the trumpet sound,  
And wide beneath them groans the rending  
ground.”

Again,

“His spear on clouds reclined.” *a*

So in that whole passage :

“Not half so loud the bellowing deeps resound.”

It requires, I say, a very delicate hand to poise these metaphors, and determine whether they are fantastic and absurd, or truly majestic and sublime. Not that I think anything which I have written or can write, admits of comparison with these. I am not extravagant enough to say so; what I would be understood to contend for is, that we should throw up the reins to eloquence, nor restrain the daring flights of genius within too narrow a compass.

But it will be said, perhaps, there is a wide difference between orators and poets. As if, forsooth, Tully were not as bold in his figures as any of the poets! But not to mention particular instances from him, since in his case, I imagine, there can be no dispute; does Demosthenes himself, that model and standard of true oratory, does Demosthenes check and repress the fire of his genius, in that well-known passage which begins thus: “Ye infamous

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Ἄνθρωποι μιαιοὶ καὶ κόλακες, καὶ ἀλάστορες,<sup>1</sup> et rursus: Οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ,<sup>2</sup> et statim Οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς.<sup>3</sup> Et alibi: Ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐκείνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων.<sup>4</sup>

Iam quid audentius illo pulcherrimo ac longissimo excessu? Νόσημα γάρ.<sup>5</sup> Quid haec? breviora superioribus, sed audacia paria, Τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ἡμῶν.<sup>6</sup> Ex eadem nota: Ὅταν δὲ ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ πονηρίας τίς, ὥσπερ οὗτος, ἰσχύσῃ, ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμα ἅπαντα ἀνεχαίτισε καὶ διέλυσε.<sup>7</sup>

Simile his: Ἀπεσχοιτισμένος ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει δίκαιοις γνώσεσι τριῶν δικαστηρίων.<sup>8</sup> Et ibidem: Σὺ τὸν εἰς ταῦτα ἔλεον προὔδωκας, Ἀριστογείτον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνήρηκας ὅλως. μὴ δὲ πρὸς οὓς αὐτὸς ἐάλωκας λιμένας, καὶ προβόλων ἐνέπλησας, πρὸς τούτους ὀρμίζου.<sup>9</sup> Et dixerat: Δέδοικα μὴ δόξητέ τισι τὸν αἰὲ βουλόμενον εἶναι πονηρὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παιδοτριβεῖν.<sup>10</sup> Et deinceps: Τούτῳ δ' οὐδένα ὀρῶ τῶν τόπων τούτων βάσιμον ὄντα, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀπόκρημνα, φάραγγας, βάραθρα.<sup>11</sup> Nec satis: Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Dem. xviii. 296.

<sup>2</sup> ib. 299.

<sup>3</sup> ib. 301.

<sup>4</sup> ib. iv. 49.

<sup>5</sup> ib. xix. 259.

<sup>6</sup> ib. xviii. 136.

<sup>7</sup> ib. ii. 9.

<sup>8</sup> ib. xxv. 28.

<sup>9</sup> ib. 84.

<sup>10</sup> ib. 7.

<sup>11</sup> ib. 76.

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<sup>a</sup> *lit.* "throws off" as a horse does his rider when he rears and tosses up his neck.

flatterers, ye evil genii?"—And again, "It is neither with stones nor bricks that I have fortified this city." And afterwards: "Was it not well done to throw the rampart of Euboea in front of Attica on the seaward side?" And in another place: "O my Countrymen, I think, by the immortal gods, that he is intoxicated with the grandeur of his own actions."

But what can be more daring and beautiful than that long digression, which begins in this manner: "A terrible disease, O my countrymen, has seized upon all Greece?"—The following passage, likewise, though something shorter, is conceived in the same boldness of metaphor:—"Then it was I rose up in opposition to the daring Pytho, who *poured forth a torrent* of menaces against you." The subsequent stricture is of the same stamp: "When a man has strengthened himself, as Philip has, by avarice and wickedness, the first pretence that offers itself, the least false step, overthrows him" and brings all to ruin.

So in the same style with the foregoing is this:—"Railed off, as it were, from all the privileges of society, by the concurrent judgements of three tribunals in the city." And in the same place: "O Aristogiton! you have betrayed that mercy which used to be shewn to offences of this nature, or rather indeed, you have wholly exhausted it. In vain then would you *fly* for refuge to a port, which you have *shut up*, and *choked with piles*."—He had said before: "I am afraid you will appear in the judgement of some to be *setting up a public seminary* of faction." And later on—"I see *no footing* for him in any of these places; but all is *precipice, gulf, and profound abyss*." And again: "Nor do I imagine that our

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προγόνους ὑπολαμβάνω τὰ δικαστήρια ταῦτα οἰκοδομῆσαι, ἵνα τοὺς τοιούτους ἐν αὐτοῖς μοσχεύητε.<sup>1</sup> Adhuc : Εἰ δὲ κάπηλός ἐστι πονηρίας καὶ παλιγκάπηλος καὶ μεταβολεύς.<sup>2</sup> Et mille talia ; ut praeteream, quae ab Aeschine<sup>3</sup> θαύματα, non ῥήματα, vocantur.

In contrarium incidi. Dices, hunc quoque ab isto culpari. Sed vide, quanto maior sit, qui reprehenditur, ipso reprehendente ; et maior ob haec quoque. In aliis enim vis, in his granditas eius elucet. Num autem Aeschines ipse iis, quae in Demosthene carpebat, abstinuit ? Χρὴ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον ὅταν δ' ἐτέραν μὲν φωνὴν ἀφίῃ ὁ νόμος, ἐτέραν δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ.<sup>4</sup>—Alio loco : Ἐπειτα ἀναφαίνεται περὶ πάντων ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι γράψας τὰ πέντε τάλαντα, τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀξιῶν τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας μὴ ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ Καλλιᾷ διδόναι. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθὴ λέγω, ἀφελὼν τὸν κομπόν, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν, ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάγωθι.<sup>5</sup> Iterum alio : Καὶ μὴ ἔατε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους περιίστασθαι.<sup>6</sup> Quod adeo probavit, ut repetat, Ἀλλὰ ἐγκαθήμεινοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε.<sup>7</sup> An illā custoditius

<sup>1</sup> Dem. xxv. 48.

<sup>2</sup> ib. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. Ctes. 167.

<sup>4</sup> ib. 16.

<sup>5</sup> ib. 101.

<sup>6</sup> ib. 206.

<sup>7</sup> Timarch. 176.

ancestors erected those courts of judicature, that men of his character should be *propagated* there ;"—And afterwards: "If he deals in, and retails, and peddles wickedness."—And a thousand other passages which I might cite to the same purpose: not to mention those expressions which Aeschines says are not *words*, but *wonders*.

You will tell me I have lighted on an adverse instance, since Demosthenes is condemned by Aeschines for running into these figurative expressions. But observe, I intreat you, how far superior the former orator is to his criticizer, and superior, too, in virtue of these very passages: for in others, the strength of his genius discovers itself: in those above quoted, the sublimity of it shines out. But does Aeschines himself avoid what he reproves in Demosthenes? "The orator," says he, "Athenians, and the law, ought to *speak* the same language; but when the *voice* of the law declares one thing, and that of the orator another."—And in another place: "he afterwards manifestly discovered the design he had, of concealing his fraud under cover of the decree, having expressly declared therein, that the ambassadors sent to the Oretae gave the five talents, not to you, but to Callias. And that you may be convinced what I say is the truth (after having *stripped* the decree of its *pomp*, its *galleys*, and *braggadocio*) read the clause itself." And in another part: "Suffer him not to *break cover* and *wander* out of the limits of the question:" a metaphor he is so fond of, that he repeats it again: "But sitting firm and lying in ambush in the assembly *drive* him into the merits of the question, and observe well how he *doubles*." Is his style more reserved and

pressiusque? Σὺ δὲ ἐλκοποιεῖς,<sup>1</sup> ἢ συλλαβόντες ὡς ληστὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας πλέοντα τιμωρήσασθε,<sup>2</sup> et alia.

Exspecto, ut quaedam ex hac epistula, ut illud, ‘gubernacula gemunt,’ et ‘dis maris proximus,’ iisdem notis, quibus ea, de quibus scribo, confodias. Intellego enim, me, dum veniam prioribus peto, in illa ipsa, quae adnotaveras, incidisse. Sed confodias licet, dummodo iam nunc destines diem, quo et de illis et de his coram exigere possimus. Aut enim tu me timidum, aut ego te temerarium faciam. Vale.

## XXVII

C. PLINIUS PATERNO SUO S.

QUANTA potestas, quanta dignitas, quanta maiestas, quantum denique numen sit historiae, cum frequenter alias tum proxime sensi. Recitaverat quidam verissimum librum partemque eius in alium diem reservaverat. Ecce amici cuiusdam orantes obsecrantesque, ne reliqua recitaret. Tantus audiendi, quae fecerint, pudor, quibus nullus faciendi, quae audire erubescunt. Et ille quidem praestitit,

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Ctes.* 208.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* 253.



simple when he says: “But you are *manufacturing wounds*,” or, “will you not seize and punish this political *pirate*, who *cruises* about the state?”—with many other passages of the like nature.

And now I expect you will make the same strictures upon certain expressions in this letter, as you did upon those I have been endeavouring to defend. The rudder that *groans*, and the pilot compared to a *sea-god*, will not, I imagine, escape your erasures: for I perceive while I am suing for indulgence to my former offences, I have fallen into the very turn of figure that you condemn. But blot these expressions if you please, provided you will immediately appoint a day when we may meet to discuss both my letter and my speech in person: you will then either teach *me* to be less daring, or I shall learn *you* to be more bold. Farewell.

## XXVII

## TO PATERNUS

I HAVE had many occasions to observe the power, the dignity, the majesty, and I will add too, even the *divine* efficacy there is in history; but I never met with so strong an instance of it as lately. An author had recited part of an historical performance, which he had drawn up with the utmost regard to truth, reserving the remainder for another day. When behold! the friends of a certain person came to him and earnestly conjured him not to recite the rest; so much are men ashamed to hear those actions repeated which they yet do not blush to commit! The historian complied (as he well might, without any

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quod rogabatur ; sinebat fides. Liber tamen ut factum ipsum manet, manebit legeturque semper tanto magis, quia non statim. Incitantur enim homines ad agnoscenda, quae differuntur. Vale.

### XXVIII

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

Post longum tempus epistulas tuas, sed tres pariter recepi, omnes elegantissimas, amantissimas, et quales a te venire, praesertim desideratas, oportebat. Quarum una iniungis mihi iucundissimum ministerium, ut ad Plotinam, sanctissimam feminam, litterae tuae perferantur. Perferentur. Eadem commendas Popilium Artemisium. Statim praestiti, quod petebat. Indicas etiam modicas te vindemias collegisse. Communis haec mihi tecum, quamquam in diversissima parte terrarum, querela est.

Altera epistula nuntias multa te nunc dictare, nunc scribere, quibus nos tibi repraesentes. Gratias ago ; agerem magis, si me illa ipsa, quae scribis aut dictas, legere voluisses. Et erat aequum ut te mea ita me tua scripta cognoscere, etiamsi ad alium quam ad me pertinerent. Polliceris in fine, cum certius de vitae nostrae ordinatione aliquid audieris,

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<sup>a</sup> The Empress, Trajan's wife.

breach of honour) with their request. But however, the history, like the action, remains, and will ever remain. And will be read too with so much the greater curiosity as the publication of it is delayed: for nothing raises the inquisitive disposition of mankind so much as to defer the gratification of it. Farewell.

## XXVIII

## To ROMANUS

YOUR letters have at length reached me, but I received three at once; all breathing the very spirit of elegance and friendship, and such as I had reason to expect from you, especially after having wished for them so long. In one, you enjoin me the very agreeable commission of forwarding your letter to that excellent lady, the virtuous Plotina<sup>a</sup>: I will take care to do so. At the same time you recommend to me Popilius Artemisius; and I have at once performed his request. You tell me also your vintage has proved extremely moderate. That complaint, notwithstanding we are separated by such distant countries, is common to us both.

Your second letter informs me, that you are employed in dictating and writing your impressions of myself. I am much obliged to you; and should be more so, if you would give me the pleasure of reading your performance. It were but just indeed, that as I communicate to you all my compositions, you should suffer me to partake of yours, even though they should turn upon another subject than myself. You promise me in the close of your letter, that as soon as you shall be informed with certainty, in what

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

futurum te fugitivum rei familiaris statimque ad nos evolaturum, qui iam tibi compedes nectimus, quas perfringere nullo modo possis.

Tertia epistula continebat esse tibi redditam orationem pro Clario, eamque visam uberiolem, quam dicente me, audiente te fuerit. Est uberior; multa enim postea inserui. Adicis alias te litteras curiosius scriptas misisse; an acceperim, quaeris. Non accepi et accipere gestio. Proinde prima quaque occasione mitte adpositis quidem usuris, quas ego (num parcius possum?) centesimas computabo. Vale.

### XXIX

C. PLINIUS RUSTICO SUO S.

UT satius est unum aliquid insigniter facere quam plurima mediocriter, ita plurima mediocriter, si non possis unum aliquid insigniter. Quod intuens ego variis me studiorum generibus nulli satis confisus experior. Proinde, cum hoc vel illud leges, ita singulis veniam ut non singulis dabis. An ceteris

manner I intend to dispose of myself, you will make an elopement from your family, and immediately fly to me : I am already preparing certain chains for you, which, when I have you here, you will by no means be able to break through.

I learn from your third, that my oration in behalf of Clarius has been delivered to you, which appears, it seems, more full than when you heard it pronounced. It is so, I confess : for I afterwards very considerably enlarged it. You mention having sent me another letter, which you say was written with some pains, and desire to know if I have received it : I have not, but impatiently wish for its arrival. To make me amends, write to me upon the first opportunity, and pay me with full interest, which I shall compute at *one per cent. monthly* ; tell me, can I acquit you upon more reasonable terms ? Farewell.

## XXIX

## To RUSTICUS

As it is far better to excel in any single art, than to arrive only at a mediocrity in several ; so on the other hand, a moderate skill in several is to be preferred, where one cannot attain to excellency in any. Upon this maxim it is, that I have attempted compositions of various sorts, as I could not expect to carry any particular one to its highest point of excellency. I hope, therefore, when you read any performance of mine, you will consider it with that indulgence which is due to an author, who has not confined himself to a single manner of writing, but has struck out into different kinds. In every other

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artibus excusatio in numero, litteris durior lex, in quibus difficilior effectus est? Quid autem ego de venia quasi ingratus? Nam, si ea facilitate proxima acceperis qua priora, laus potius speranda quam venia obsecranda est. Mihi tamen venia sufficit. Vale.

### XXX

C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

LAUDAS mihi et frequenter praesens et nunc per epistulas Nonium tuum, quod sit liberalis in quosdam. Et ipse laudo, si tamen non in hos solos. Volo enim eum, qui sit vere liberalis, tribuere patriae, propinquis, adfinibus, amicis, sed amicis dico pauperibus, non ut isti, qui iis potissimum donant, qui donare maxime possunt. Hos ego viscatis hamatisque muneribus non sua promere puto, sed aliena corripere. Sunt ingenio simili, qui, quod huic donant, auferunt illi famamque liberalitatis avaritia petunt. Primum est autem suo esse contentum, deinde, quos praecipue scias indigere, sustentantem fiventemque orbe quodam societatis ambire. Quae cuncta si facit iste, usque-

## BOOK IX. xxix.—xxx

art quantity pleads some excuse for the quality ; and shall literature, the most difficult of all, be tried by a severer law ? But whilst I am bespeaking your candour, am I not bringing my gratitude in question ? For, if you receive these last pieces with the same indulgence that you have all my former, I have more reason to hope for your applause, than to sue for your pardon. However, your pardon will be sufficient. Farewell.

### XXX

#### TO GEMINUS

You have frequently in conversation, and lately in a letter, commended your friend Nonius to me for his liberality to some particular persons ; I shall join with you in his applause, if his bounty is not confined to those only. I would have the man of true generosity assist his country, his kindred, his relations, and his friends ; his friends I mean in distress ; not like those who chiefly bestow their presents where there is the greatest ability to make returns. I do not look upon such, as parting with any thing of their own ; on the contrary, I consider their bounties as only so many disguised baits, thrown out with a design of catching the property of others. Much of the same character are those, who rob Peter to pay Paul, and seek a reputation for munificence by the practice of avarice. The first principle of genuine liberality is to be contented with what you have ; and after that, to cherish and embrace all the most indigent of your acquaintance, in one comprehensive circle of benevolence. If your friend observes this rule in its full extent, he is entirely to

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quaque laudandus est ; si unum aliquid, minus quidem, laudandus tamen. Tam rarum est etiam imperfectae liberalitatis exemplar. Ea invasit homines habendi cupido, ut possideri magis quam possidere videantur. Vale.

### XXXI

C. PLINIUS SARDO SUO S.

POSTQUAM a te recessi, non minus tecum, quam cum apud te fui. Legi enim librum tuum identidem repetens ea maxime (non enim mentiar), quae de me scripsisti, in quibus quidem percopiosus fuisti. Quam multa, quam varia, quam non eadem de eodem nec tamen diversa dixisti ! Laudem pariter et gratias agam ? Neutrum satis possum et, si possem, timerem, ne arrogans esset ob ea laudare, ob quae gratias agerem. Unum illud addam, omnia mihi tanto laudabiliora visa, quanto iucundiora, et tanto iucundiora, quanto laudabiliora erant. Vale.

### XXXII

C. PLINIUS TITIANO SUO S.

QUID agis ? quid acturus es ? Ipse vitam iucundissimam, id est, otiosissimam, vivo. Quo fit, ut



## BOOK IX. xxx.-xxxii

be commended; if he only partially pursues it, still he deserves (in a less degree indeed, however, he deserves) applause: so uncommon is it to meet with an instance of generosity even of the most imperfect kind! The lust of lucre has so totally seized upon mankind, that their wealth seems rather to possess them, than they to possess their wealth. Farewell.

### XXXI

#### To SARDUS

I STILL continued with you, notwithstanding we had parted: for I entertained myself with reading over your book. And I frequently went over with particular fondness (I honestly own it) those passages of which I am the subject: a subject upon which, indeed, you have been extremely copious. What a number and variety of remarks, all different, yet all consistent, have you made on one and the same person! Will you suffer me to mingle my applauses with my acknowledgements? I can do neither sufficiently; and if I could, there would be something, I fear, of vanity, in making that the subject of my praise, which is, in truth the object of my thanks. I will only add then, that the pleasure I received from your performance raised its merit in my eyes; and its merit heightened that pleasure. Farewell.

### XXXII

#### To TITIANUS

WHAT are you doing? And what do you propose to do? As for myself, I pass my life in the most agreeable, that is, in the most disengaged manner

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

scribere longiores epistulas nolim, velim legere; illud tamquam delicatus, hoc tamquam otiosus. Nihil est enim aut pigrius delicatis aut curiosius otiosis. Vale.

### XXXIII

C. PLINIUS CANINIO SUO S.

INCIDI in materiam veram, sed simillimam fictae dignamque isto laetissimo, altissimo planeque poëtico ingenio, incidi autem, dum super cenam varia miracula hinc inde referuntur. Magna auctoris fides; tametsi quid poëtae cum fide? Is tamen auctor, cui bene vel historiam scripturus credidisses.

Est in Africa Hipponensis colonia mari proxima; adiacet navigabile stagnum; ex hoc in modum fluminis aestuarium emergit, quod vice alterna, prout aestus aut repressit aut impulit, nunc infertur mari, nunc redditur stagno. Omnis hic aetas piscandi, navigandi, atque etiam natandi studio tenetur, maxime pueri, quos otium ludusque sollicitat. His gloria et virtus altissime provehi; victor ille, qui longissime ut litus ita simul nantes reliquit. Hoc certamine puer quidam audentior ceteris in ulteriora

imaginable. I do not find myself, therefore, in the humour to write a long letter, though I am to read one. I am too much a man of pleasure for the former, and just idle enough for the latter ; for none are more indolent, you know, than the voluptuous, or have more curiosity than those who have nothing to do. Farewell.

## XXXIII

To CANINIUS

I HAVE met with a story, which, though true, has all the air of fable, and would afford a very proper subject for your lively, elevated, and truly poetical genius. It was related to me the other day at table, where the conversation happened to turn upon various kinds of miraculous events. The person who gave the account, was a man of unsuspected veracity:—but what has a poet to do with truth? However, you might venture to rely upon his testimony, even though you had the character of a faithful historian to support.

There is in Africa a town called Hippo, situated not far from the sea-coast: it stands upon a navigable lake, from whence an estuary is discharged after the manner of a river, which ebbs and flows with the sea. Persons of all ages divert themselves here with fishing, sailing or swimming; especially boys, whom love of play and idleness bring hither. The contest among them is, who shall have the glory of swimming farthest; and he that leaves the shore and his companions at the greatest distance, gains the victory. It happened in one of these trials of skill, that a certain boy, more bold than the rest,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tendebat. Delphinus occurrit et nunc praecedere puerum, nunc sequi, nunc circumire, postremo subire, deponere, iterum subire trepidantemque perferre primum in altum, mox flectit ad litus redditque terrae et aequalibus. Serpit per coloniam fama; concurrere omnes, ipsum puerum tamquam miraculum adspicere, interrogare, audire, narrare.

Postero die obsident litus, prospectant mare, et si quid mari simile. Natant pueri; inter hos ille, sed cautius. Delphinus rursus ad tempus, rursus ad puerum [venit]. Fugit ille cum ceteris. Delphinus, quasi invitet et revocet, exilit, mergitur, variosque orbes implicitat expeditque. Hoc altero die, hoc tertio, hoc pluribus, donec homines innutritos mari subiret timendi pudor: accedunt et adludunt et appellant, tangunt etiam pertrectantque praebeantem. Crescit audacia experimento. Maxime puer, qui primus expertus est, adnatat natanti, insilit tergo, fertur referturque, agnosci se, amari putat, amat ipse;

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\* This animal is celebrated by several of the ancients for its philanthropy, and Pliny the elder, in particular, relates this very story, among other instances, in confirmation of that notion. See Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. 9, c. 8. (Meln.)

launched out towards the opposite shore. He was met by a dolphin,<sup>a</sup> who sometimes swam before him, and sometimes behind him, then played round him, and at last took him upon his back, then let him down, and afterwards took him up again: and thus carried the poor frightened boy out into the deepest part; when immediately he turns back again to the shore, and lands him among his companions. The fame of this remarkable accident spread through the town, and crowds of people flocked round the boy (whom they viewed as a kind of prodigy) to ask him questions, hear his story and repeat it.

The next day the shore was lined with multitudes of spectators all attentively observing the ocean, and (what indeed is almost itself an ocean) the lake. In the meanwhile the boys swam as usual, and among the rest, the youth I am speaking of went into the lake, but with more caution than before. The dolphin punctually appeared again and came to the boy, who together with his companions swam away with the utmost precipitation. The dolphin, as it were, to invite and recall them, bounded and dived up and down, winding about in a thousand different circles. This he practised for several days together, till the people (accustomed from their infancy to the sea) began to be ashamed of their timidity. They ventured therefore to advance nearer, playing with him and calling him to them, while he, in return, suffered himself to be touched and stroked. Use rendered them more courageous: the boy, in particular, who first made the experiment, swam by the side of him, and leaping upon his back, was carried to and fro in that manner: he fancies the dolphin knows and is fond of him, and he returns its fondness. There seemed

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neuter timet, neuter timetur; huius fiducia, mansuetudo illius augetur. Nec non alii pueri dextra laevaque simul eunt hortantes monentesque. Ibat una (id quoque mirum) delphinus alius tantum spectator et comes. Nihil enim simile aut faciebat aut patiebatur, sed alterum illum ducebat reducebatque, ut puerum ceteri pueri.

Incredibile, tam verum tamen quam priora, delphinum gestatorem collusoremque puerorum in terram quoque extrahi solitum harenisque siccatum, ubi incaluisset, in mare revolvi. Constat Octavium Avitum, legatum proconsulis in litus educto religione prava superfudisse unguentum, cuius illum novitatem odoremque in altum refugisse nec nisi post multos dies visum languidum et maestum, mox redditis viribus priorem lasciviam et solita ministeria repetisse. Confluebant ad spectaculum omnes magistratus, quorum adventu et mora modica res publica novis sumptibus atterebatur. Postremo locus ipse quietem suam secretumque perdebat. Placuit occulte interfici ad quod coibatur.

Haec tu qua miseratione, qua copia deflebis,

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<sup>a</sup> It was a religious ceremony practised by the ancients, to pour precious ointment upon the statues of their gods: Avitus, it is probable, imagined this dolphin was some sea-divinity, and therefore expressed his veneration of him by the solemnity of a sacred unction. (Melm.)

now, indeed, to be no fear on either side, the confidence of the one and the tameness of the other mutually increasing; the rest of the boys in the meanwhile swimming on either hand, encouraging and cautioning their companion. It is very remarkable, that this dolphin was followed by a second, which seemed only as a spectator and attendant on the former; for he did not at all submit to the same familiarities as the first, but only conducted him backwards and forwards, as the boys did their comrade.

But what is incredible, yet no less true than the rest, this dolphin who thus played with the boys and carried them upon his back, would come upon the shore, dry himself in the sand, and as soon as he grew warm, roll back into the sea. 'Tis known that Octavius Avitus, deputy governor of the province, from an absurd piece of superstition, poured some precious ointment over him as he lay on the shore,<sup>a</sup> the novelty and smell of which made him retire into the ocean, and it was not till after several days that he was seen again, when he appeared dull and languid; however he recovered his strength and continued his usual wanton tricks. All the magistrates round the country flocked hither to view this sight, the entertainment of whom upon their arrival, and during their stay, was an additional expense, which the slender finances of this little community could ill afford; besides, the quiet and retirement of the place was utterly destroyed. It was thought proper therefore to remove the occasion of this concourse, by privately killing the poor dolphin.

And now, with what a flow of tenderness will you describe this sad catastrophe! and how will your

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ornabis, attolles ! Quamquam non est opus adfingas aliquid aut adstruas ; sufficit, ne ea, quae sunt vera, minuantur. Vale.

### XXXIV

C. PLINIUS TRANQUILLO SUO S.

EXPLICA aestum meum. Audio me male legere, dumtaxat versus ; orationes enim commodius, sed tanto minus versus. Cogito ergo recitaturus familiaribus amicis experiri libertum meum. Hoc quoque familiare, quod elegi non bene, sed melius lecturum, si tamen non fuerit perturbatus. Est enim tam novus lector quam ego poëta. Ipse nescio, quid illo legente interim faciam, sedeam defixus et mutus et similis otioso an ut quidam, quae pronuntiabit, murmure, oculis, manu prosequar. Sed puto me non minus male saltare quam legere. Iterum dicam, explica aestum meum vereque rescribe, num sit melius pessime legere quam ista vel non facere vel facere. Vale.



genius adorn and heighten this moving story! Though, indeed, it does not require any fictitious embellishments; it will be sufficient to place the real circumstances in their full light. Farewell.

## XXXIV

## TO TRANQUILLUS

I AM under a wondrous difficulty, which you must settle. I have not, I am told, a good manner of reading verses: my talent lying chiefly in reciting orations, I succeed so much the worse, it seems, in poetry. I design therefore, as I am to recite some poems to my familiar friends, to make trial of my freedman for that purpose. It is treating them, I own, with familiarity, to employ a person who does not read well himself; however, he will perform, I know, better than I can, provided his fears do not disconcert him, for he is as unpractised a reader as I am a poet. Now the perplexing question is, how I shall behave while he is reading; whether I shall sit silent in a fixed and indolent posture, or follow him as he pronounces, with my eyes, hands and voice; a manner which some, you know, practise. But I fancy I have as little gift for pantomime as for reading. I repeat it again, therefore, you must extricate me out of this wondrous difficulty, and write me word whether you honestly think it would be better to read ever so ill, than to practise or omit any of the weighty circumstances above-mentioned. Farewell.

## XXXV

C. PLINIUS ATRIO<sup>1</sup> Suo S.

LIBRUM, quem misisti, recepi et gratias ago. Sum tamen hoc tempore occupatissimus. Ideo nondum eum legi, cum alioqui validissime cupiam; sed eam reverentiam cum litteris ipsis tui scriptis tuis debeo, ut sumere illa nisi vacuo animo irreligiosum putem. Diligentiam tuam in retractandis operibus valde probo. Est tamen aliquis modus, primum quod nimia cura deterit magis quam emendat, deinde quod nos a recentioribus revocat simulque nec absolvit priora et inchoare posteriora non patitur. Vale.

## XXXVI

C. PLINIUS FUSCO Suo S.

QUAERIS, quem ad modum in Tuscis diem aestate disponam.

Evigilo, cum libuit, plerumque circa horam primam, saepe ante, tardius raro. Clausae fenestrae manent. Mire enim silentio et tenebris ab iis, quae avocant, abductus et liber et mihi relictus, non oculos animo sed animum oculis sequor, qui eadem quae

<sup>1</sup> ATRIO *D*, APPIO *pr*, OPPIO *a*, ATTIO *K*.

## XXXV

To ATRIUS

I HAVE received your book, and return you thanks for it; but am at present so much engaged, that I have not time to read it; which, however, I impatiently wish to do. I have that high reverence for letters in general, and for your compositions in particular, that I think it a sort of profanation to approach them but with a mind entirely disengaged. I extremely approve of your care in revising your works; remember, however, this exactness has its limits: too much polishing rather weakens than strengthens a performance. Besides, this excessive delicacy, while it calls one off from other pursuits, not only prevents any new attempts, but does not even finish what it has begun. Farewell.

## XXXVI

To FUSCUS

You desire to know in what manner I dispose of my day in summer-time at my Tuscan villa.

I rise just when I find myself in the humour, though generally with the sun; often indeed sooner, but seldom later. When I am up, I continue to keep the shutters of my chamber-windows closed. For under the influence of darkness and silence, I find myself wonderfully free and abstracted from those outward objects which dissipate attention, and left to my own thoughts; nor do I suffer my mind to wander with my eyes, but keep my eyes in subjection

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mens vident, quotiens non vident alia. Cogito, si quid in manibus, cogito ad verbum scribenti emendantique similis nunc pauciora, nunc plura, ut vel difficile, vel facile componi tenerive potuerunt. Notarium voco et die admisso, quae formaveram dicto. Abit rursusque revocatur rursusque remittitur.

Ubi hora quarta vel quinta (neque enim certum dimensumque tempus), ut dies suasit, in xystum me vel cryptoporticum confero, reliqua meditor et dicto. Vehiculum ascendo. Ibi quoque idem quod ambulans aut iacens; durat intentio mutatione ipsa refecta. Paulum redormio, dein ambulo, mox orationem Graecam Latinamve clare et intente non tam vocis causa quam stomachi lego; pariter tamen et illa firmatur. Iterum ambulo, ungor, exerceor, labor. Cenanti mihi, si cum uxore vel paucis, liber legitur; post cenam comoedus aut lyristes; mox cum meis ambulo, quorum in numero sunt eruditi.

to my mind, which in the absence of external objects, see those which are present to the mental vision. If I have any composition upon my hands, this is the time I choose to consider it, not only with respect to the general plan, but even the style and expression, which I settle and correct as if I were actually writing. In this manner I compose more or less as the subject is more or less difficult, and I find myself able to retain it. Then I call my secretary, and, opening the shutters, I dictate to him what I have composed, after which I dismiss him for a little while, and then call him in again and again dismiss him.

About ten or eleven of the clock (for I do not observe one fixed hour), according as the weather recommends, I betake myself either to the terrace, or the covered portico, and there I meditate and dictate what remains upon the subject in which I am engaged. From thence I get into my chariot, where I employ myself as before, when I was walking or in my study; and find this changing of the scene preserves and enlivens my attention. At my return home I repose myself a while; then I take a walk; and after that, read aloud and with emphasis some Greek or Latin oration, not so much for the sake of strengthening my elocution as my digestion; though indeed the voice at the same time finds its account in this practice. Then I walk again, am anointed, take my exercises, and go into the bath. At supper, if I have only my wife, or a few friends with me, some author is read to us; and after supper we are entertained either with music, or an interlude. When that is finished, I take my walk with my domestics, in the number of which I am not without

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Ita variis sermonibus vespera extenditur, et quamquam longissimus dies cito conditur.

Non numquam ex hoc ordine aliqua mutantur. Nam, si diu iacui vel ambulavi, post somnum demum lectionemque non vehiculo, sed, quod brevius, quia velocius, equo gestor. Interveniunt amici ex proximis oppidis partemque diei ad se trahunt interdumque lassato mihi opportuna interpellatione subveniunt. Venor aliquando, sed non sine pugillaribus, ut, quamvis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam. Datur et colonis, ut videtur ipsis, non satis temporis, quorum mihi agrestes querelae litteras nostras et haec urbana opera commendant. Vale.

### XXXVII

C. PLINIUS PAULINO SUO S.

NEC tuae naturae est translaticia haec et quasi publica officia a familiaribus amicis contra ipsorum commodum exigere, et ego te constantius amo, quam ut verear, ne aliter, ac velim, accipias, nisi te Kalendis statim consulem videro; praesertim cum me necessitas locandorum praediorum in<sup>1</sup> plures

<sup>1</sup> in *add. Müller.*

some persons of literature. Thus we pass our evenings in various conversation; and the day, even when it is at the longest, is quickly spent.

Upon some occasions, I change the order in certain of the articles above mentioned. For instance, if I have lain longer or walked more than usual, after my second sleep and reading aloud, instead of using my chariot I get on horseback; by which means I take as much exercise and lose less time. The visits of my friends from the neighbouring towns claim some part of the day; and sometimes by a seasonable interruption, they relieve me, when I am fatigued. I now and then amuse myself with sporting, but always take my tablets into the field, that though I should catch nothing, I may at least bring home something. Part of my time, too (though not so much as they desire), is allotted to my tenants: and I find their rustic complaints give a zest to my studies and engagements of the politer kind. Farewell.

## XXXVII

TO PAULINUS

As you are not of a disposition to expect from your friends the common ceremonies of the world, when they cannot observe them without inconvenience to themselves; so I too warmly love you to be apprehensive you will take otherwise than I wish you should, my not waiting upon you on the first day on your entrance upon the consular office; especially as I am detained here by the necessity of letting my

annos ordinatura detineat, in qua mihi nova consilia sumenda sunt. Nam priore lustro, quamquam post magnas remissiones, reliqua creverunt. Inde plerisque nulla iam cura minuendi aeris alieni, quod desperant posse persolvi; rapiunt etiam consumuntque, quod natum est, ut qui iam putent se non sibi parcere.

Occurrendum ergo augescentibus vitiis et medendum est. Medendi una ratio, si non nummo, sed partibus locem ac deinde ex meis aliquos operis exactores custodes fructibus ponam. Et alioqui nullum iustius genus redditus, quam quod terra, coelum, annus refert. At hoc magnam fidem, acres oculos, numerosas manus poscit. Experiendum tamen et quasi in veteri morbo quaelibet mutationis auxilia temptanda sunt.

Vides, quam non delicata me causa obire primum consulatus tui diem non sinat; quem tamen hic quoque ut praesens votis, gaudio, gratulatione celebrabo. Vale.



farms upon long leases. I am obliged to enter upon an entire new method with my tenants: for during the last five years, though I made them very considerable abatements, they have run greatly in arrear. For this reason several of them not only take no sort of care to lessen a debt, which they despaired of paying in full; but even seize and consume all the produce of the lands, in the belief that it would now be no advantage to themselves to spare it.

I must therefore obviate this increasing evil, and endeavour to find out some remedy against it. The only one I can think of is, not to let at a money-rent, but on condition of receiving a fixed share of the produce; and then to place some of my servants to overlook the tillage, and to keep a watch on the crops. And indeed, there is no sort of revenue more equitable, than what arises from the bounty of the soil, the seasons and the climate. 'Tis true, this method will require great integrity and diligent attendance in the person I appoint my bailiff, and put me to the expense of employing many hands. However, I must hazard the experiment; and, as in an inveterate distemper, try every change of remedy.

You see, it is not any pleasurable indulgence, that prevents my attending you on the first day of your consulship. I shall celebrate it nevertheless, as much as if I were present, and pay my vows for you here, with all the warmest sentiments of joy and congratulation. Farewell.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XXXVIII

C. PLINIUS SATURNINO SUO S.

Ego vero Rufum nostrum laudo, non quia tu, ut ita facerem, petisti, sed quia ille est dignissimus. Legi enim librum omnibus numeris absolutum, cui multum apud me gratiae amor ipsius adiecit. Iudicavi tamen. Neque enim soli iudicant, qui maligne legunt. Vale.

## XXXIX

C. PLINIUS MUSTIO SUO S.

HARUSPICUM monitu reficienda est mihi aedes Cereris in praediis in melius et in maius, vetus sane et angusta, cum sit alioqui stato die frequentissima. Nam Idibus Septembribus magnus e regione tota coit populus, multae res aguntur, multa vota suscipiuntur, multa redduntur; sed nullum in proximo suffugium aut imbris aut solis. Videor ergo munifice simul religioseque facturus, si aedem quam pulcherimam exstruxero, addidero porticus aedi, illam ad usum deae, has ad hominum.

Velim ergo emas quattuor marmoreas columnas, cuius tibi videbitur generis, emas marmora, quibus

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<sup>a</sup> Soothsayers who practised the (originally Etruscan) method of divination by inspection of the sacrificial victim's entrails.

## XXXVIII

## To SATURNINUS

YES, I sincerely applaud our friend Rufus; not because you desire me; but because I think he highly merits approbation. I have read his very finished performance, to which my affection for the author added a considerable recommendation. Yet it did not blind my judgement; for the malicious, is not, I trust, the only judicious reader. Farewell.

## XXXIX

## To MUSTIUS

IN compliance with the advice of the *haruspices*,<sup>a</sup> I intend to repair and enlarge the temple of Ceres, which stands upon my estate. It is indeed not only very ancient, but small, considering how thronged it is upon a certain anniversary. On the 13th of September, great numbers of people from all the country round assemble there, many affairs are transacted, and many vows paid and offered; but there is no shelter hard by against rain or sun. I imagine then, I shall do at once an act of piety and munificence, if at the same time that I rebuild the temple on the noblest scale, I add to it a spacious portico; the first for the service of the Goddess, the other for the use of the people.

I beg therefore you would purchase for me four marble pillars, of whatever kind you shall think proper; as also a quantity of marble for laying the

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

solum, quibus parietes excolantur. Erit etiam vel faciendum vel emendum ipsius deae signum, quia antiquum illud e ligno quibusdam sui partibus vetustate truncatum est.

Quantum ad porticus, nihil interim occurrit, quod videatur istinc esse repetendum; nisi tamen ut formam secundum rationem loci scribas. Neque enim possunt circumdari templo; nam solum templi hinc flumine et abruptissimis ripis, hinc via cingitur. Est ultra viam latissimum pratum, in quo satis apte contra templum ipsum porticus explicabuntur; nisi quid tu melius inveneris, qui soles locorum difficultates arte superare. Vale.

### XL

C. PLINIUS FUSCO SUO S.

SCRIBIS pergratas tibi fuisse litteras meas, quibus cognovisti, quem ad modum in Tuscis otium aestatis exigerem; requiris quid ex hoc in Laurentino hieme permutem. Nihil, nisi quod meridianus somnus eximitur, multumque de nocte vel ante vel post diem sumitur, et si agendi necessitas instat, quae frequens hieme, non iam comoedo vel lyristae post cenam

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<sup>a</sup> ix. 36.

floor and incrusting the walls. You must likewise either buy a statue of the Goddess, or procure one to be made; for age has maimed, in some parts, the ancient one of wood which stands there at present.

With respect to the portico, I do not at the moment recollect there is any thing you can send me that will be serviceable; unless you will sketch me out a plan suitable to the situation of the place. It is not practicable to build it round the temple, because it is encompassed on one side by the river, whose banks are exceedingly steep; and on the other, by the high road. Beyond this road lies a very large meadow, in which the portico may be conveniently enough placed, opposite to the temple; unless you, who are accustomed to conquer the inconveniences of nature by art, can propose some better situation. Farewell.

## XL

### To FUSCUS

You are much pleased, I find, with the account I gave you in my former letter,<sup>a</sup> of the manner in which I spend my summer holidays in my Tuscan villa; and desire to know what alteration I make in my method, when I am at my Laurentine villa in the winter. None at all, except depriving myself of my sleep at noon, and considerably abridging my nocturnal repose, either after sunset or before sunrise: and if I have any forensic business impending (which in winter very frequently happens) instead of having interludes or music after supper

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

locus, sed illa, quae dictavi, identidem retractantur, ac simul memoriae frequenti emendatione proficitur. Habes aestate, hieme consuetudinem; nunc<sup>1</sup> addas huc licet ver et autumnum, quae inter hiemem aestatemque media, ut nihil de die perdunt, ita de nocte parvulum acquirunt. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> nunc *add.* *Casarb.*

## BOOK IX. xl

I meditate upon what I have dictated, and by often revising it in my own mind, fix it in my memory. Thus I have given you my scheme of life in summer and winter ; to which you may add the intermediate seasons of spring and autumn. As at those times I lose nothing of the day, so I steal but little from the night. Farewell.





# BOOK X

## LIBER DECIMUS

### I

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

TUA quidem pietas, imperator sanctissime, optaverat, ut quam tardissime succederes patri : sed di immortales festinaverunt virtutes tuas ad gubernacula rei publicae, quam susceperas, admovere. Precor ergo, ut tibi et per te generi humano prospera omnia, id est digna saeculo tuo, contingant. Fortem te et hilarem, imperator optime, et privatim et publice opto.

### II

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

EXPRIMERE, domine, verbis non possum, quantum mihi gaudium attuleris, quod me dignum putasti iure trium liberorum. Quamvis enim Iuli Serviani, optimi viri tuique amantissimi, precibus indulseris,

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<sup>a</sup> Nerva, who had adopted Trajan three months previously, died on Jan. 28, 98 A.D. Trajan received the news of his

## BOOK X

### I

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

YOUR filial affection, most pious Emperor, made you wish it might be late ere you succeeded your Father. But the immortal gods have hastened the advancement of those virtues to the helm of the commonwealth, which had already so successfully shared in the conduct of it.<sup>a</sup> May you then, and the world through your means, enjoy every prosperity, in other words, everything worthy of your reign; to which let me add my wishes, most excellent Emperor, upon a private as well as public account, that your health and spirits may be preserved firm and unbroken.

### II

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

YOU have occasioned me, Sir, an inexpressible pleasure, by thinking me worthy of enjoying the privilege which the laws confer on those who have three children.<sup>b</sup> For though it was an indulgence to the request of your very affectionate and worthy friend Servilianus, that you granted this favour; yet accession at Cologne, and did not return to Rome for nearly two years.

<sup>b</sup> See ii. 13, note, vii. 16, note.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tamen etiam ex rescripto intellego libentius hoc ei te praestitisse, quia pro me rogabat. Videor ergo summam voti mei consecutus, cum inter initia felicissimi principatus tui probaveris me ad peculiarem indulgentiam tuam pertinere; eoque magis liberos concupisco, quos habere etiam illo tristissimo saeculo volui, sicut potes duobus matrimoniis meis credere. Sed di melius, qui omnia integra bonitati tuae reservarunt; malui<sup>1</sup> hoc potius tempore me patrem fieri, quo futurus essem et securus et felix.

### III A

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

UT primum me, domine, indulgentia vestra promovit ad praefecturam aerarii Saturni, omnibus advocationibus, quibus alioqui numquam eram promiscue functus, renuntiavi, ut toto animo delegato mihi officio vacarem. Qua ex causa, cum patronum me provinciales optassent contra Marium

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<sup>1</sup> malui *Av. a, Bipons*, maluere *Ernesti, Müller.*

<sup>a</sup> Of Domitian. On Pliny's marriages see Introduction.

<sup>b</sup> The only public treasury until the time of Augustus, who created two others, with separate sources of revenue. The *aerarium Saturni* (so called from its office being in the temple

I have the satisfaction to find by the words of your rescript that you complied the more willingly, as his application was in my behalf. I cannot but look upon myself as in possession of my utmost wish, after having thus received, at the entrance of your auspicious government, so distinguishing a mark of your peculiar favour; at the same time that it considerably heightens my desire of leaving a family behind me. I was not without this inclination even in that former most cruel reign:<sup>a</sup> as my two marriages will easily incline you to believe. But the Gods decreed it better, by reserving every valuable privilege to be bestowed by your kindness. I prefer to become a father only *now*, when I can be secure and happy in my fatherhood.

## III A

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHEN, Sir, by the joint indulgence of your august Father and yourself, I was promoted to the head of the treasury of Saturn,<sup>b</sup> I immediately renounced all engagements of the bar (which indeed I never undertook promiscuously), that no avocations might call off my attention from the post to which I was appointed. For this reason when the people of Africa petitioned that I might undertake their cause against Marius Priscus,<sup>c</sup> I excused myself from that

of Saturn), after various changes of administration under the emperors, was placed by Nerva under the charge of two "prefects of the treasury," who were appointed by the emperor and held office for three years.

<sup>c</sup> See ii. 11; iii. 4, 9; vi. 29.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Priscum, et petii veniam huius muneris et impetravi. Sed, cum postea consul designatus censuisset, agendum nobiscum, quorum erat excusatio recepta, ut essemus in senatus potestate pateremurque nomina nostra in urnam conici, convenientissimum esse tranquillitati saeculi tui putavi praesertim tam moderatae voluntati amplissimi ordinis non repugnare. Cui obsequio meo opto ut existimes constare rationem, cum omnia facta dictaque mea probare sanctissimis moribus tuis cupiam.

### III B

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

ET civis et senatoris boni partibus functus es obsequium amplissimi ordinis, quod iustissime exigebat, praestando. Quas partes impleturum te secundum susceptam fidem confido.

### IV

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

INDULGENTIA tua, imperator optime, quam plenissimam experior, hortatur me, ut audeam tibi etiam pro amicis obligari; inter quos sibi vél praecipuum

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<sup>a</sup> When provincials sought to prosecute a governor, an advocate for them was ordinarily chosen by lot, out of several nominated by the Senate. This form was observed when, as

office ; and accordingly my excuse was admitted. But when afterwards the consul elect proposed that the Senate should apply again to those of us who had put in an excuse and endeavour to prevail with us to place ourselves at its disposal, and suffer our names to be thrown into the urn,<sup>a</sup> I thought it most suitable to that tranquillity and good order which so happily distinguishes your times, not to oppose (especially in so reasonable an article) the will of that august assembly. And, as I am desirous that all my words and actions may be approved by your exemplary virtue, I hope you will think my compliance was proper.

## III B

## THE EMPEROR TRAJAN TO PLINY

You acted as becomes a good citizen and a worthy senator, by paying obedience to the just injunctions of that august body ; and I have full confidence you will faithfully discharge the part you have undertaken.

## IV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE ample experience, Sir, I have had of your unbounded generosity to me, in my own person, encourages me to hope I may be yet farther obliged to it, in favour of my friends. Voconius Romanus

in this case, the provincials asked for some particular advocate.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

locum vindicat Voconius Romanus, ab ineunte aetate condiscipulus et contubernalis meus. Quibus ex causis et a divo patre tuo petieram, ut illum in amplissimum ordinem promoveret. Sed hoc votum meum bonitati tuae reservatum est, quia mater Romani liberalitatem sestertii quadragiens,<sup>1</sup> quod conferre se filio codicillis ad patrem tuum scriptis professsa fuerat, nondum satis legitime peregerat; quod postea fecit admonita a nobis. Nam et fundos emancipavit et cetera, quae in emancipatione implenda solent exigi, consummavit.

Cum sit ergo finitum, quod spes nostras morabatur, non sine magna fiducia sub signo apud te fidem promoribus Romani mei, quos et liberalia studia exornant, et eximia pietas, qua et hanc ipsam matris liberalitatem et statim patris hereditatem et adoptionem a vitrico meruit. Auget haec et natalium et paternarum facultatum splendor; quibus singulis multum commendationis accessurum etiam ex meis precibus indulgentiae tuae credo. Rogo ergo, domine, ut me exoptatissimae mihi gratulationis compotem facias et honestis, ut spero, adfectibus meis praestes, ut non in me tantum, verum et in amico gloriari iudiciis tuis possim.

quadragiens *B*, quadringenties *a*.



(my school-fellow and early companion) claims the first rank in that number; in consequence of which I petitioned your sacred Father to promote him to the dignity of the Senatorial order. But the completion of my request is reserved to your goodness; for his mother had not then executed a deed of gift of the four millions of sesterces which she engaged to give him, in her petition to the Emperor your late father: <sup>a</sup> this, however, on a reminder from me she has since done, having realized a sufficient estate in land, with all the necessary formalities.

The difficulties therefore being removed which deferred our wishes, it is with full confidence I venture to assure you of the merit of my friend Romanus, heightened and adorned as it is, not only by the liberal and polite arts, but by his extraordinary tenderness to his parents. It is to that virtue he owes the present liberality of his mother; as well as his immediate succession to his late father's estate, and his having been adopted by his stepfather. To these personal qualifications, the wealth and rank of his family give an increase of lustre; as I persuade myself it will be some additional recommendation to your favour, that I solicit in his behalf. Let me then intreat you, Sir, to put it in my power to congratulate Romanus, on an occasion so highly agreeable to me; and at the same time to gratify an eager, and I hope a laudable ambition of being able to boast, that your favourable regards are extended not only to myself, but also to my friend.

<sup>a</sup> Property to the value of 1,200,000 sesterces was a necessary qualification for senatorial rank.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## V

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PROXIMO anno, domine, gravissima valitudine usque ad periculum vitae vexatus iatralipten adsumpsi; cuius sollicitudini et studio tuae tantum indulgentiae beneficio referre gratiam possum. Quare rogo, des ei civitatem Romanam. Est enim peregrinae condicionis manumissus a peregrina. Vocatur ipse Harpocras; patronam habuit Thermuthin Theonis, quae iam pridem defuncta est. Item rogo, des ius Quiritium libertis Antoniae Maximillae, ornatissimae feminae, Hediae et Harmeridi, quod a te petente patrona peto.

## VI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

AGO gratias, domine, quod et ius Quiritium libertis necessariae mihi feminae et civitatem Romanam Harpocrati, iatraliptae meo, sine mora indulxisti. Sed, cum annos eius et censum, sicut praeceperas, ederem, admonitus sum a peritioribus debuisse me

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<sup>a</sup> An *iatraliptes*, or "doctor-trainer," practised a treatment consisting of dieting, exercises, and massage.

<sup>b</sup> Freedmen of citizens, if manumitted with the full legal formalities (*iusta manumissio*) became *ipso facto* citizens; those of aliens kept, of course, the status of their patrons.

<sup>c</sup> A woman, though herself a citizen, could not give *iusta manumissio*, but must use one of the informal methods, by which the freedman gained only the "Latin franchise"

## V

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

HAVING been attacked last year by a severe and dangerous illness, I employed a physician<sup>a</sup> whose care and diligence, Sir, I cannot sufficiently reward, but by your gracious assistance. I intreat you therefore to make him a citizen of Rome; for he is the freedman of an alien.<sup>b</sup> His name is Harpocras; his patroness (who has been dead a considerable time) was Thermuthis, the daughter of Theon. I farther intreat you to bestow the full privileges of a Roman citizen<sup>c</sup> upon Hedia and Harmeris, the freedwomen of Antonia Maximilla, a lady of high rank. It is at her desire<sup>d</sup> I make this request.

## VI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I return you thanks, Sir, for your ready compliance with my desire, in granting the complete privileges of a Roman to the freedwomen of a lady to whom I am allied, and making Harpocras my physician a citizen of Rome. But when, agreeably to your directions, I gave in an account of his age and estate, I was informed by those who are better skilled in these affairs than I pretend to be, that as he is an (vii. 16, note, x. 104, note). Persons who already had this *ius Latinorum* became full citizens by the addition of the *ius Quiritium*; hence Pliny asks the latter for Antonia's freedwomen, but *civitas* for the alien Harpocras.

<sup>a</sup> Certain legal disqualifications attended the non-fulfilment of this condition.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ante ei Alexandrinam civitatem impetrare, deinde Romanam, quoniam esset Aegyptius. Ego autem, quia inter Aegyptios ceterosque peregrinos nihil interesse credebam, contentus fueram hoc solum scribere tibi, esse eum<sup>1</sup> a peregrina manumissum patronamque eius iam pridem decessisse. De qua ignorantia mea non queror, per quam stetit, ut tibi pro eodem homine saepius obligarer.

Rogo itaque, ut beneficio tuo legitime frui possim, tribuas ei et Alexandrinam civitatem et Romanam. Annos eius et censum, ne quid rursus indulgentiam tuam moraretur, libertis tuis, quibus iusseras, misi.

### VII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

CIVITATEM Alexandrinam secundum institutionem principum non temere dare proposui. Sed, cum Harpocrati, iatraliptae tuo, iam civitatem Romanam impetraveris, huic quoque petitioni tuae negare non sustineo. Tu, ex quo nomo sit, notum mihi facere debebis, ut epistulam tibi ad Pompeium Plantam, praefectum Aegypti, amicum meum, mittam.

<sup>1</sup> esse eum *B*, etsi eum *Av.*, scilicet cum *a*.

<sup>a</sup> The citizens of Alexandria and other Greek cities in Egypt formed a distinct class from the Egyptians belonging

Egyptian, I ought first to have obtained for him the freedom of Alexandria,<sup>a</sup> before he was made free of Rome. I confess, indeed, as I was ignorant of any difference in this case between Egyptians and other aliens, I contented myself with only acquainting you, that he had been manumitted by a foreign lady, long since deceased. However, it is an ignorance I cannot regret, since it affords me an opportunity of receiving from you a double obligation in favour of the same person.

That I may legally therefore enjoy the benefit of your goodness, I beg you would be pleased to grant him the freedom of the city of Alexandria, as well as that of Rome. And that your gracious intentions may not meet with any farther obstacles, I have taken care, as you directed, to send an account to your freedmen of his age and fortune.

## VII

## THE EMPEROR TRAJAN TO PLINY

IT is my resolution, in pursuance of the maxim observed by the princes my predecessors, to be extremely cautious in granting the freedom of the city of Alexandria: however, since you have obtained of me the freedom of Rome for your physician Harpocras, I cannot refuse you this other request. You must let me know to what district he belongs, that I may give you a letter to my good friend Pompeius Planta, governor of Egypt.

to the forty-seven nomes (provinces). Neither the Ptolemies, nor their successors the Roman emperors, ever granted the Alexandrian citizenship to these Egyptians, except in very special circumstances. (Hardy.)

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## VIII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM divus pater tuus, domine, et oratione pulcherrima et honestissimo exemplo omnes cives ad munificentiam esset cohortatus, petii ab eo, ut statuas principum, quas in longinquis agris per plures successiones traditas mihi, quales acceperam, custodiebam, permetteret in municipium transferre adiecta sua statua. Quod cum<sup>1</sup> ille mihi cum plenissimo testimonio indulserat, ego statim decurionibus scripseram, ut adsignarent solum, in quo templum pecunia mea exstruerem; illi in honorem operis ipsius electionem loci mihi obtulerant. Sed primum mea, deinde patris tui valetudine, postea curis delegati a vobis officii retentus nunc videor commodissime posse in rem praesentem excurrere. Nam et menstruum meum Kalendis Septembris finitur, et sequens mensis complures dies feriatos habet.

Rogo ergo ante omnia permittas mihi opus, quod incohaturus sum, exornare et tua statua, deinde, ut hoc facere quam maturissime possim, indulgeas

<sup>1</sup> quod cum *Gruterus*, quodque *a, B.*

## VIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

AFTER your late sacred Father, Sir, had, in a noble speech as well as by his own generous example, exhorted and encouraged the public to acts of munificence, I implored his permission to remove to my township the several statues which I had of the former emperors; and at the same time begged the liberty of adding his own to the number. For these statues had come down to me as family heirlooms, and I had kept them just as they were on my distant estate. He was pleased to grant my request and at the same time to give me a very ample testimony of his approbation.

I immediately therefore wrote to the town council, that they would allot a piece of ground, upon which I might build a temple at my own expense; but as a mark of honour to my design, they offered me the choice of any site I thought proper. However, my own indisposition in the first place, and afterward that of your father, and later the duties of that post with which you were both pleased to intrust me, prevented my going on with that design. But I have now, I think, a convenient opportunity of making an excursion to this place, as my month's attendance ends on the first of September, and there are several holidays in the month following.

My first request then is, that you would permit me to adorn the temple I am going to erect, with your statue, besides the rest; and next (in order to execute my design with all the expedition possible) that you would indulge me with leave of absence.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

commeatum. Non est autem simplicitatis meae dissimulare apud bonitatem tuam obiter te plurimum collaturum utilitatibus rei familiaris meae. Agrorum enim, quos in eadem regione possideo, locatio cum alioqui cccc excedat, adeo non potest differri, ut proximam putationem novus colonus facere debeat. Praeterea continuae sterilitates cogunt me de remissionibus cogitare ; quarum rationem nisi praesens inire non possum.

Debebo ergo, domine, indulgentiae tuae et pietatis meae celeritatem et status ordinationem, si mihi ob utraque haec dederis commeatum xxx dierum. Neque enim angustius tempus praefinire possum, cum et municipium et agri, de quibus loquor, sint ultra centesimum et quinquagesimum lapidem.

### IX

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

Et privatas<sup>1</sup> multas et omnes publicas causas petendi commeatus reddidisti ; mihi autem vel sola voluntas tua suffecisset. Neque enim dubito te, ut primum potueris, ad tam districtum officium reversurum. Statuam poni mihi a te eo, quo desideras,

<sup>1</sup> privatas *add. Catan.*



It would ill become the sincerity I profess, were I to conceal from so kind a master that your complying with this desire will at the same time be extremely serviceable to me in my own private affairs. It is absolutely necessary I should not defer any longer the letting of my lands in that province ; for besides that they amount to above four hundred thousand sesterces annually, the time for dressing the vineyards is approaching, and *that* care must fall upon my new tenants. Moreover, the badness of the vintage for several years past obliges me to think of making some abatements in my rents ; which I cannot possibly settle unless I am present.

I shall be indebted then to your indulgence, Sir, both as accelerating this public act of piety, and giving me the opportunity of settling my private affairs, if you will be pleased to grant me leave to be absent for thirty days. I cannot limit a shorter time, as the town and the estate of which I am speaking lie above an hundred and fifty miles from Rome.

## IX

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

You have given me many private reasons, and all, moreover, with a bearing on the public welfare, why you desire leave to be absent ; but I need no other than that it is your inclination : and I doubt not of your returning as soon as possible to the duty of an office, which so much requires your attendance. As I would not seem to check any instance of your

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

loco, quamquam eiusmodi honorum parcissimus, tamen patior, ne impedisse cursum erga me pietatis tuae videar.

### X

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

EXPRIMERE, domine, verbis non possum, quanto me gaudio adfecerint epistulae tuae, ex quibus cognovi, te Harpocrati, iatraliptae meo etiam Alexandrinam civitatem tribuisse, quamvis secundum institutionem principum non temere eam dare proposuisses. Esse autem Harpocran νομοῦ Μερφιτικοῦ indico tibi. Rogo ergo, indulgentissime imperator, ut mihi ad Pompeium Plantam, praefectum Aegypti, amicum tuum, sicut promisisti, epistulam mittas.

Obviam iturus, quo maturius, domine, exoptatissimi adventus tui gaudio frui possim, rogo, permittas mihi quam longissime occurrere tibi.

### XI

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PROXIMA infirmitas mea, domine, obligavit me Postumio Marino medico; cui parem gratiam referre beneficio tuo possum, si precibus meis ex consuetudine bonitatis tuae indulseris. Rogo ergo,

## BOOK X. ix.-xi

loyalty towards me, I shall not oppose your erecting my statue in the place you mention; though in general I am extremely chary of allowing such marks of honour.

### X

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I CANNOT express, Sir, the pleasure your letter gave me, by which I am informed that you have made my physician Harpocras a citizen of Alexandria; notwithstanding your resolution to follow the maxim of your predecessors in this point, by being extremely cautious in granting that privilege. Agreeably to your directions, I acquaint you that Harpocras belongs to the nome of Memphis. I intreat you then, most gracious Emperor, to send me as you promised a letter to your good friend, Pompeius Planta, governor of Egypt.

As I purpose (in order to have the earliest enjoyment of your presence, so ardently wished for here)<sup>a</sup> to come to meet you; I beg, Sir, you would permit me to extend my journey as far as possible.

### XI

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I WAS greatly obliged, Sir, in my late indisposition, to Posthumius Marinus, my physician; and I can only make him a suitable return by the assistance of the gracious indulgence which you are wont to shew to my petition. I intreat you then to confer Roman

<sup>a</sup> Affairs in Germany had delayed Trajan's return to Rome as Emperor. See x. 1 note.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ut propinquis eius des civitatem, Chrysippo Mithridatis, uxoriq[ue] Chrysippi Stratonicae Epigoni, item liberis eiusdem Chrysippi, Epigono et Mithridati, ita ut sint in patris potestate, utq[ue] iis in liberos servetur ius patronorum. Item rogo, indulgeas ius Quiritium L. Satrio Abascantio et P. Caesio Phosphoro et Anchariae Soteridi; quod a te volentibus patronis peto.

### XII

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Scio, domine, memoriae tuae, quae est beneficiendi tenacissima, preces nostras inhaerere. Quia tamen in hoc quoque saepe indulxisti, admoneo simul et impense rogo, ut Accium Suram praetura exornare digneris, cum locus vacet. Ad quam spem alioqui quietissimum hortatur et natalium splendor et summa integritas in paupertate et ante omnia felicitas temporum, quae bonam conscientiam civium tuorum ad usum indulgentiae tuae provocat et attollit.

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<sup>a</sup> An exceptional privilege to the sons, for on Chrysippus gaining the *patria potestas* over them they would normally lose their independent rights, including those over their freedmen. (Hardy.)

citizenship upon the following persons, his relatives ; Chrysippus, son of Mithridates, and Stratonica, daughter of Epigonus, who is wife to Chrysippus. I implore likewise the same privilege in favour of Epigonus and Mithridates, the two sons of Chrysippus ; but in such manner that they may be under the dominion of their father and yet preserve their right of patronage over their own freedmen.<sup>a</sup> I farther intreat you to grant the full privileges of a Roman to L. Satrius Abascantus, P. Caesius Phosphorus, and Ancharia Soteris. This request I make with the consent of their patrons.

## XII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THOUGH I am well assured, Sir, that you, who never forget any opportunity of exerting your generosity, are not unmindful of the request I lately made you ; yet since you have frequently, among many other instances of your indulgence, permitted me to repeat my solicitations to you, I do so now on behalf of Accius Sura ; and I earnestly beseech you to honour him with the Praetorship, which is at present vacant. Though his ambition is extremely moderate, yet the quality of his birth, the inflexible integrity which he has shewn in a fortune below mediocrity, and, above all, the happiness of your reign, which emboldens citizens of conscious virtue to claim the indulgence of your favour, prompts him to hope he may experience it in this instance.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XIII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM sciam, domine, ad testimonium laudemque morum meorum pertinere tam boni principis iudicio exornari, rogo, dignitati, ad quam me provexit indulgentia tua, vel auguratum vel septemviratum, quia vacant, adicere digneris, ut iure sacerdotii precari deos pro te publicae possim, quos nunc precor pietate privata.

## XIV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

VICTORIAE tuae, optime imperator, maximae, pulcherrimae, antiquissimae et tuo nomine et rei publicae gratulor deosque immortales precor, ut omnes cogitationes tuas tam laetus sequatur eventus, ut virtutibus tantis gloria imperii et novetur et augeatur.

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<sup>a</sup> The Augurs and the Septemviri formed two of the four great priestly colleges. Pliny received the Augurship (vacant by the death of Julius Frontinus), probably in 103 A.D. *cf.* iv. 8.

## XIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

As I am sensible, Sir, that the highest applause my conduct can receive, is to be distinguished by so excellent a Prince: I beg you would be graciously pleased to add either the office of Augur<sup>a</sup> or Septemvir<sup>a</sup> (both of which are now vacant) to the dignity I already enjoy by your indulgence; <sup>b</sup> that I may have the satisfaction of publicly offering up those vows for your prosperity, from the duty of my office, which I daily prefer to the Gods in private, from the affection of my heart.

## XIV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I CONGRATULATE both you and the public, most excellent Emperor, upon the great and glorious victory you have obtained,<sup>c</sup> so agreeable to the heroism of Rome. May the immortal Gods give the same happy success to all your designs, that, under the administration of so many princely virtues, the splendour of the Empire may shine out, not only in its former, but with additional lustre.

<sup>b</sup> The Augurship was usually conferred on consulars; Pliny had been Consul 100 A.D.

<sup>c</sup> Over the Dacians. See viii. 4. Whether this letter refers to Trajan's first or second campaign is unknown.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XV

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUIA confido, domine, ad curam tuam pertinere, nuntio tibi me Ephesum cum omnibus meis ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν navigasse. Quamvis contrariis ventis retentus, nunc destino partim orariis navibus, partim vehiculis provinciam petere. Nam sicut itineri graves aestus, ita continuæ navigationi etesiae reluctantur.

## XVI

TRAIANUS PLINIO

RECTE renuntiasti, mi Secunde carissime. Pertinet enim ad animum meum, quali itinere *in*<sup>1</sup> provinciam pervenias. Prudenter autem constituis interim navibus, interim vehiculis uti, prout loca suaserint.

## XVII A

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SICUT saluberrimam navigationem,<sup>1</sup> domine, usque Ephesum expertus ita inde, postquam vehiculis iter facere coepi, gravissimis aestibus atque etiam feбри-

<sup>1</sup> in *add. Cat*<sup>2</sup>.



## BOOK X. xv.-xvii A

### XV

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

HAVING safely passed the promontory of Malea, I am arrived at Ephesus with all my train, notwithstanding I was detained for some time by contrary winds ; an information, Sir, in which I trust you will think yourself concerned. I design to pursue the remainder of my journey to my province,<sup>a</sup> partly in coasting vessels and partly in post-chaises : for as the excessive heats will prevent my travelling altogether by land, so the Etesian winds, which are now set in, will not permit me to proceed entirely by sea.

### XVI

#### TRAJAN TO PLINY

YOUR communication, my dear Pliny, was extremely proper ; as it is much my concern to know in what manner you arrive at your province. You are prudent in arranging to travel either by sea or land, as you shall find most convenient.

### XVII A

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

As I had a very salubrious voyage to Ephesus, so in travelling post from thence I was extremely incommoded by the heats ; they even threw me into a

<sup>a</sup> See Introduction for Pliny's governorship of Bithynia, to which the rest of this book relates.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

culis vexatus Pergami substiti. Rursus, cum transissem in orarias naviculas, contrariis ventis retentus aliquanto tardius, quam speraveram, id est xv Kal. Octobres, Bithyniam intravi. Non possum tamen de mora queri, cum mihi contigerit, quod erat auspicatissimum, natalem tuum in provincia celebrare. Nunc rei publicae Prusensium impendia, reditus, debitores excutio; quod ex ipso tractatu magis ac magis necessarium intellego. Multae enim pecuniae variis ex causis a privatis detinentur; praeterea quaedam minime legitimis sumptibus erogantur. Haec tibi, domine, in ipso ingressu meo scripsi.

### XVII B

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUINTODECIMO Kalendas Octobres, domine, provinciam intravi, quam in eo obsequio, in ea erga te fide, quam de genere humano mereris, inveni. Dispice, domine, an necessarium putes mittere huc mensorem. Videntur enim non mediocres pecuniae posse revocari a curatoribus operum, si mensurae fideliter aguntur. Ita certe prospicio ex ratione Prusensium, quam cum maxime tracto.

fever, which kept me some time at Pergamum. I then resorted to coasting-vessels; but being detained by contrary winds, I arrived at Bithynia somewhat later than I had hoped, namely on the 17th of September. However, I have no reason to complain of this delay, since it produced me a most auspicious omen—namely, to celebrate your birthday in my province.<sup>a</sup> I am at present engaged in examining into the public finances of the Prusenses, their disbursements, revenues and credits; and the more I look into them, the more I perceive the necessity of my inquiry. Many sums of money are detained in private hands upon various pretences; moreover, some public grants are made for quite illegitimate expenses. This, Sir, I write to you immediately on my arrival.

## XVII B

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I ENTERED this province, Sir, on the 17th of September, and found it in those sentiments of obedience and loyalty which you justly merit from all mankind. You will consider, Sir, whether it would not be proper to send hither a surveyor; for it appears that substantial sums of money might be recovered from the contractors for public buildings, if a faithful admeasurement were taken. At least, I am of that opinion, from what I have already seen of the accounts of this city, which I am now in the act of examining.

<sup>a</sup> The reigning Emperor's birthday had always been a public holiday.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XVIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

CUPEREM sine querela corpusculi tui et tuorum pervenire in Bithyniam potuisses, ac simile tibi iter ab Epheso ei navigationi fuisset, quam expertus usque illo eras. Quo autem die pervenisses in Bithyniam, cognovi, Secunde carissime, litteris tuis. Provinciales, credo, prospectum sibi a me intellegent. Nam et tu dabis operam, ut manifestum sit illis electum te esse, qui ad eosdem mei loco mittereris. Rationes autem in primis tibi rerum publicarum excutiendae sunt; nam et esse eas vexatas satis constat. Mensores vix etiam iis operibus, quae aut Romae aut in proximo fiunt, sufficientes habeo; sed in omni provincia inveniuntur, quibus credi possit, et ideo non deerunt tibi, modo velis diligenter excutere.

## XIX

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Rogo, domine, consilio me regas haesitantem utrum per publicos civitatum servos, quod usque adhuc factum, an per milites adservare custodias debeam. Vereor enim, ne et per servos publicos parum fideliter custodiantur, et non exiguum militum

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<sup>a</sup> For the playful use of *corpusculum* cf. vi. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Slaves owned by a state or city wore a sort of livery, had

## XVIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WISH you could have reached Bithynia without any complaint from your *little anatomy*,<sup>a</sup> or from your train; and that your journey from Ephesus had been as easy as your voyage to that place. I note from your letter, my dear Pliny, what day you reached Bithynia. The people of that province will understand, I believe, that I have their interests at heart. For you will take care to make it clear to them, that you were appointed specially to represent myself. You must pay particular attention to investigating the financial affairs of the towns, which are evidently in confusion. As for surveyors, I have scarce enough for those works which I am carrying on at Rome, and in the neighbourhood; but trustworthy persons of this class may be found in every province, so that you will have no lack of such if you choose to make diligent inquiry.

## XIX

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I BEG your advice, Sir, on a matter wherein I am greatly doubtful; it is, whether I should have the prisoners guarded by public slaves<sup>b</sup> (as has been hitherto the practice), or by soldiers? On the one hand, I am afraid the public slaves will not perform this duty faithfully; and on the other, that it will an annual stipend, and were employed as mail-carriers, executioners, attendants at the public baths, libraries, etc.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

numerum haec cura dstringat. Interim publicis servis paucos milites addidi. Video tamen periculum esse, ne id ipsum utrisque negligentiae causa sit, dum communem culpam hi in illos, illi in hos regerere posse confidunt.

### XX

TRAIANUS PLINIO

NIHIL opus est, mi Secunde carissime, ad continendas custodias plures commilitones converti. Perseveremus in ea consuetudine, quae isti provinciae est, ut per publicos servos custodiantur. Etenim, ut fideliter hoc faciant, in tua severitate ac diligentia positum est. In primis enim, sicut scribis, verendum est, ne, si permisceantur servis publicis milites, mutua inter se fiducia negligentiores sint. Sed et illud haereat nobis, quam paucissimos milites a signis avocandos esse.

### XXI

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

GABIUS BASSUS, praefectus orae Ponticae, et reverentissime et officiosissime, domine, venit ad me et compluribus diebus fuit mecum, quantum

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<sup>a</sup> An expression avoided as undignified by Augustus and his immediate successors, but affected by later Emperors, whose power largely depended on the goodwill of the army.

<sup>b</sup> cf. x. 22.

engage too large a body of the soldiery. In the meanwhile I have joined a few of the latter with the former. I see, however, there is a danger that this plan may occasion negligence on both sides; since each will trust to throwing upon the other the blame attaching to both.

## XX

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

THERE is no occasion, my dear Pliny, to draw off more of my fellow-soldiers <sup>a</sup> to guard the prisoners. Let us rather abide by the custom of your province, and employ the public slaves. Their fidelity in this office depends entirely upon the discipline and care you exercise. It is to be feared, as you observe, that if the soldiers are combined with the public slaves, they will mutually rely on each other, and by that means grow so much the more negligent. But let this be our fixed rule, that as few soldiers as possible should be called away from the colours.<sup>b</sup>

## XXI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

GABIUS BASSUS, Prefect of the Pontic shore,<sup>c</sup> visited me in the most respectful and obliging manner, and has been with me, Sir, for several days.

<sup>c</sup> Prefects in the provinces were more or less permanent officials, appointed by the Emperor. Some held civil, others military appointments; among the latter were the Prefects of the Rhine frontier, the Euphrates frontier, and the littoral of the Black Sea.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

perspicere potui, vir egregius et indulgentia tua dignus. Cui ego notum feci praecepisse te, ut ex cohortibus, quibus me praeesse voluisti, contentus esset beneficiariis decem, equitibus duobus, centurione uno. Respondit non sufficere sibi hunc numerum, idque se scripturum tibi. Hoc in causa fuit, quo minus statim revocandos putarem, quos habet supra numerum.

### XXII

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

ET mihi scripsit Gabius Bassus non sufficere sibi eum militum numerum, qui ut daretur illi, mandatis meis complexus sum. Cui quae rescripsissem,<sup>1</sup> ut notum haberes, his litteris subici iussi. Multum interest, res poscat an homines imperare latius velint.<sup>2</sup> Nobis autem utilitas demum spectanda est, et, quantum fieri potest, curandum, ne milites a signis absint.

### XXIII

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PRUSENSES, domine, balineum habent et sordidum et vetus. Id itaque indulgentia tua restituere

<sup>1</sup> Cui quae rescripsissem *K*, quid quaeris scripsisse me? *a*, *B*.

<sup>2</sup> res poscat an homines imperare latius velint *Catan.*, te poscat an homines in se ut latius velint *a*, *B*, tempus p. an h. iure uti l. v. *Orell*.



As far as I could observe, he is a person of great merit and worthy of your favour. I acquainted him it was your order that he should retain only ten beneficiary soldiers,<sup>a</sup> two troopers, and one centurion, out of the cavalry which you were pleased to assign to my command. He assured me these would not be sufficient for him, and that he would write to you upon this head; for which reason I did not, immediately upon your directions, recall his supernumeraries.

## XXII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I HAVE received from Gabius Bassus the letter you mention, acquainting me, that the number of your soldiers I had ordered him was not sufficient: and for your information I have directed my answer to be annexed to this. It is very material to distinguish between what the exigency of affairs requires and what an ambitious desire of extending power may think necessary. As for ourselves, the interest of the public must be our only guide: and it is incumbent upon us to take all possible care, that the soldiers are not absent from their colours.

## XXIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Prusenses, Sir, have an ancient and ruinous bath, which they desire your leave to repair. Upon examining into the condition of it, I find it ought to

<sup>a</sup> Privates who were either exempted from fatigue duty, or detailed for some special duty by a superior, were called his *beneficiarii*.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

desiderant: ego tamen aestimans novum fieri debere . . . . videris mihi desiderio eorum indulgere posse. Erit enim pecunia, ex qua fiat, primum ea, quam revocare a privatis et exigere iam coepi, deinde quam ipsi erogare in oleum soliti parati sunt in opus balinei conferre; quod alioqui et dignitas civitatis et saeculi tui nitor postulat.

### XXIV

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

Si instructio novi balinei oneratura vires Prusensium non est, possumus desiderio eorum indulgere, modo ne quid ideo aut intribuatur, aut minus illis in posterum fiat ad necessarias erogationes.

### XXV

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SERVILIUS PUDENS legatus, domine, viii Kal. Decembres Nicomediam venit meque longae expectationis sollicitudine liberavit.

### XXVI

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ROSIANUM GEMINUM, domine, artissimo vinculo mecum tua in me beneficia iunxerunt. Habui enim

be rebuilt; I think therefore you may indulge them in this request, as there will be a sufficient fund for that purpose, partly from those debts which are due from private persons to the public, which I am now calling in, and partly from what they disburse from their treasury towards furnishing the bath with oil, which they are willing to apply to the carrying on of this building: a work which the dignity of the city, and the splendour of your reign seems to demand.

## XXIV

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

IF the erecting a public bath will not be too great a charge upon the Prusenses, we may comply with their request: provided, however, that no new tax be levied for this purpose, nor any of those taken off which are applied for necessary purposes.

## XXV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

My lieutenant Servilius Pudens came to Nicomedia, Sir, on the 24th of November; and by his arrival freed me, at last, from the solicitude of a very uneasy expectation.

## XXVI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

Your generosity to me, Sir, was the occasion of uniting me to Rosianus Geminus, by the strongest

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

illum quaestorem in consulatu, mei summe observantissimum expertus. Tantam mihi post consulatum reverentiam praestat, ut publicae necessitudinis pignora privatis cumulet officiis. Rogo ergo, ut ipse apud te pro dignitate eius precibus meis faveas, cui et, si quid mihi credis, indulgentiam tuam dabis. Dabit ipse operam, ut in iis, quae ei mandaveris, maiora mereatur. Parcior me in laudando facit, quod spero tibi et integritatem eius et probitatem et industriam non solum ex eius honoribus, quos in urbe sub oculis tuis gessit, verum etiam ex commilitio esse notissimam. Illud unum, quod propter caritatem eius nondum mihi videor satis plene fecisse, etiam atque etiam facio; teque, domine, rogo, gaudere me exornata quaestoris mei dignitate, id est per illum mea, quam maturissime velis.

### XXVII

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

MAXIMUS, libertus et procurator tuus, domine, praeter decem beneficiarios, quos adsignari a me

ties; for he was my Quaestor when I was Consul. His behaviour to me, during the continuance of our offices, was highly respectful; and he has treated me ever since with so peculiar a regard, that besides the many obligations I owe him upon a public account, I am indebted to him for the strongest pledges of private friendship. I intreat you then to comply with my request for the advancement of one, whom (if my recommendation has any weight) you will even honour with your particular favour; as whatever trust you shall repose in him, he will endeavour to shew himself still deserving of an higher. But I forbear to enter into a more particular detail of his merit; being persuaded, his integrity, his probity, and his vigilance are well known to you, not only from those high posts, which he has exercised in Rome within your immediate inspection; but from his behaviour when he served under you in the field. One thing, however, my affection for him inclines me to think I have not yet sufficiently done; and therefore, Sir, I repeat my entreaties to you, that you will give me the pleasure, as early as possible, of rejoicing in the honourable advancement of my Quaestor; or, in other words, of receiving an addition to my own dignity, in the person of my friend.

## XXVII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I AM assured, Sir, by your freedman and receiver-general Maximus, that it is necessary he should have a party of six soldiers assigned to him, over and besides

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Gemellino, optimo viro, iussisti, sibi quoque confirmat necessarios esse milites sex. Tres<sup>1</sup> interim, sicut inveneram, in ministerio eius relinquendos existimavi, praesertim cum ad frumentum comparandum iret in Paphlagoniam. Quin etiam tutelae causa, quia desiderabat, addidi duos equites. In futurum quid servari velis, rogo rescribas.

### XXVIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

NUNC quidem proficiscentem ad comparisonem frumentorum Maximum, libertum meum, recte militibus instruxisti. Fungebatur enim et ipse extraordinario munere. Cum ad pristinum actum reversus fuerit, sufficient illi duo a te dati milites et totidem a Virdio Gemellino, procuratore meo, quem adjuvat.

### XXIX

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SEMPRONIUS CAELIANUS, egregius iuvenis, repertos inter tirones duos servos misit ad me; quorum ego

<sup>1</sup> milites sex. Tres *Mommsen*, milites. Ex his interim *a, B*, lacunam post milites *K*, post interim *ind. Müller*.

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<sup>a</sup> See x. 21, note.

the ten beneficiary soldiers,<sup>a</sup> which by your orders I allotted to the very worthy Gemellinus. Three therefore which I found in his service I thought proper to continue there, especially as he was going into Paphlagonia in order to procure corn. For his better security likewise, and because it was his request, I added two of the horse-guards. But I beg you would inform me in your next despatches, what method you would have me observe for the future in points of this nature.

## XXVIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

As my freedman Maximus was going upon an extraordinary commission to procure corn, I approve of your having supplied him with a file of soldiers. But when he shall return to the duties of his former post, I think two from you, and as many from my receiver-general Viridius Gemellinus (to whom he is coadjutor) will be sufficient.

## XXIX

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

SEMPRONIUS CAELIANUS (whose merit I must always mention with esteem) having discovered two slaves<sup>b</sup> among the recruits has sent them to me. But I

<sup>b</sup> The Roman policy excluded slaves from entering into military service, and it was death if they did so. (Melm.) But in great crises, as after the battle of Cannae, and during the civil wars, slaves were occasionally enlisted.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

supplicium distuli, ut te conditorem disciplinae militaris firmatoremque consulerem de modo poenae. Ipse enim dubito ob haec maxime, quod, ut iam dixerant sacramento militari, nondum distributi in numeros erant. Quid ergo debeam sequi, rogo, domine, scribas, praesertim cum pertineat ad exemplum.

### XXX

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

SECUNDUM mandata mea fecit Sempronius Caelianus mittendo ad te eos, de quibus cognosci oportebat, an capitale supplicium meruisse videantur. Refert autem, voluntarii se obtulerint an lecti sint vel etiam vicarii dati. Lecti si sunt, inquisitio peccavit; si vicarii dati, penes eos culpa est, qui dederunt; si ipsi, cum haberent condicionis suae conscientiam, venerunt, animadvertendum in illos erit. Neque enim multum interest, quod nondum per numeros distributi sunt. Ille enim dies, quo primum probati sunt, veritatem ab his originis suae exigit.



deferred passing sentence till I had conferred with you, the glorious founder, and firm support of military discipline, concerning the punishment proper to be inflicted upon them. My principal doubt is, that though they have taken the military oath, they are not yet entered into any particular legion. I beg therefore, Sir, you would let me know what method I shall pursue, especially as it is an affair in which example is concerned.

## XXX

## TRÁJAN TO PLINY

SEMPRONIUS CAELIANUS has acted agreeably to my orders, in sending those persons to you for trial, the capital nature of whose offence must be decided by investigation. It is material, in the case in question, to inquire, whether these slaves enlisted themselves voluntarily, or were enrolled by the recruiting officers, or presented as proxies for others. If they were enrolled, the officer is guilty; if they are proxies, the blame rests with those who deputed them; but if, conscious of the legal incapacities of their station, they presented themselves voluntarily, the punishment must fall upon their own heads. That they are not yet entered into any legion makes no great difference in their case; for they ought to have given a true account of themselves immediately, upon their being approved as fit for the service.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XXXI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SALVA magnitudine tua, domine, descendas oportet ad meas curas, cum ius mihi dederis referendi ad te, de quibus dubito. In plerisque civitatibus, maxime Nicomediae et Niceae, quidam vel in opus damnati vel in ludum similiaque his genera poenarum publicorum servorum officio ministerioque funguntur atque etiam ut publici servi annua accipiunt. Quod ego cum audissem, diu multumque haesitavi, quid facere deberem. Nam et reddere poenae post longum tempus plerosque iam senes et, quantum adfirmatur, frugaliter modesteque viventes nimis severum arbitrabar, et in publicis officiis retinere damnatos non satis honestum putabam; eosdem rursus a republica pasci otiosos inutile, non pasci etiam periculosum existimabam. Necessario ergo rem totam, dum te consulerem, in suspenso reliqui.

Quaeres fortasse, quem ad modum evenerit, ut poenis, in quas dati erant, exsolverentur; et ego quaesivi, sed nihil comperi, quod adfirmare tibi possim.

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<sup>a</sup> x. 19, note.

## XXXI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

As I have your permission, Sir, to address myself to you in all my doubts, you will not esteem it below your dignity to descend to those affairs, which concern the administration of my post. I find there are in several cities, particularly those of Nicomedia and Nicea, certain persons who take upon themselves to act as public slaves,<sup>a</sup> and receive an annual stipend accordingly; notwithstanding they have been condemned either to the mines, the public games or other punishments of like nature. Having received information of this abuse, I have been long debating with myself how I should act. On the one hand, to send them back again after a long interval to their respective punishments, (many of them being now grown old, and behaving, as I am assured, with sobriety and modesty,) would, I thought, be proceeding against them too severely; on the other, to retain convicts in the public service, seemed not altogether decent. I considered at the same time, to support these people in idleness, would be an useless expense to the public; and to leave them to starve, would be dangerous. I was obliged therefore to suspend the determination of this matter, till I could consult with you.

You will be desirous, perhaps, to be informed, how it happened that these persons escaped the punishments to which they were condemned. This inquiry I have also made myself, but cannot return you any satisfactory answer. The records of their

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Ut decreta, quibus damnati erant, proferebantur, ita nulla monumenta, quibus liberati probarentur. Erant tamen, qui dicerent deprecantes iussu proconsulum legatorumve dimissos. Addebat fidem, quod credibile erat neminem hoc ausum sine auctore.

### XXXII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

MEMINERIMUS idcirco te in istam provinciam missum, quoniam multa in ea emendanda apparuerint. Erit autem vel hoc maxime corrigendum, quod, qui damnati ad poenam erant, non modo ea sine auctore, ut scribis, liberati sunt, sed etiam in condicionem proborum ministrorum retrahuntur. Qui igitur intra hos proximos decem annos damnati nec ullo idoneo auctore liberati sunt, hos oportebit poenae suae reddi; si qui vetustiores invenientur et senes ante annos decem damnati, distribuamus illos in ea ministeria, quae non longe a poena sint. Solent enim eius modi ad balineum, ad purgationes cloacarum, item munitiones viarum et vicorum dari.

sentence were indeed produced ; but no record of their ever having been reversed. It was asserted, however, that these people were released upon their petition to the proconsuls, or their lieutenants ; which seems likely enough to be the truth, as it is improbable any person should have dared to set them at liberty without authority.

## XXXII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

WE are to remember that you were sent into Bithynia for the particular purpose of correcting those many abuses with which it appeared to be over-run. Now none stands more in need of reformation, than that convicts should not only be set at liberty (as your letter informs me) without authority ; but actually restored to the station of respectable officials. Those therefore among them who have been convicted within these ten years, and whose sentence has not been reversed by proper authority, must be sent back again to their respective punishments : but where more than ten years have elapsed since their conviction, and they are grown old and infirm, let them be distributed in such employments as approach penal servitude ; that is, either to attend upon the public baths, cleanse the common sewers, or repair the streets and highways, the usual offices to which such persons are assigned.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XXXIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM diversam partem provinciae circumirem, Nicomediae vastissimum incendium multas privatorum domos et duo publica opera quamquam via interiacente, Gerusian et Iseon, absumpsit. Est autem latius sparsum primum violentia venti, deinde inertia hominum, quos<sup>1</sup> satis constat otiosos et immobiles tanti mali spectatores perstitisse; et alioqui nullus usquam in publico siphon, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda. Et haec quidem, ut iam praecepi, parabuntur. Tu, domine, dispice, an instituendum putes collegium fabrorum duntaxat hominum CL. Ego attendam, ne quis nisi faber recipiatur, neve iure concesso in aliud utatur; nec erit difficile custodire tam paucos.

## XXXIV

TRAIANUS PLINIO

TIBI quidem secundum exempla complurium in mentem venit posse collegium fabrorum apud Nicomedenses constitui. Sed meminerimus provin-

<sup>1</sup> quos *Rittershusius*, quod *a*.

## XXXIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHILE I was making a progress in a different part of the province, a prodigious fire broke out at Nicomedia, which not only consumed several private houses, but also two public buildings, the old men's hospice<sup>a</sup> and the temple of Isis, though they stood on contrary sides of the street. The occasion of its spreading thus far was partly owing to the violence of the wind, and partly to the indolence of the people, who, I am well assured, stood fixed and idle spectators of this terrible calamity. And at any rate, the city was not provided either with a single engine or bucket or any one instrument proper to extinguish fires; these however will be got ready, as I have already ordered. Pray determine, Sir, whether you think it well to institute a guild of fire-men, not to exceed one hundred and fifty members. I will take care none but those of that calling shall be admitted into it; and that the privileges granted them shall not be diverted to any other purpose. As they will be so few, it will be easy enough to keep them under proper regulation.

## XXXIV

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

You are of opinion it would be proper to constitute a guild of fire-men in Nicomedia, agreeably to what has been practised in several other places. But it

<sup>a</sup> Several cities are known to have had these institutions, which provided common meals and a common resort for aged citizens elected to membership.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

ciam istam et praecipue eas civitates eius modi factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcumque nomen ex quacumque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerint hetaeriae aequae brevi<sup>1</sup> fient. Satius itaque est comparari ea, quae ad coercendos ignes auxilio esse possint, admonerique dominos praediorum, ut et ipsi inhibeant, ac, si res poposcerit, accursu populi ad hoc uti.

### XXXV

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SOLEMNIA vota pro incolumitate tua, qua publica salus continetur, et suscipimus, domine, pariter et solvimus, precati deos ut velint ea semper solvi semperque signari.

### XXXVI

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

ET solvisse vos cum provincialibus dis immortalibus vota pro mea salute et incolumitate et nuncupasse libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi ex litteris tuis.

<sup>1</sup> aequae brevi *Lightfoot*, quae breves *a, B.*

<sup>a</sup> Nicomedia and, probably, Nicaea, her rival.

<sup>b</sup> This had happened in the case of many of the trade-guilds at Rome. Our own Trades Unions supply parallels.



is to be remembered that this sort of societies have greatly disturbed the peace of your province in general, and of those cities<sup>a</sup> in particular. Whatever title we give them, and whatever our object in giving it, men who are banded together for a common end will all the same become a political association before long.<sup>b</sup> It will therefore be better to provide suitable means for extinguishing fires, and enjoin owners of house-property to employ these themselves, calling in the help of the populace when necessary.

## XXXV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WE have offered,<sup>c</sup> Sir, and acquitted, our annual vows for your safety, in which that of the State is included ; imploring the Gods to grant us ever thus to pay, and thus to confirm them.

## XXXVI

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WAS gratified, my dear Pliny, to learn by your letter, that you, together with the provincials, have both paid and renewed your vows to the immortal Gods, for my health and safety.

<sup>c</sup> *suscipere vota* = to undertake vows (for the coming year) ; *vota solvere* = to pay vows (for the past year). The ceremony referred to was performed on the Capitol, in the various camps, and in the provinces, on the 3rd January. (Hardy.)

## XXXVII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

IN aquae ductum, domine, Nicomedenses impenderunt sestertium [xxx] cccxxix, qui imperfectus adhuc relictus ac etiam destructus est: rursus in alium ductum erogata sunt cc. Hoc quoque relicto novo impendio est opus, ut aquam habeant, qui tantam pecuniam male perdiderunt. Ipse perveni ad fontem purissimum, ex quo videtur aqua debere perducī, sicut initio tentatum erat, arcuato opere, ne tantum ad plana civitatis et humilia perveniat. Manent adhuc paucissimi arcus; possunt et erigi quidam lapide quadrato, qui ex superiore opere detractus est; aliqua pars, ut mihi videtur, testaceo opere agenda erit; id enim et facilius et vilius. Et in primis necessarium est mitti a te vel aquilegem vel architectum, ne rursus eveniat, quod accidit. Ego illud unum adfirmo, et utilitatem operis et pulchritudinem saeculo tuo esse dignissimam.

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<sup>a</sup> About £27,000.

<sup>b</sup> The *Pont de Gard* near Nîmes (*Nemausus*) is a magnificent specimen of these overground aqueducts.

## XXXVII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE citizens of Nicomedia, Sir, have expended three million three hundred and twenty-nine thousand sesterces<sup>a</sup> on an aqueduct; but they abandoned it unfinished, and it has actually been pulled down. They made a grant of two hundred thousand sesterces for another aqueduct, but this likewise is discontinued; so that after having thrown away an immense sum they must incur fresh expense in order to be accommodated with water. I have personally visited a most limpid spring from whence the water may be conveyed over arches<sup>b</sup> (as was done in their first design), so as not to reach only the level and low parts of the city. There are but very few arches remaining; others can be erected with the square blocks of stone which have been pulled down from the former work; some part, I think, may be built of brick,<sup>c</sup> as that will be the easier and cheaper method. But first, to prevent another failure, it will be necessary for you to send here an inspector of aqueducts or an engineer. I will venture to affirm one thing—the beauty and usefulness of the work will be entirely worthy of your reign.

<sup>a</sup> *opus testaceum*, “brickwork,” was only used as facing to a concrete core, as was also the *lapis quadratus* just mentioned. (Hardy.)

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XXXVIII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

CURANDUM est, ut aqua in Nicomedensem civitatem perducatur. Vere credo te ea, qua debebis, diligentia hoc opus aggressurum. Sed medius fidius ad eandem diligentiam tuam pertinet inquirere, quorum vitio ad hoc tempus tantam pecuniam Nicomedenses perdiderint, ne, cum inter se gratificentur, et inchoaverint aquaeductus et reliquerint. Quid itaque compereris, perfer in notitiam meam.

## XXXIX

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

THEATRUM, domine, Nicaeae maxima iam parte constructum, imperfectum tamen, sestertium, ut audio (neque enim ratio operis<sup>1</sup> excussa est), amplius centies hausit, vereor ne frustra. Ingentibus enim rimis desedit<sup>2</sup> et hiat, sive in causa solum humidum et molle, sive lapis ipse gracilis et putris; dignum est certe deliberatione, sitne faciendum an sit relinquendum an etiam destruendum. Nam fulturae ac substructiones, quibus subinde suscipitur, non tam firmæ mihi quam sumptuosæ videntur. Huic theatro ex privatorum pollicitationibus multa, debentur

<sup>1</sup> operis *Müller*, plus *a*.

<sup>2</sup> desedit *Hardy ex Bodd.* descendit *a*, discedit *Gruter*.

## XXXVIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

CARE must be taken to supply the city of Nicomedia with water—you will, I am persuaded, set about the work with all due diligence. But it is most certainly no less incumbent upon you to ascertain whose fault it is that the Nicomedians have up to the present squandered such large sums. They must not be suffered to commence and then abandon aqueducts by a system of collusion. You will let me know the result of your inquiry.

## XXXIX

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE citizens of Nicaea, Sir, have built the greater part of a theatre which, though it is not yet finished, has already exhausted, as I hear said (for the account has not yet been audited) above ten millions of sesterces ; and, I fear, to no purpose. For either from the damp and yielding nature of the ground, or that the stones themselves were thin and friable, the building is sinking and displaying enormous cracks. The question certainly deserves consideration, whether it should be completed, or abandoned, or even pulled down. For the buttresses and bases upon which it is here and there supported, appear to me more expensive than solid. Several private persons have undertaken to build parts of this theatre at their own expense, some

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

tur ut basilicae circa, ut porticus supra caveam. Quae nunc omnia differuntur, cessante eo quod ante peragendum est.

Iidem Nicaeenses gymnasium incendio amissum ante adventum meum restituere coeperunt longe numerosius laxiusque, quam fuerat, et iam aliquantum erogaverunt, periculum est, ne parum utiliter; incompositum enim et sparsum est. Praeterea architectus sane aemulus eius, a quo opus inchoatum est, adfirmat parietes quamquam viginti et duos pedes latos imposita onera sustinere non posse, quia sint caemento mediis farti nec testaceo opere praecincti.

Claudiopolitani quoque in depresso loco, imminente etiam monte ingens balineum defodiunt magis quam aedificant, et quidem ex ea pecunia, quam *buleutae* additi beneficio tuo aut iam obtulerunt ob introitum aut nobis exigentibus conferent. Ergo, cum timeam, ne illic publica pecunia, hic, quod est omni pecunia pretiosius, munus tuum male collocetur, cogor petere a te, non solum ob theatrum, verum etiam ob haec balinea mittas architectum dispecturum, utrum sit utilius post sumptum, qui factus est, quoquo

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“ “The word *Cavea* in the original comprehends more than what we call the *Pit* in our theatres, as it means the whole space in which the spectators sat.” (Melm.) “The *cavea* was the interior of the semi-circular part of the theatre, the rows of seats (*cunei*) rising out behind one another from the orchestra at the bottom to the external wall of the theatre at the top. . . At the top there was often a double row of

engaging to erect the adjacent basilicas, others the gallery above the pit<sup>a</sup>: all of which are now postponed as the principal fabric is at a stand.

The citizens are also rebuilding, upon a larger scale, the Gymnasium, which was burnt down before my arrival in the province. They have already voted funds for the purpose, which are likely to be wasted, for the structure is ill-planned and rambling. Besides, the present architect (who, it must be owned, is a rival to the one first employed) asserts that the walls, though they are twenty-two feet thick, are not strong enough to support the superstructure, as their core is merely rubble, nor are they faced with brickwork.

Furthermore, the people of Claudiopolis are sinking (for I cannot call it building) a large public bath in a hollow at the very foot of a hill, and are appropriating for this work the fees which those extra members you were pleased to add to their senate paid on their admission, or are now paying on my demand.<sup>b</sup> Lest, therefore, the public money in one place, and in the other (what is infinitely more valuable than any pecuniary consideration) your benefaction, should be misapplied, I am obliged to desire you would send hither an architect to inspect not only the theatre but the bath, and decide whether, after so much money has already been

columns extending all round the *cavea* and forming a kind of ambulatory. . . This is the *porticus* alluded to." (Hardy.)

<sup>b</sup> In Bithynia those *elected* to the local senates paid no entrance fee, but those admitted on the Emperor's nomination paid either one or two thousand denarii, according to circumstances.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

modo consummare opera, ut inchoata sunt, an, quae videntur emendanda, corrigere, quae transferenda, transferre, ne, dum servare volumus, quod impensum est, male impendamus, quod addendum est.

### XL

TRAIANUS PLINIO

Quid oporteat fieri circa theatrum, quod inchoatum apud Nicaeenses est, in re praesenti optime deliberabis et constitues. Mihi sufficiet indicari, cui sententiae accesseris. Tunc autem a privatis exigi opera tibi curae sit, cum theatrum, propter quod illa promissa sunt, factum erit. Gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi; ideo forsitan Nicaeenses maiore animo constructionem eius aggressi sunt. Sed oportet illos eo contentos esse, quod possit illis sufficere.

Quid Claudiopopolitanis circa balineum, quod parum, ut scribis, idoneo loco inchoaverunt, suadendum sit, tu constitues. Architecti tibi deesse non possunt. Nulla provincia est, quae non peritos et ingeniosos homines habeat; modo ne existimes brevius esse ab urbe mitti, cum ex Graecia etiam ad nos venire soliti sunt.



laid out, it will be better to finish them as best we may upon the present plan, or to make improvements and alterations where they are required. Otherwise we may throw away our future outlay by endeavouring not to lose what we have already expended.

## XL

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

You, who are upon the spot, will best be able to consider and determine what is proper to be done concerning the theatre, which the Nicaeans have begun ; as for myself, it will be sufficient if you let me know your decision. It will be time enough for you to exact fulfilment of private undertakings with regard to parts of the theatre, when the main building is finished. These paltry Greeks, I know, have a foible for Gymnasia ; hence, perhaps, the citizens of Nicaea have been somewhat too ambitious in planning one ; but they must be contented with such a one as will be sufficient to answer their occasions.

You must decide for yourself how best to advise the Claudiopolitani with reference to their bath, which they have placed, it seems, in a very improper situation. As there is no province that is not furnished with architects of skill and ingenuity, you cannot possibly be in want of one ; pray do not imagine it is your quickest way to get them from Rome, for it is usually from Greece that they come hither.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XLI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

INTUENTI mihi et fortunae tuae et animi magnitudinem convenientissimum videtur demonstrare opera non minus aeternitate tua quam gloria digna quantumque pulchritudinis tantam utilitatis habitura. Est in Nicomedensium finibus amplissimus lacus. Per hunc marmora, fructus, ligna, materiae et sumptu modico et labore usque ad viam navibus, inde magno labore, maiore impendio vehiculis ad mare devehuntur.<sup>1</sup> Itaque mari committere cupiunt. Hoc opus multas manus poscit ; at hae porro non desunt. Nam et in agris magna copia est hominum et maxima in civitate, certaue spes omnes libentissime aggressuros opus omnibus fructuosum.

Superest, ut tu libratores vel architectos, si tibi videbitur, mittas, qui diligenter exploret, sitne lacus altior mari, quem artifices regionis huius quadraginta cubitis altiorem esse contendunt. Ego per eadem loca invenio fossam a rege percussam, sed incertum, utrum ad colligendum humorem circumiacentium agrorum an ad committendum flumini lacum ; est enim imperfecta. Hoc quoque dubium, intercepto

<sup>1</sup> devehuntur . . . *lacunam indic. Müller.*

## XLI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHEN I reflect upon your exalted station, and the greatness of your mind, it seems most fitting to point out to you some works worthy alike of your immortality and your fame, and no less useful than magnificent. Bordering upon the territories of the city of Nicomedia is a most extensive lake; over which marbles, produce, timber and commodities are easily and cheaply transported to the high road; but from thence, are conveyed in carriages to the sea-side, at great charge and labour. Accordingly, they desire to connect this lake with the sea. To carry out this work will require, 'tis true, many hands; but these again cannot be scarce, for the country, and particularly the city, is exceedingly populous; and one may assuredly hope that everybody will readily engage in a work which will be of universal benefit.

It only remains then to send hither, if you shall think proper, a surveyor or an architect, in order to examine whether the lake lies above the level of the sea; the mechanics of this province being of opinion that the former is higher by forty cubits. I find there is in the neighbourhood of this place a large canal, which was cut by one of the kings of this country; but as it is left unfinished, it is uncertain whether it was for the purpose of draining the adjacent lands, or of connecting the lake and the river. It is equally doubtful, too, whether the death of the king, or the despair of being able to

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

rege mortalitate an desperato operis effectu. Sed hoc ipso (feres enim me ambitiosum pro tua gloria) incitor et accendor, ut cupiam peragi a te, quae tantum coeperant reges.

### XLII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

POTEST nos sollicitare lacus iste, ut committere illum mari velimus; sed plane explorandum est diligenter, ne, si demissus<sup>1</sup> in mare fuerit, totus effluat, certe quantum aquarum et unde accipiat. Poteris a Calpurnio Macro petere libratores, et ego hinc aliquem tibi peritum eiusmodi operum mittam.

### XLIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

REQUIRENTI mihi Byzantiorum rei publicae impendia, quae maxima fecit, indicatum est, domine, legatum ad te salutandum annis omnibus cum psephismate mitti, eique dari nummorum duodena milia. Memor ergo propositi tui legatum quidem retinendum, psephisma

<sup>1</sup> demissus *Catan.*, immissus *a, B*, dimissus *Av.*

<sup>a</sup> Legate of Lower Moesia, 112 A.D. cf. letters 61, 67 of this Book. Letter 18 of Bk V. is addressed to him.

accomplish the design, prevented the completion of it. If the latter was the reason, I am so much the more impelled to desire ardently (you will forgive, I know, my being ambitious for your fame) that you may have the glory of executing, what kings could only attempt.

## XLII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE scheme you propose of opening a communication between the lake and the sea, may, perhaps, tempt me to come into it. But you must first carefully ascertain what quantity of water your lake contains, and from whence it is supplied; lest by letting it into the sea, it should be totally exhausted. You may apply to Calpurnius Macer<sup>a</sup> for a surveyor; I will also send you from hence some person skilled in works of this nature.

## XLIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

UPON examining the public expenses of the Byzantines (which I find are extremely great), I was informed, Sir, that they send an envoy every year to salute you with a complimentary decree, and allow him the sum of twelve thousand sesterces. Mindful of your intentions,<sup>b</sup> I thought proper to send the decree without the envoy, that, at the same time

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* that Pliny should enforce economy on the provincials; *cf.* x. 18, 38.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

autem mittendum putavi, ut simul et sumptus levaretur, et impleretur publicum officium. Eidem civitati imputata sunt terna milia, quae viatici nomine annua dabantur legato eunti ad eum, qui Moesiae praeest, publice salutandum. Haec ego in posterum circumcidenda existimavi. Te, domine, rogo, ut, quid sentias, rescribendo aut consilium meum confirmare aut errorem emendare digneris.

### XLIV

TRAIANUS PLINIO

OPTIME fecisti, Secunde carissime, duodena ista Byzantiis, quae ad salutandum me in legatum impendebantur, remittendo. Fungetur his partibus, etsi solum eorum psephisma per te missum fuerit. Ignoscet illis et Moesiae praeses, si minus illum sumptuose coluerint.

### XLV

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

DIPLOMATA, domine, quorum dies praeterita, an omnino observari et quam diu velis, rogo scribas,

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<sup>a</sup> Calpurnius Macer. See x. 42 note.

<sup>b</sup> Orders, signed by the Emperor, to use the imperial posting system, by which official correspondence and travelling officials were conveyed between Rome and the provinces.

they discharged their public duty to you, they might be eased as regards the cost. This city is likewise charged with the sum of three thousand sesterces as travelling allowance of an envoy, whom they annually send to compliment the governor of Moesia; this expense I judged it right to retrench for the future. I beg, Sir, you would do me the honour either to confirm my judgement, or correct my error in these points, by letting me know your sentiments.

## XLIV

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WELL approve, my dear Pliny, of your having remitted to the Byzantines the twelve thousand sesterces which they allowed the envoy commissioned to salute me. I shall esteem their duty as sufficiently paid, though I only receive the act of their senate through your hands. The governor of Moesia <sup>a</sup> must likewise excuse them, if they compliment him at a less expense.

## XLV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I BEG, Sir, you would settle a doubt I have concerning your passports <sup>b</sup>; whether you think proper that those whose dates are expired shall remain valid,

“These diplomata at a later time were granted only by the Emperors, but at this period apparently the provincial governors were provided with blank forms which they could fill in and assign.” (Hardy.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

meque haesitatione liberes. Vereor enim, ne in alterutram partem ignorantia lapsus aut illicita confirmem aut necessaria impediam.

### XLVI

TRAIANUS PLINIO

DIPLOMATA, quorum praeteritus est dies, in usu esse non debent; ideo inter prima iniungo mihi, ut per omnes provincias ante mittam nova diplomata, quam desiderari possint.

### XLVII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM vellem Apameae, domine, cognoscere publicos debitores et redditum et impendia, responsum est mihi cupere quidem universos, ut a me rationes coloniae legerentur, numquam tamen esse lectas ab ullo proconsulum; habuisse privilegium et vetustissimum morem arbitrio suo rem publicam administrare. Exegi, ut, quae dicebant, quaeque recitabant, libello complecterentur; quem tibi, qualem acceperam, misi, quamvis intellegerem pleraque ex illo ad id, de quo quaeritur, non pertinere. Te rogo, ut mihi praecipere<sup>1</sup> digneris, quid me putes observare debere. Vereor enim, ne aut excessisse aut non implesse officii mei partes videar.

<sup>1</sup> praecipere, *Av.*, *Bipons*, *K*, *Muell.*, *praeire*, *Ba*, *Hard.*, *Kukula*.



and how long? For I am apprehensive I may through ignorance fall into one of two errors, and either confirm instruments which are illegal, or obstruct those which are necessary.

XLVI

TRAJAN TO PLINY

PASSPORTS whose dates are expired must by no means be made use of. For which reason it is a principal rule with me, to send out fresh passports to all the provinces before there can be any shortage of them.

XLVII

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

UPON my desiring, Sir, to examine the public loans, revenues and expenditure of Apamea, the citizens replied they were all extremely willing I should inspect the accounts of the colony, but nevertheless no Proconsul had ever yet perused them, as they had a privilege (and that of very ancient date) of administering their commonwealth in the manner they thought proper. I required them to draw up a memorial of their assertions, together with the authorities they cited, which I transmit to you exactly as I received it; though I am sensible it contains several things foreign to the question. I beg you would honour me with your commands, how I am to act in this affair; for I would not willingly be thought either to exceed or fall short of my commission.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XLVIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

LIBELLUS Apameorum, quem epistolae tuae iunxeras, remisit mihi necessitatem perpendendi, qualia essent, propter quae videri volunt eos, qui pro consulibus hanc provinciam obtinuerunt, abstinuisse inspectione rationum suarum, cum, ipse<sup>1</sup> ut eas inspiceres, non recusaverint. Remuneranda est igitur probitas eorum, ut iam nunc sciant hoc, quod inspecturus es, ex mea voluntate salvis, quae habent, privilegiis esse facturum.

## XLIX

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ANTE adventum meum, domine, Nicomedenses priori foro novum adicere coeperunt, cuius in angulo est aedes vetustissima Matris Magnae aut reficienda aut transferenda ob hoc praecipue, quod est multo depressior opere eo, quod cum maxime surgit. Ego cum quaererem, num esset aliqua lex dicta templo, cognovi alium hic, alium apud nos esse morem dedicationis. Dispice ergo, domine, an putes aedem, cui nulla lex dicta est, salva religione posse transferri. Alioqui commodissimum est, si religio non impedit.

<sup>1</sup> ipse ut eas inspic. *Hardy*, cum ipse . . . non recusaverim *Av.*, cum ipsum te ut eas inspic. non recusaverint *a.*

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<sup>a</sup> The Phrygian Goddess Cybele.

<sup>b</sup> The pontifices on consecrating a temple drew up a *lex dedicationis* or *lex templi*, defining its precincts, its rights, its ritual, and the administration of its revenues. (*Hardy*.)

## XLVIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE memorial of the Apameans which you annexed to your letter has saved me the necessity of considering the reasons they allege, why the former Proconsuls forbore to inspect their accounts; since they do not refuse to permit *your* examination. Their integrity deserves to be rewarded; and they must be assured for the present that you are to make your inquiry at my personal wish, and with a full reserve to their privileges.

## XLIX

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Nicomedians, Sir, before my arrival, had begun to build a new Forum contiguous to their former, in a corner of which stands an ancient temple dedicated to the Great Mother.<sup>a</sup> This fabric must either be rebuilt or removed; and for this reason chiefly, because it stands on a much lower level than the lofty building now being erected. Upon inquiry whether this temple had been dedicated under charter,<sup>b</sup> I was informed that their manner of dedication differs from ours. You will be pleased therefore, Sir, to consider whether a temple which has no charter of dedication, may be removed, consistently with the claims of religion; for if there is no objection from that quarter, there is none on the side of inconvenience.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## L

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

POTES, mi Secunde carissime, sine sollicitudine religionis, si loci positio videtur hoc desiderare, aedem Matris Deum transferre in eam, quae est accommodatior; nec te moveat, quod lex dedicationis nulla reperitur, cum solum peregrinae civitatis capax non sit dedicationis, quae fit nostro iurè.

## LI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

DIFFICILE est, domine, exprimere verbis, quantam perceperim laetitiam, quod et mihi et socrui meae praestitisti, ut adfinem eius,<sup>1</sup> Caelium Clementem in hanc provinciam transferres. Ex illo enim mensuram beneficii tui penitus intellego, cum tam plenam indulgentiam cum tota domo mea experiar, cui referre gratiam parem ne audeo quidem, quamvis maxime debeam. Itaque ad vota confugio deosque precor, ut iis, quae in me adsidue confers, non indignus existimer.

<sup>1</sup> adfinem eius *Beroaldus*, ad finem eius *Av.*, *a*, ad finem consulatus *Catan*.

## L

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

You may without religious scruple, my dear Pliny, if the site requires it, remove the temple of the Mother of the Gods to a more convenient spot. That you can find no charter of dedication, need not influence you ; for the ground of a foreign city is not capable of receiving that kind of consecration which is conferred by our laws.

## LI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

It is not easy, Sir, to express the joy I received, when I heard you had, in compliance with the request of my mother-in-law <sup>a</sup> and myself, granted her kinsman Caelius Clemens the Proconsulship of this province after the expiration of his Consular office ; as it is from thence I learn the full extent of your beneficence towards me, which thus graciously spreads itself through my whole family. I dare not pretend to make an equal return to those obligations, I so justly owe you. I can only therefore have recourse to vows, and ardently implore the Gods that I may not be found unworthy of those favours, which you are continually bestowing upon me.

<sup>a</sup> Pompeia Celerina, i. 4, iii. 19, xvi. 10.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

DIEM, domine, quo servasti imperium, dum suscipis, quanta mereris laetitia, celebravimus precati deos, ut te generi humano, cuius tutela et securitas saluti tuae innisa est, incolumem florentemque praestarent. Praeivimus et commilitonibus ius iurandum more solemniter praestantibus et provincialibus, qui eadem certarunt pietate, iurantibus.

## LIII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

QUANTA religione ac laetitia commilitones cum provincialibus te praeunte diem imperii mei celebraverint, libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi ex litteris tuis.

## LIV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PECUNIAE publicae, domine, providentia tua et ministerio nostro et iam exactae sunt et exiguntur: quae vereor ne otiosae iaceant. Nam et praediorum comparandorum aut nulla aut rarissima occa-

## LII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WE have celebrated, Sir, (with those sentiments of joy your virtues justly merit,) the day of your accession, when, at the same time that you accepted, you saved the empire. And we sincerely implored the Gods to preserve you in health and prosperity, as it is upon your welfare that the security and repose of mankind depend. I have administered the oath of allegiance to my fellow-soldiers in the usual form, the people of the province emulously expressing their affection to you by taking the same oath.

## LIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

YOUR letter, my dear Pliny, was extremely acceptable, as it gave me an account how religiously and joyfully my fellow-soldiers and the provincials solemnized the day of my accession to the empire, under your presidency.

## LIV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE money owing to the public, by the prudence, Sir, of your counsels, and the care of my administration, is either actually paid in, or now recovering; but I am afraid it must lie unemployed. For as on one side, there are few or no opportunities of purchasing land, so on the other, one cannot meet

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

sio est; nec inveniuntur, qui velint debere rei publicae, praesertim duodenis assibus,<sup>1</sup> quanti a privatis mutuantur. Dispice ergo, domine, numquid minuendam usuram ac per hoc idoneos debitores invitandos putes, et, si ne sic quidem reperiuntur, distribuendum inter decuriones pecuniam, ita ut recte rei publicae caveant; quod quamquam invitis recusantibus minus acerbum erit leviores usura constituta.

### LV

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

Et ipse non aliud remedium dispicio, mi Secunde carissime, quam ut quantitas usurarum minuatur, quo facilius pecuniae publicae collocentur. Modum eius ex copia eorum, qui mutuabuntur, tu constitues. Invitos ad accipiendum compellere, quod fortassis ipsis otiosum futurum sit, non est ex iustitia nostrorum temporum.

<sup>1</sup> duodenis assibus *deberi volunt Ernestius et Hard.*, usuris assibus *Salmasius et Gronovius*.

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<sup>a</sup> The reason why they did not choose to borrow of the



with any person who is willing to borrow of the municipality (especially at the interest of 12 *per cent.*) when they can raise money upon the same terms from private hands.<sup>a</sup> You will consider then, Sir, whether it may not be advisable, in order to invite responsible persons to borrow this money, to lower the interest; or if that scheme should not succeed, to parcel it out among the town-councillors, upon their giving sufficient security to the public. And though they should not be willing to receive it, yet as the rate of interest will be abated, the hardship will be so much the less.

## LV

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

LIKE you, my dear Pliny, I see no other method of facilitating the placing out of the public money, than by lowering the interest; the amount of which reduction you will determine according to the number of the borrowers. But to compel persons to receive it, who are not disposed to do so, when possibly they themselves may have no opportunity of employing it, is by no means consistent with the justice of my government.

public at the same rate of interest which they paid to private persons, was because in the former instance they were obliged to give security (Melm.); and the state was a more formidable creditor than individuals.

## LVI

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SUMMAS, domine, gratias ago, qui inter maximas occupationes in<sup>1</sup> iis, de quibus te consului, me quoque regere dignatus es; quod nunc quoque facias rogo. Adiit enim me quidam indicavitque adversarios suos a Servilio Calvo, clarissimo viro, in triennium relegatos in provincia morari. Illi contra ab eodem se restitutos adfirmaverunt edictumque recitaverunt. Qua causa necessarium credidi rem integram ad te referre. Nam sicut mandatis tuis cautum est, ne restituam ab alio aut a me relegatos, ita de iis, quos alius relegaverit et restituerit, nihil comprehensum est.

Ideo tu, domine, consulendus fuisti, quid observare me velles tam hercule de his quam de illis, qui in perpetuum relegati nec restituti in provincia deprehenduntur. Nam haec quoque species incidit in cognitionem meam. Est enim adductus ad me in perpetuum relegatus Iulio Basso proconsule. Ego, quia sciebam acta Bassi rescissa datumque a senatu ius omnibus, de quibus ille aliquid constituisset, ex

<sup>1</sup> in *add. Gierig, Ernesti, K.*

<sup>a</sup> Proconsul of Bithynia 108-110 A.D.

<sup>b</sup> Proconsul 98 A.D. See IV. 9, VI. 29.

## LVI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I RETURN you my highest acknowledgements, Sir, that among the many important occupations in which you are engaged, you have condescended to direct me also on those points wherein I have consulted you : a favour which I must now again beseech you to grant me. A certain person came before me with a complaint, that his adversaries, who had been banished for three years by Servilius Calvus,<sup>a</sup> a man of senatorial rank, still remained in the province : they, on the contrary, affirmed that Calvus had restored them again to their country, and produced his edict to that purpose. I thought it necessary, therefore, to refer the whole affair to you. For as I have your express orders not to restore any person who has been sentenced to banishment either by myself or others ; so I have no directions with respect to those who, having been banished by some of my predecessors in this government, have by them also been restored.

I am obliged then, to beg you would inform me, Sir, what method I should observe, as well with regard to these, as to others, who, having been condemned to perpetual banishment and never restored, are found in the province ; for cases of that nature have likewise fallen under my cognizance. A person was brought before me who had been sentenced to perpetual exile by the Proconsul Julius Bassus<sup>b</sup> ; but knowing that the decrees of Bassus had been rescinded, and that the Senate had granted a new trial to all those who had come under his

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

integro agendi dumtaxat per biennium, interrogavi hunc, quem relegaverat, an adisset docuissetque proconsulem. Negavit.

Per quod effectum est, ut te consulerem, reddendum eum poenae suae an gravius aliquid et quid potissimum constituendum putares et in hunc et in eos, si qui forte in simili condicione invenirentur. Decretum Calvi et edictum, item decretum Bassi his litteris subieci.

### LVII

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

QUID in persona eorum statuendum sit, qui a P. Servilio Calvo proconsule in triennium relegati et mox eiusdem edicto restituti in provincia remanserunt, proxime tibi rescribam, cum causas huius facti a Calvo requisiero. Qui a Iulio Basso in perpetuum relegatus est, cum per biennium agendi facultatem habuerit, si existimabat se iniuria relegatum, neque id fecerit atque in provincia morari perseveraverit, vinctus mitti ad praefectos praetorii mei debet. Neque enim sufficit, eum poenae suae restitui, quam contumacia elusit.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Proconsul of 99 or 100.

<sup>b</sup> Not to be tried by them, but to remain in their custody pending the emperor's decision on the case. Thus St. Paul

sentence, provided they appealed within the space of two years, I inquired of this man whom he had banished whether he had acquainted the Proconsul<sup>a</sup> with his case? He replied he had not.

I beg then you would inform me whether you would have him sent back again into exile; or whether you think some more severe, and what kind of punishment, should be inflicted upon him, and such others who may hereafter be found to lie under the same delinquency. I have annexed to my letter the decree of Calvus, and the edict by which the persons mentioned above were restored, as also the decree of Bassus.

## LVII.

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WILL let you know my determination concerning those exiles which were banished for three years by the proconsul P. Servilius Calvus, and afterwards restored to the province by his edict, when I shall have informed myself from him of the reasons of this proceeding. With respect to that person who was sentenced to perpetual banishment by Julius Bassus, yet continued to remain in the province, without making his appeal if he thought himself aggrieved, (though he had two years given him for that purpose,) I would have him sent in chains to my Praetorian prefects<sup>b</sup>; for only to remand him back to a punishment, which he has contumaciously eluded, will by no means be sufficient.

was kept at Rome by the Praetorian Guard; *Philippians*, i. 13. (Hardy.)

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LVIII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM citarem iudices, domine, conventum inchoaturus, Flavius Archippus vacationem petere coepit ut philosophus. Fuerunt, qui dicerent non liberandum eum iudicandi necessitate, sed omnino tollendum de iudicum numero reddendumque poenae, quam fractis vinculis evasisset. Recitata est sententia Velii Pauli proconsulis, qua probabatur Archippus crimine falsi damnatus in metallum. Ille nihil proferebat, quo restitutum se doceret; adlegabat tamen pro restitutione et libellum a se Domitiano datum et epistulas eius ad honorem suum pertinentes et decretum Prusensium. Addebat his et tuas litteras scriptas sibi, addebat et patris tui edictum et epistulam, quibus confirmasset beneficia a Domitiano data. Itaque, quamvis eidem talia crimina applicarentur, nihil decernendum putavi, donec te consulerem de eo, quod mihi constitutione tua dignum videbatur. Ea, quae sunt utrimque recitata, his litteris subieci.

---

<sup>a</sup> They probably decreed him a statue, *cf.* Letter LX. (Hardy.)

## LVIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHEN I cited the jurors, Sir, to attend me at a sessions which I was going to hold, Flavius Archippus claimed the privilege of being excused, as exercising the profession of a philosopher. It was alleged by some who were present, that he ought not so much to be excused from that office as struck out of the roll of jurors, and remanded back to the punishment from which he had escaped by breaking his chains. At the same time a sentence of the Proconsul Velius Paullus was read, by which it appeared that Archippus had been condemned to the mines for forgery. He had nothing to produce in proof that this sentence had ever been reversed. He adduced, however, as implying his restitution, a petition which he presented to Domitian, together with honorific letters from that Prince, and a decree of the Prusensians.<sup>a</sup> To these he subjoined a letter which he had received from you; as also an edict and a letter of your august father confirming the grants which had been made to him by Domitian. For these reasons, notwithstanding other crimes were laid to his charge, I did not think proper to determine any thing concerning him, without first consulting with you in the affair, which seems to merit your personal decision. I have transmitted to you, with this letter, the documents put in by both parties.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

### EPISTULA DOMITIANI AD TERENCEM MAXIMUM

FLAVIUS Archippus philosophus impetravit a me, ut agrum ei ad  $\bar{c}$ <sup>1</sup> circa Prusiadam, patriam suam, emi iuberem,<sup>2</sup> cuius reditu suos alere posset. Quod ei praestari volo. Summam expensam liberalitati meae feres.

### EIUSDEM AD L. APPIUM MAXIMUM

ARCHIPPUM philosophum, bonum virum et professione sua etiam moribus<sup>3</sup> respondentem, commendatum habeas velim, mi Maxime, et plenam ei humanitatem tuam praestes in iis, quae verecunde a te desideraverit.

### EDICTUM DIVI NERVAE

QUAEDAM sine dubio, Quirites, ipsa felicitas temporum edicit, nec spectandus est in iis bonus princeps, quibus illum intellegi satis est, cum hoc sibi quisque civium meorum spondere possit, me securitatem omnium quieti meae praetulisse, ut et libenter nova beneficia conferrem, et ante me concessa servarem. Ne tamen aliquam gaudiis publicis afferat haesitationem vel eorum, qui impetraverunt, diffidentia,

<sup>1</sup> ut agrum ei ad  $\bar{c}$  *Hardy, ex marg. B, ut agr. ei DC a, ut agr. ei adderem Av.*

<sup>2</sup> suam emi iuberem *a, B, suam tam uberem Av.*

<sup>3</sup> moribus *Ritterhusius, maioribus, a, Av.*

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<sup>a</sup> Apparently manager of the Imperial domain in Bithynia.

<sup>b</sup> Proconsul of Bithynia under Domitian.



DOMITIAN'S LETTER TO TERENTIUS MAXIMUS.<sup>a</sup>

FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS the philosopher has prevailed with me to give an order that 100,000 sesterces be laid out in purchasing him an estate near Prusa, his native place, sufficient to support his family. Let this be accordingly done; and place the sum expended to the article of my benefactions.

FROM THE SAME, TO L. APPIUS MAXIMUS<sup>b</sup>

I RECOMMEND, my dear Maximus, to your protection, that worthy philosopher Archippus, a person whose morals are agreeable to his profession; and I would have you accede with your utmost courtesy to his modest requests.

THE EDICT OF THE EMPEROR NERVA

THERE are some points, no doubt, Quirites, concerning which the happy tenor of my government itself issues an edict<sup>c</sup>; and a good prince need not be narrowly scrutinized in matters wherein his intention cannot but be clearly understood. Every citizen may rest assured, even without a reminder, that I gave up my private repose to the security of the public in order to dispense new benefits, and confirm those of my predecessor. But lest the memory of him<sup>d</sup> who made these grants, or the diffidence of those who received them, should cast

<sup>c</sup> The edicts of each Emperor became *ipso facto* invalid at his death; and after Titus, a new Emperor usually confirmed by edict the benefactions of his predecessor. See Hardy's note.  
<sup>d</sup> Domitian.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

vel eius memoria, qui praestitit; necessarium pariter credidi ac laetum, obviam dubitantibus indulgentiam meam mittere. Nolo existimet quisquam, quae alio Principe vel privatim vel publice consecutus sit, ideo saltem a me rescindi, ut potius mihi debeat. Sint rata et certa,<sup>1</sup> nec gratulatio ullius instauratis eget precibus, [et qui non habent, me,] quem fortuna imperii vultu meliore respexit. Me novis beneficiis vacare patiantur: et ea demum sciant roganda esse, quae non habent.

### EPISTULA EIUSDEM AD TULLIUM IUSTUM

Cum rerum omnium ordinatio, quae prioribus temporibus inchoatae consummatae sunt, observanda sit, tum epistulis etiam Domitiani standum est.

## LIX

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS per salutem tuam aeternitatemque petit a me, ut libellum, quem mihi dedit, mitterem tibi. Quod ego sic roganti praestandum putavi, ita tamen, ut missurum me notum accusatrici eius facerem, a qua et ipsa acceptum libellum his epistulis iunxi, quo facilius velut audita utraque parte dispiceres, quid statuendum putares.

<sup>1</sup> sint rata et certa *Beroaldus*, *Hard.*, si ingrata et c. *Av.*, si enim grata et c. *a.*, sint si rata, et c. *B.*, *Kukula*.

any misgiving over public joy, I thought it as necessary as agreeable to obviate these doubts, by a special mark of my indulgence. I would have no one think that I shall rescind either the public or private benefactions of a former prince, in order to gain credit by restoring them. They shall be fully ratified; and let no one, on whom the Fortune of the Empire has smiled, think his happiness in need of fresh petitions. Rather let them leave me leisure to bestow new benefits; under the assurance, that I need only be solicited for those which have not already been obtained.

## FROM THE SAME, TO TULLIUS JUSTUS

As in all matters, whether begun or accomplished, the rules laid down in the last reign are to be observed, so even the letters of Domitian must be held binding upon us.

## LIX

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS has conjured me by your prosperity and immortal glory, that I would transmit to you the memorial which he presented to me. I thought I might grant a request conceived in such terms, provided I acquainted his prosecutrix<sup>a</sup> with this my intention, from whom I have also received a memorial on her part. I have annexed it to my letter; that by hearing each side, you may more easily perceive what to determine in this affair.

<sup>a</sup> Furia Prima, see next Letter.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LX

TRAIANUS PLINIO

POTUIT quidem ignorasse Domitianus, in quo statu esset Archippus, cum tam multa ad honorem eius pertinentia scriberet; sed meae naturae accommodatius est credere etiam statui eius subventum interventu principis, praesertim cum etiam statuarum ei honor toties decretus sit ab iis, qui *non*<sup>1</sup> ignorabant, quid de illo Paulus proconsul pronuntiasset. Quae tamen, mi Secunde carissime, non eo pertinent, ut, si quid illi novi criminis obicitur, minus de eo audiendum putes. Libellos Furiae Primae accusatricis, item ipsius Archippi, quos alteri epistulae tuae iunxeras, legi.

## LXI

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Tu quidem, domine, providentissime vereris, ne commissus flumini atque ita mari lacus effluat; sed ego in re praesenti invenisse videor, quem ad modum huic periculo occurrerem. Potest enim lacus fossa usque ad flumen adduci nec tamen in flumen emitti, sed relicto quasi margine contineri pariter et dirimi.

<sup>1</sup> non add. *Ernestius*.

<sup>a</sup> sc. the Prusensians: See note on Letter LVIII.

## LX

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

It is possible Domitian might be ignorant of the position of Archippus when he wrote letters so much to that philosopher's honour. However, it is more agreeable to my disposition to suppose that Prince's intervention actually restored him to his former situation ; especially since he so often had even the honour of a statue decreed to him by those <sup>a</sup> who could not be ignorant of the sentence which the Proconsul Paulus pronounced upon him. But I do not mean to intimate by this, my dear Pliny, that if any new charge should be brought against him, you should be less disposed to hear his accusers. I have examined the memorial of his prosecutrix, Furia Prima, as also that of Archippus himself, which you sent with your former letter.

## LXI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

It is with great foresight, Sir, you are apprehensive that the lake<sup>b</sup> may be exhausted by being connected with the river and consequently with the sea ; but, being on the spot, I think I have found a method to obviate that risk. For the lake may be brought close to the river by a canal without opening directly into it ; a sort of border being left between them to form at once a bulwark and a division.

<sup>b</sup> See x, 41, 42.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Sic consequemur, ut nec vacuetur<sup>1</sup> flumini mixtus et sit perinde ac si misceatur. Erit enim facile per illam brevissimam terram, quae interiacebit, advecta fossa onera transponere in flumen.

Quod ita fiet, si necessitas coget, et spero, non coget. Est enim et lacus ipse satis altus et nunc in contrariam partem flumen emittit, quod interclusum inde et, quo volumus, aversum, sine ullo detrimento lacus tantum aquae, quantum nunc portat, effundet. Praeterea per id spatium, per quod fossa facienda est, incidunt rivi; qui si diligenter colligantur, augebunt illud, quod lacus dederit. Enimvero, si placeat fossam longius ducere et artius<sup>2</sup> pressam mari aequare nec in flumen, sed in ipsum mare emittere, repercussus maris servabit et reprimet, quidquid e lacu veniet.

Quorum si nihil nobis loci natura praestaret, expeditum tamen erat cataractis aquae cursum temperare. Verum et haec et alia multo sagacius conquiret explorabitque librator, quem plane, domine, debes mittere, ut polliceris. Est enim res digna et magnitudine tua et cura. Ego interim Calpurnio

<sup>1</sup> vacuetur *Madv. adv. iii. 216*, vacuo videatur *a, Av.*, vicino videatur *Catan.*

<sup>2</sup> artius *vulg.*, altius *Gierig, Madv.*

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<sup>a</sup> Pliny means, of course, that the outflow of the lake through his canal will be compensated for by blocking up

By this means we shall not only secure the lake from being drained by union with the river, but all the same purposes will be answered as if they were united; for it will be extremely easy to convey over that little intervening ridge whatever burdens shall be brought down by the canal.

This is a scheme which may be pursued, if it should be found necessary; but I hope there will be no occasion to put it into practice. For the lake itself is pretty deep, and as it is, a river runs out of it on the opposite side; by damming this up, and diverting it in whatever direction we please, we can ensure its sending out the same quantity of water as it now conveys, without any diminution of the lake.<sup>a</sup> Besides, there are several little brooks along the proposed course of the canal which, if carefully collected, will augment the supply of water from the lake. But if we should rather approve of the canal's being extended farther, and cut narrower,<sup>b</sup> so as to reach sea-level, and run not into the river but direct into the sea, the reflux of the tide will make good and check the discharge from the lake.

After all, if the nature of the place should not admit of any of these schemes, the course of the water may be easily regulated by sluices. These, however, and other particulars, will be more skilfully examined into by the engineer, whom, agreeably to your promise, I am sure you will send; for indeed, Sir, it is an enterprise well worthy of your attention and magnificence. In the meanwhile I have wrote

this river; but he oddly speaks as if the new outflow would be the river itself, diverted into a new channel.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. "to minimise the quantity of water contained by its greater length." (Hardy.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Marco, clarissimo viro, auctore te scripsi, ut libratorem quam maxime idoneum mitteret.

### LXII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

MANIFESTUM est, mi Secunde carissime, nec prudentiam nec diligentiam tibi defuisse circa istum lacum, cum tam multa provisā habeas, per quae nec periclitetur exauriri et magis in usus nobis futurus sit. Elige igitur id, quod praecipue res ipsa suaserit. Calpurnium Macrum credo facturum, ut te libratore instruat, neque enim provinciae istae his artificibus carent.

### LXIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SCRIPSIT mihi, domine, Lycormas, libertus tuus, ut, si qua legatio a Bosporo venisset urbem petitura, usque in adventum suum retineretur. Et legatio quidem dumtaxat in eam civitatem, in qua ipse sum, nulla adhuc venit; sed venit tabellarius Sauromatae regis quem ego,<sup>1</sup> usus opportunitate, quam mihi casus obtulerat, cum tabellario, qui Lycormam ex itinere

<sup>1</sup> Sauromatae regis quem ego *Schaefer*, *KII.*, *Müll.*, *Kukula*, cuius ego *Av.*, quem ego *a*, *KI.*, *Hard.*

<sup>a</sup> See x. 42.

<sup>b</sup> *sc.* Nicaea; *cf.* x. 67.

<sup>c</sup> Hardy has shown that *Sauromatae* does not refer to a



to the illustrious Calpurnius Macer,<sup>a</sup> in pursuance of your orders, to send me a proper engineer for this occasion.

## LXII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

IT is evident, my dear Pliny, that neither your prudence nor your care have been wanting in this affair of the lake, since you have provided so many expedients both against the hazard of its being drained away, and to make it of more general benefit to us. Select, then, whichever scheme is recommended by circumstances. Calpurnius Macer will do his best, no doubt, to supply you with an engineer; and artists of that kind are not wanting in the provinces near you.

## LXIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I RECEIVED, Sir, a despatch from your freedman Lycormas, desiring me, if any embassy from the Bosphorus should come hither in the way to Rome, that I would detain it till his arrival. None has yet arrived; at least in the city where I am.<sup>b</sup> But a courier passing through this place from King Sauromates,<sup>c</sup> I lay hold of that opportunity which accidentally offers itself, of sending with him the courier who brought Lycormas' despatch; that you

problematical king of the Sauromatae (Sarmatians), but to the Bosporan King Sauromates, who reigned from 92 or 93 A.D. till 124 A.D.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

praecessit, mittendum putavi, ut possis ex Lycormae et ex regis epistulis pariter cognoscere, quae fortasse pariter scire debes.

### LXIV

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

REX Sauromates scripsit mihi esse quaedam, quae deberes quam maturissime scire. Qua ex causa festinationem tabellarii, quem ad te cum epistulis misit, diplomate adiuvi.

### LXV

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

MAGNA, domine, et ad totam provinciam pertinens quaestio est de condicione et alimentis eorum, quos vocant *θηρπετούς*. In qua ego, auditis constitutionibus principum quia nihil inveniebam aut proprium aut universale, quod ad Bithynos ferretur, consulendum te existimavi, quid observari velles, neque enim putavi, posse me in eo, quod auctoritatem tuam posceret, exemplo esse contentum.

Recitabatur autem apud me edictum, quod dicebatur divi Augusti, ad Asiam<sup>1</sup> pertinens; recitatae

<sup>1</sup> Asiam *Hard.*, Anniam *vulg.*, Achaiam *Momm.*

<sup>a</sup> i.e. whether they were legally slaves, and, if not, whether those who had reared them could claim to recover the cost of their upbringing.

may learn simultaneously from the letter of Lycormas and the letter of the King, matters which perhaps you ought to be informed of at one and the same time.

## LXIV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

KING SAUROMATES has written to me that certain affairs have happened which require your immediate knowledge. I have therefore assisted the courier whom he dispatched with a letter to you, to arrive more speedily, by granting him an order to employ the public post.

## LXV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

A VERY considerable question, Sir, in which the whole province is interested, has been lately started, concerning the state and maintenance<sup>a</sup> of what are called *foundlings*. I have examined the rulings of former Princes upon this head, but not finding any thing in them either particular or general relating to the Bithynians, I thought it necessary to apply to you for your directions. For in a point which requires the special interposition of your authority, I could not content myself with following precedents.

An edict of the Emperor Augustus (as pretended) was read to me, concerning Asia<sup>b</sup>; also a letter from

<sup>b</sup> i.e. the Roman province so called.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

et epistolae divi Vespasiani ad Lacedaemonios et divi Titi ad eosdem, dein ad Achaeos: et Domitiani ad Avidium Nigrinum et Armenium Brocchum proconsules, item ad Lacedaemonios; quae ideo tibi non misi, quia et parum emendata et quaedam non certae fidei videbantur, et quia vera et emendata in scriniis tuis esse credebam.

### LXVI

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

QUAESTIO ista, quae pertinet ad eos, qui liberi nati expositi, deinde sublati a quibusdam et in servitute educati sunt, saepe tractata est, nec quicquam invenitur in commentariis eorum principum, qui ante me fuerunt, quod ad omnes provincias sit constitutum. Epistolae sane sunt Domitiani ad Avidium Nigrinum et Armenium Brocchum, quae fortasse debeant observari; sed inter<sup>1</sup> eas provincias, de quibus rescripsit, non<sup>2</sup> est Bithynia; et ideo nec adsertionem denegandam iis, qui ex eius modi causa in libertatem vindicabuntur, puto, neque ipsam libertatem redimendam pretio alimentorum.

<sup>1</sup> inter *a*, *Av.*, intra *K*.    <sup>2</sup> non *om.* *Av.*, *add. a*.

Vespasian to the Lacedaemonians, and another from Titus to the same, with one likewise from him to the Achaeans. Also a letter from Domitian to the Proconsuls Avidius Nigrinus and Armenius Brocchus, and another to the Lacedaemonians: but I have not transmitted them to you, as well because they were ill-copied (and some of them, too, of doubtful authority) as because I imagine the true copies are preserved in your Record Office.<sup>a</sup>

## LXVI

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE question concerning free-born persons who have been exposed as infants and reared in slavery by those who took them up, has been frequently discussed; but I do not find in the archives of the Princes my predecessors, any general regulation upon this head, extending to all the provinces. There are, indeed, letters of Domitian to Avidius Nigrinus and Armenius Brocchus, which perhaps ought to be observed; but Bithynia is not comprehended in the provinces therein mentioned. I am of opinion therefore, that those who desire emancipation upon this ground should not be debarred from publicly asserting their freedom, nor be obliged to purchase it by repaying the cost of their maintenance.

<sup>a</sup> "Under the empire, the *scrinia* . . . were the official bureaux where the public archives were kept." (Hardy.)

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXVII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

LEGATO Sauromatae regis, cum sua sponte Niceae, ubi me invenerat, biduo substitisset, longiorem moram faciendam, domine, non putavi; primum quod incertum adhuc erat, quando libertus tuus Lycormas venturus esset, deinde quod ipse proficiscebatur in diversam provinciae partem ita officii necessitate exigente. Haec in notitiam tuam perferenda existimavi, quia proxime scripseram petiisse Lycormam, ut legationem, si qua venisset a Bosporo, usque in adventum suum retinerem. Quod diutius faciendi nulla mihi probabilis ratio occurrit; praesertim cum epistulae Lycormae, quas detinere, ut ante praedixi, nolui, aliquot diebus hunc legatum antecessurae viderentur.

## LXVIII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PETENTIBUS quibusdam, ut sibi reliquias suorum, aut propter iniuriam vetustatis aut propter fluminis incursum aliaque his similia quaecumque secundum exemplum proconsulum transferre permitterem, quia sciebam in urbe nostra ex eius modi causis collegium pontificum adiri solere, te, domine, maximum pontificem consulendum putavi, quid observare me velis.

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<sup>a</sup> The *pontifices* were the highest of the four great sacerdotal colleges. From the time of Augustus, their president (*Pontifex Maximus*) was the reigning Emperor.

## LXVII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE ambassador from King Sauromates having voluntarily stayed two days at Nicaea, where he found me, I thought it best, Sir, not to detain him longer : firstly, because it was quite uncertain when your freedman Lycormas would arrive, and secondly, official duties obliged me to set out for a different part of the province. Of this I thought it necessary that you should be informed, because I lately acquainted you in a letter, that Lycormas had desired if any embassy should come this way from Bosphorus, that I would detain it till his arrival. But I see no valid reason for doing so any longer, especially as the despatches from Lycormas which (as I mentioned before) I was not willing to detain, would probably reach you some days sooner than this ambassador.

## LXVIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

HAVING been petitioned by some persons to grant them the liberty (agreeably to the practice of Proconsuls) of removing the relics of their deceased relations, upon the suggestion, that either their monuments were decayed by age, or ruined by the inundations of the river, or for other reasons of the same kind ; I thought proper, Sir, knowing that it is usual at Rome to consult the pontifical college<sup>a</sup> on such matters, to ask you, as the sovereign of that sacred order, what course you would have me follow.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXIX

TRAIANUS PLINIO

DURUM est iniungere necessitatem provincialibus pontificum adendorum, si reliquias suorum propter aliquas iustas causas transferre ex loco in alium locum velint. Sequenda ergo potius tibi exempla sunt eorum, qui isti provinciae praefuerunt, et ex causa cuique ita aut permittendum, aut negandum.

## LXX

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUAERENTI mihi, domine, Prusae ubi posset balineum, quod indulstisti, fieri, placuit locus, in quo fuit aliquando domus, ut audio, pulchra, nunc deformis ruinis. Per hoc enim consequemur, ut foedissima facies civitatis ornetur, atque etiam ut ipsa civitas amplietur, nec ulla aedificia tollantur, sed, quae sunt vetustate sublapsa, relaxentur<sup>1</sup> in melius. Est autem huius domus condicio talis: legaverat eam Claudius Polyaenus Claudio Caesari, iusseratque in peristyllo templum ei fieri, reliqua ex domo locari. Ex ea reditum aliquamdiu civitas

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<sup>1</sup> relaxentur *K*, *Hard.*, reparentur *a*.



## LXIX

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

IT will be a hardship upon the provincials to oblige them to address themselves to the college of Pontiffs, whenever they have just reasons for removing the ashes of their ancestors. In this case therefore it will be better you should follow the example of the governors your predecessors, and grant or deny them this liberty as you shall see reasonable.

## LXX

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I HAVE inquired, Sir, at Prusa, for a proper site on which to erect the bath you were pleased to allow that city to build ;<sup>a</sup> and I have found one to my satisfaction. It was formerly occupied by a dwelling-house—beautiful, I am told, which is now a hideous ruin. By fixing upon that spot, we shall gain the advantage of ornamenting the city in a part which at present is exceedingly deformed, and actually make it more spacious without pulling down any buildings, but merely by advantageously opening out the ruins time has made. There are some circumstances attending this structure, of which it is proper I should inform you. One Claudius Polyaenus bequeathed it to the Emperor Claudius Caesar with direction that a temple should be erected to that Prince in the piazza, and that the remainder of the house should be let. The

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

percepit; deinde paulatim partim spoliata, partim neglecta cum peristyllo domus tota collapsa est, ac iam paene nihil ex ea nisi solum superest; quod tu, domine, sive donaveris civitati sive venire iusseris, propter opportunitatem loci pro summo munere accipiet.

Ego, si permiseris, cogito in area vacua balineum collocare, eum autem locum, in quo aedificia fuerunt, exedra et porticibus amplecti atque tibi consecrare, cuius beneficio elegans opus dignumque nomine tuo fiet. Exemplar testamenti, quamquam mendosum, misi tibi; ex quo cognosces multa Polyænum in eiusdem domus ornatum reliquisse, quae, ut domus ipsa, perierunt, a me tamen, in quantum potuerit, requirentur.

### LXXI

TRAIANUS PLINIO

Possumus apud Prusenses area ista cum domo collapsa, quam vacare scribis, ad extructionem balinei uti. Illud tamen parum expressisti, an aedes in peristyllo Claudio facta esset. Nam si facta est, licet collapsa sit, religio eius occupavit solum.

city received the rents for a considerable time; but partly by its having been plundered, and partly by its being neglected, the whole house together with the piazza is entirely gone to ruin, and there is now scarce anything remaining of it, but the ground upon which it stood. If you shall think proper, Sir, either to give or sell this spot of ground to the city, as it lies so conveniently for their purpose, they will receive it as the highest mark of your favour.

I intend, with your permission, to place the bath in the vacant space; and to extend a range of colonnades, together with alcoves, on that part where the former edifice stood. This new fabric I design to dedicate to you, by whose bounty it will rise with all the elegance and magnificence worthy of your glorious name. I have sent you a copy of the will by which, though it is not very correct, you will see that Polyænus left large sums for the ornament of this house; but those also are lost with all the rest; I will however make the strictest inquiry after them that I am able.

## LXXI

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I HAVE no objection to the Prusenses making use of the vacant space together with the ruined house, which you say is untenanted, for the situation of their bath. But it is not sufficiently clear by your letter, whether the temple in the piazza was actually erected to Claudius or not: for if it were, even if it be now in ruins, the site is preoccupied to his worship.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXXII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

POSTULANTIBUS quibusdam, ut de agnoscendis liberis restituendisque natalibus et secundum epistulam Domitiani scriptam Minicio Rufo et secundum exempla proconsulum ipse cognoscerem, respexi ad senatus consultum pertinens ad eadem genera causarum, quod de his tantum provinciis loquitur, quibus proconsules praesunt; ideoque rem integram distuli, dum tu, domine, praeceperis, quid observare me velis.

## LXXIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

SI mihi senatus consultum miseris, quod haesitationem tibi fecit, aestimabo, an debeas cognoscere de agnoscendis liberis et natalibus suis restituendis.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* by the husband of their mother, if she was suspected of unfaithfulness.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* granting the rights of a freeborn citizen to those of servile birth. "The phrase was based on the theory that the original condition of men was one of freedom." Hardy.

## LXXII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I HAVE been pressed by certain persons to take upon myself the cognizance of cases relating to the acknowledgement of children<sup>a</sup> and the restitution of birthright,<sup>b</sup> in accordance with a letter of Domitian's to Minicius Rufus, and the practice of former proconsuls. But upon referring to a decree of the Senate concerning cases of this nature, I find it only mentions the Proconsular provinces.<sup>c</sup> I therefore, Sir, defer intermeddling in this affair, till I shall receive your commands how you would have me act.

## LXXIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

If you will send me the decree of the Senate, which occasions your doubt, I shall be able to judge, whether you ought to take upon yourself the cognizance of causes relating to paternity, and restitution of birth-right.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the senatorial provinces, the governor of which enjoyed the title of pro-consul. Though Bithynia was still a senatorial province, Pliny had been sent to govern it as the Emperor's Legate (see Introduction), and hence scrupled to assume Pro-consular rights.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXXIV.

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

APULEIUS, domine, miles, qui est in statione Nicomedensi, scripsit mihi quendam nomine Callidromum, cum detineretur a Maximo et Dionysio pistoribus, quibus operas suas locaverat, confugisse ad tuam statuam perductumque ad magistratus indicasse, servisse aliquando Laberio Maximo captumque a Susago in Moesia et a Decibalo muneri missum Pacoro, Parthiae regi, pluribusque annis in ministerio eius fuisse, deinde fugisse atque ita in Nicomediam pervenisse.

Quem ego perductum ad me, cum eadem narrasset, mittendum ad te putavi; quod paulo tardius feci, dum requiro gemmam, quam sibi habentem imaginem Pacori, et quibus insignibus<sup>1</sup> ornatus fuisset, subtractam indicabat. Volui enim hanc quoque, si inveniri potuisset, simul mittere, sicut glebulam misi, quam se ex Parthico metallo attulisse dicebat. Signata est annulo meo, cuius est aposphragisma, quadriga.

<sup>1</sup> insignibus *add. Catan.*

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<sup>a</sup> Statues of the emperors, even during their lifetime, had the same rights of sanctuary attached to them as had certain altars and statues of the gods.

## LXXIV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I RECEIVED a letter, Sir, from Apuleius, a soldier now in garrison at Nicomedia, informing me that one Callidromus on being detained by Maximus and Dionysius, bakers to whom he had hired himself, fled for refuge to your statue <sup>a</sup>; that being brought before a magistrate, he declared he was formerly slave to Laberius Maximus <sup>b</sup>; but being taken prisoner by Susagus in Moesia, <sup>c</sup> he was sent as a present to Pacorus king of Parthia, in whose service he continued several years, from whence he made his escape, and came to Nicomedia.

When he was examined before me, he repeated this account; so that I thought it best to send him to you. But I deferred his journey while I had search made for a gem which he said had been stolen from him, upon which was engraven the figure of Pacorus in his royal habit; for I was desirous (if it could have been found) of sending this curiosity to you along with the man himself, as I am now sending a small ingot of gold, which he says he brought with him from the Parthian mines. I have fixed my seal to it, the impression of which is, a chariot drawn by four horses.

<sup>b</sup> One of Trajan's generals in the Dacian war.

<sup>c</sup> A general, or ally, of Decebalus the Dacian King.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXXV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

IULIUS, domine, Largus ex Ponto nondum mihi visus ac ne auditus quidem (scilicet iudicio tuo credidit) dispensationem quandam mihi erga te pietatis suae ministeriumque mandavit. Rogavit enim testamento, ut hereditatem suam adirem cerneremque ac deinde perceptis quinquaginta milibus nummum reliquum omne Heracleotarum et Tianorum civitatibus redderem, ita ut esset arbitrii mei, utrum opera facienda, quae honori tuo consecrarentur, putarem an instituendos quinquennales agonas, qui Traiani appellentur. Quod in notitiam tuam perferendum existimavi ob hoc maxime, ut dispiceres, quid eligere debeam.

## LXXVI

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

IULIUS LARGUS fidem tuam, quasi te bene nosset, elegit. Quid ergo potissimum ad perpetuitatem memoriae eius faciat, secundum cuiusque loci conditionem ipse dispice, et quod optimum existimaveris, sequere.



## LXXV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

JULIUS LARGUS, Sir, of Pontus, though I never yet saw, nor indeed, even heard of him (to be sure, he relied on your testimonial <sup>a</sup>), has intrusted me with the administration, so to speak, of his loyal sentiments towards you. He has desired me in his will to take formal possession of his estate, and, after deducting 50,000 sesterces for my own use, to make over the remainder to the cities of Heraclea and Tium, conditionally upon their either erecting some public edifice in your honour, or instituting Athletic games, to be celebrated every five years, and called *Trajan's games*, according as I shall determine. Of this I thought it necessary to acquaint you; and for this reason chiefly, that you may decide which alternative I should choose.

## LXXVI

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

By the confidence Julius Largus has reposed in you, one would imagine he had known you well. You will consider then what will most tend to the perpetuating of his memory, according to the circumstance of the respective places; and pursue whatever course you shall think most proper.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the appointment of Pliny to Bithynia. For *iudicium* in this sense cf. x. 4. *ut gloriari . . . iudiciis tuis possim.* (Hardy.)

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXXVII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PROVIDENTISSIME, domine, fecisti, quod praecepisti Calpurnio Macro, clarissimo viro, ut legionarium centurionem Byzantium mitteret. Dispice, an etiam Iuliopolitanis simili ratione consulendum putes, quorum civitas, cum sit perexigua, onera maxima sustinet tantoque graviore iniurias, quanto est infirmior, patitur. Quidquid autem Iuliopolitanis praestiteris, id etiam toti provinciae proderit. Sunt enim in capite Bithyniae plurimisque per eam com-meantibus transitum praebent.

## LXXVIII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

EA condicio est civitatis Byzantium confluente undique in eam commeantium turba, ut secundum consuetudinem praecedentium temporum honoribus eius praesidio centurionis legionarii consulendum habuerimus. Si <sup>1</sup> Iuliopolitanis succurrendum eodem modo putaverimus, onerabimus nos exemplo. Plures enim tanto magis eadem requirent, quanto infirmiores erunt. Tibi eam fiduciam diligentiae habeo, ut credam te omni ratione id acturum, ne sint obnoxii

<sup>1</sup> si om. α, Av,

## LXXVII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

You acted agreeably, Sir, to your consummate prudence, when you commanded the illustrious Calpurnius Macer<sup>a</sup> to send a legionary centurion<sup>b</sup> to Byzantium. Pray, consider whether the city of Julio-polis does not deserve the same regard, which though it is extremely small, sustains very great burthens, and is so much the more exposed to injuries, as it is less capable of resisting them. Whatever benefits you shall confer upon that city, will in effect be advantageous to the whole province: for it is situated at the entrance of Bithynia, and is the town through which all who travel into that province generally pass.

## LXXVIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE circumstances of the city of Byzantium are such, by the great confluence of travellers to it, that I have thought proper to aid the magistrates with a legionary centurion's guard as has been customary in former reigns. But if we should assist the city of Julio-polis in the same manner, we should burden ourselves with a precedent; for other towns will request the same aid, and the more readily, the weaker they are. I have so much confidence in your activity, as to believe you will omit no method

<sup>a</sup> See x. 42.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. a detachment of legionaries under a centurion. (Hardy.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

iniuriis. Si qui autem se contra disciplinam meam gesserint, statim coerceantur; aut, si plus admiserint, quam ut in re praesenti satis puniantur, si milites erunt, legatis eorum, quod<sup>1</sup> deprehenderis, notum facies aut, si in urbem versus venturi erunt, mihi scribes.

### LXXIX

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CAUTUM est, domine, Pompeia lege, quae Bithynis data est, ne quis capiat magistratum neve sit in senatu minor annorum triginta. Eadem lege comprehensum est, ut, qui ceperint magistratum, sint in senatu. Secutum est dein edictum divi Augusti, quo permisit minores magistratus ab annis duobus et viginti capere. Quaeritur ergo, an, qui minor triginta annorum gessit magistratus, possit a censoribus in senatum legi et, si potest, an ii quoque, qui non gesserint, possint per eandem interpretationem ab ea aetate senatores legi, a qua illis magistratum gerere permissum est; quod alioqui factitatum adhuc et esse necessarium dicitur, quia sit aliquanto melius honestorum hominum liberos quam e plebe in curiam admitti.

<sup>1</sup> quod *Rittershusius*, quae α, Av.

8C

<sup>a</sup> After subjugating Mithridates of Pontus (65 A.D.), when Bithynia was made a Roman province. A kind of constitution (*lex provinciae*) for each province thus acquired by

## BOOK X. lxxviii.—lxxix

of protecting the town from injuries. Any breaches of public order as by me established, are to be instantly suppressed ; or, should the offence be too serious for summary chastisement, if the culprits are soldiers, you will report the misdemeanour to their officers ; but if they are persons who are returning to Rome, inform me by letter.

### LXXIX

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

It is enacted, Sir, by the provincial code which Pompey drew up for Bithynia,<sup>a</sup> that no person shall exercise any magistracy, or be admitted into the senate, under the age of thirty. By the same law it is provided, that those who have held a magistracy shall be senators of course. Subsequently, however, an edict of the Emperor Augustus permitted minor offices to be held at the age of twenty-two. The question therefore is, whether those who have held office before the age of thirty, may be legally admitted into the senate by the Censors, and if so, whether by the same kind of construction they may be admitted senators, at the age when they are allowed to be magistrates, though they have not actually borne any office. A custom, it seems, which has hitherto been observed, and is said to be necessary, as it is a good deal better that persons of noble birth should be admitted into the senate, than those of plebeian rank.

conquest was framed by the victorious general in conjunction with ten commissioners of senatorial rank sent from Rome for the purpose, and was known by his name.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

Ego a destinatis censoribus, quid sentirem, interrogatus eos quidem, qui minores triginta annis gessissent magistratum, putabam posse in senatum et secundum edictum Augusti et secundum legem Pompeiam legi, quoniam Augustus gerere magistratus minoribus annis triginta permisisset, lex senatorem esse voluisset, qui gessisset magistratum. De iis autem, qui non gessissent, quamvis essent aetatis eiusdem cuius illi, quibus gerere permissum est, haesitabam; per quod effectum est, ut te, domine, consularem, quid observari velles. Capita legis, tum edictum Augusti, litteris subieci.

### LXXX

TRAIANUS PLINIO

INTERPRETATIONI tuae, mi Secunde carissime, idem existimo hactenus, edicto divi Augusti novatam esse legem Pompeiam ut magistratum quidem capere possint ii, qui non minores duorum et viginti annorum essent, et, qui cepissent, in senatum cuiusque civitatis pervenirent. Ceterum non capto magistratu eos, qui minores triginta annorum sint, quia magistratum capere possint, in curiam etiam loci cuiusque non existimo legi posse.

The Censors elect having desired my sentiments upon this point, I was of opinion that, taking the law of Pompey and the edict of Augustus together, those who had held a magistracy before the age of thirty, might be admitted into the senate; because the edict allows the office of magistrate to be undertaken before thirty; and the law declares, that whoever has been a magistrate, has a right to be a senator. But with respect to those who never held a magistracy, though they were of the age required for that purpose, I had some doubt; and therefore, Sir, I apply to you for your directions. I have annexed to this letter sections of the law, together with the edict of Augustus.

## LXXX

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I AGREE with you, my dear Pliny, in your construction; and am of opinion that the law of Pompey is so far repealed by the edict of the Emperor Augustus, that those persons who are not less than twenty-two years of age may hold the office of magistrate, and when they have, may be received into the senate of their respective cities. But I think those who are under thirty years of age, and have not held the office of magistrate, cannot, upon pretence that in point of years they might have done so, claim a place in the senate of their several communities.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXXXI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Cum Prusae ad Olympon, domine, publicis negotiis intra hospitium eodem die exiturus vacarem, Asclepiades magistratus indicavit appellatum me a Claudio Eumolpo. Cum Cocceianus Dion in bule adsignari civitati opus, cuius curam egerat, vellet, tum Eumolpus adsistens Flavio Archippo dixit exigendam esse a Dione rationem operis ante quam rei publicae traderetur, quod aliter fecisset, ac debuisset. Adiecit etiam esse in eodem opere positam tuam statuam et corpora sepulcorum, uxoris Dionis, et filii; postulavitque, ut cognoscerem pro tribunali.

Quod cum ego me protinus facturum dilaturumque profectionem dixissem, ut longiorem diem ad instruendam causam darem, utque in alia civitate cognoscerem, petiit. Ego me auditurum Niceae respondi. Ubi cum consedissem<sup>1</sup> cogniturus, idem Eumolpus, tamquam adhuc parum instructus, dilationem petere coepit, contra Dion, ut audiretur, exigere. Dicta sunt utrimque multa etiam de causa. Ego cum dandam dilationem et te<sup>2</sup> consulendum existimarem

<sup>1</sup> Ubi cum consedissem *Orelli*, ubi consedissem *Av.*, ubi cum sedissem *a.*      <sup>2</sup> te *om. a, Av.*

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<sup>a</sup> Dio, surnamed Chrysostom, rhetorician and philosopher,



## LXXXI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHILST I was dispatching some public affairs, Sir, in the official lodgings at Prusa near Olympus, with an intention of leaving that city the same day, I learned from the magistrate Asclepiades that Claudius Eumolpus had appealed to me. Cocceianus Dio,<sup>a</sup> it seems, at a meeting of the senate desired that a public edifice, which had been erected under his charge, might be handed over to the city in form. But Eumolpus, acting for Flavius Archippus, insisted that Dio should render an account of the expenses of this work, before it was assigned to the corporation; suggesting that he had not properly executed his commission. He added that your statue had been placed in the said building, although the bodies of Dio's wife and son are interred there, and petitioned that I would hold a judicial inquiry on the matter.

Upon my complying, and offering to defer my journey, he desired a later day in order to prepare the cause, and that I would try it in some other city. I appointed the city of Nicaea; but when I took my seat, Eumolpus, on the plea of not being yet sufficiently instructed, requested a further adjournment; Dio, on the contrary, insisted that the cause should be heard then and there. When this point and also the merits of the cause had been argued at length on both sides, I decided to grant the adjournment and meanwhile to advise with you in was a native of Prusa. Sojourning at Rome, he became an intimate friend of the Emperor Nerva.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

in re ad exemplum pertinenti, dixi utrique parti, ut postulationum suarum libellos darent. Volebam enim te ipsorum potissimum verbis ea, quae erant proposita, cognoscere. Et Dion quidem se daturum dixit et Eumolpus respondit complexurum se libello, quae reipublicae peteret, ceterum, quod ad sepultos pertineret, non accusatorem se, sed advocatum Flavi Archippi, cuius mandata pertulisset. Archippus, cui Eumolpus sicut Prusiade adsiscebat, dixit se libellum daturum. At<sup>1</sup> nec Eumolpus nec Archippus quam plurimis diebus exspectati, adhuc mihi libellos dederunt; Dion dedit, quem huic epistulae iunxi.

Ipse in re praesenti fui et vidi tuam quoque statuam in bibliotheca positam, id autem, in quo dicuntur sepulti filius et uxor Dionis, in area collocatum, quae porticibus includitur. Te, domine, rogo, ut me in hoc praecipue genere cognitionis regere digneris, cum alioqui magna sit exspectatio, ut necesse est in ea re, quae et in confessum venit et exemplis defenditur, deliberare.

### LXXXII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

POTUISTI non haerere, mi Secunde carissime, circa id de quo me consulendum existimasti, cum propositum meum optime nosces non ex metu

<sup>1</sup> at *Schaefer*, ita *a*, *Av*.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of the emperor's statue being in the same building with dead bodies.

an affair which would set up a precedent. Accordingly, I directed both parties to give in a memorial of their respective demands; for I wished you to judge the statements of both from their own words. This Dio promised to do; and Eumolpus engaged to draw up a memorial on the claims of the town. But he added, that he made no personal accusation with respect to the sculptures, being merely the advocate of Archippus, whose instructions he had laid before me. Archippus, however, for whom Eumolpus was counsel here, as at Prusa, undertook to present a memorial. But neither Eumolpus nor Archippus, though I have waited many days, have yet sent me their memorials; Dio has sent me his, and I have annexed it to this letter.

I have visited the spot myself where I saw your statue placed in a library; the alleged burial-place of Dio's wife and son is in a courtyard which is enclosed with a colonnade. I intreat, Sir, you would deign to direct me in such an inquiry above all others, as it is one to which the world is greatly attentive. And, indeed, it highly deserves a very mature deliberation, since the fact<sup>a</sup> is not only acknowledged, but defended by many examples.

## LXXXII.

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

As you well know, my dear Pliny, it is the fixed maxim of my government not to create an awe of my person by severe and rigorous measures and by construing every slight offence into an act of treason,

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

nec terrore hominum aut criminibus maiestatis reverentiam nomini meo acquiri. Omissa ergo ea quaestione, quam non admitterem, etiamsi exemplis adiuvaretur, ratio totius operis effecti sub cura Cocceiani Dionis excutiatur, cum et utilitas civitatis exigit, nec aut recuset Dion aut debeat recusare.

### LXXXIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ROGATUS, domine, a Nicaeensibus publice per ea, quae mihi et sunt et debent esse sanctissima, id est per aeternitatem tuam salutemque, ut preces suas ad te perferrem, fas non putavi negare acceptumque ab his libellum huic epistolae iunxi.

### LXXXIV

TRAIANUS PLINIO

NICAEENSIBUS, qui intestatorum civium suorum concessam vindicationem bonorum a divo Augusto adfirmant, debebis vacare contractis omnibus personis ad idem negotium pertinentibus adhibitis Viridio Gemellino et Epimacho, liberto meo, procuratoribus, ut, aestimatis etiam iis, quae contra dicuntur, quod optimum credideritis, statuatis.

## BOOK X. lxxxii.-lxxxiv

there was no occasion for you to hesitate a moment upon the point, concerning which you thought proper to consult me. Without entering therefore into that question, (to which I would by no means give any attention, though there were ever so many instances of the same kind,) I recommend to your care the examination of Dio's accounts relating to the public works which he has finished; as it is a case in which the interest of the city is concerned, and as Dio neither ought, nor indeed does refuse, to submit to the inquiry.

### LXXXIII

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Nicaeans having conjured me, Sir, by (what is, and ought to be, most sacred to me) your prosperity and immortal glory, to present to you their petition; I did not think myself at liberty to refuse them: I have therefore enclosed it in this letter.

### LXXXIV

#### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE Nicaeans, I find, claim a right by an edict of Augustus to the estate of every citizen who dies intestate. You will therefore summon the several parties interested in this question, and with the assistance of Epimachus and Viridius Gemellinus, my Procurators (having duly weighed every argument that shall be alleged against the claim), determine as shall appear most reasonable.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXXXV

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

MAXIMUM, libertum et procuratorem tuum, domine, per omne tempus, quo fuimus una, probum et industrium et diligentem ac sicut rei tuae amantissimum ita disciplinae tenacissimum expertus libenter apud te testimonio prosequor ea fide, quam tibi debeo.

## LXXXVI A

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

GABIUM BASSUM, domine, praefectum orae Ponticae, integrum, probum, industrium, atque inter ista reverentissimum mei expertus voto pariter et suffragio prosequor ea fide, quam tibi debeo.

## LXXXVI B

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

FABIUM VALENTEM instructum commilitio tuo valde probo, cuius disciplinae debet quod indulgentia tua dignus est. Apud me et milites et pagani, a quibus iustitia eius et humanitas inspecta est, certatim ei qua privatim qua publice testimonia pertribuerunt. Quod in notitiam tuam perfero ea fide quam tibi debeo.

LXXXV

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

YOUR freedman and procurator, Maximus, behaved, Sir, during all the time we were together, with great probity, care and diligence : as one strongly attached to your interest, and strictly observant of discipline. This testimony I willingly give him : and I do it with all the fidelity I owe you.

LXXXVI A

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

AFTER having experienced, Sir, in Gabius Bassus, Prefect of the Pontic shore, the greatest integrity, honour and vigilance, as well as the most particular respect to myself, I cannot refuse him my best wishes and suffrage ; and I give them to him with all that fidelity which is due to you.

LXXXVI B

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I WARMLY recommend Fabius Valens, who learned a soldier's duty under you ; to which training it is owing that he merits the honour of your favour. The soldiery and the people here, who have had full experience of his justice and humanity, endeavour to rival each other in that glorious testimony they give of him, as well in public as in private ; and I notify this with all the sincerity you have a right to expect from me.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXXXVII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

NYPHIDIUM LUPUM, domine, primipilarem com-militonem habui, cum ipse tribunus essem, ille praefectus. Inde familiariter diligere coepi. Crevit postea caritas ipsa mutuae vetustate amicitiae. Itaque et quieti eius inieci manum et exegi, ut me in Bithynia consilio instrueret. Quod ille amicissime et otii et senectutis ratione postposita et iam fecit et facturus est. Quibus ex causis necessitudines eius inter meas numero, filium in primis, Nymphidium Lupum, iuvenem probum, industrium et egregio patre dignissimum, suffecturum indulgentiae tuae, sicut primis eius experimentis cognoscere potes, cum praefectus cohortis plenissimum testimonium meruerit Iuli Ferocis et Fusci Salinatoris, clarissimorum virorum. Meum gaudium, domine, meam gratulationem filii honores continebis.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> continebis *Catan.*, containerent *Av., a.*

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* (probably) of the camp, not of a cohort, like his son (see below). "Since the time of Domitian each legion had a separate camp, and accordingly a separate *praefectus*



## LXXXVII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

NYMPHIDIUS LUPUS, Sir, formerly a chief centurion, was my comrade in arms; he was prefect <sup>a</sup> at the same time that I was military tribune: and it was from thence my affection for him began. A long acquaintance hath since mutually endeared and strengthened our friendship. For this reason I did violence to his repose, and insisted upon his attending me in Bithynia, as my assessor in council. He most readily granted me this proof of his friendship; and without any regard to the plea of age, or the ease of retirement, he has shared with me the fatigue of business; and upon all occasions is still ready to give me his assistance. I look upon his relations therefore as my own; in which number Nymphidius Lupus, his son, claims my particular notice. He is a youth of great merit and indefatigable application; and in every view of his character, well worthy of so excellent a father. That he is equal to any honour you shall think proper to confer upon him, the early proof he gave of his qualifications will easily convince you; as his conduct as prefect of a cohort gained him the full applause of those most illustrious personages, Julius Ferox, and Fuscus Salinator. And I will add, Sir, that any increase of dignity which he shall receive, will be an occasion of particular congratulation to myself.

*castrorum* . . . usually appointed from the *primipilares*." (Hardy.)

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## LXXXVIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

OPTO, domine, et hunc natalem et plurimos alios quam felicissimos agas aeternaque laude florentem virtutis tuae gloriam et incolumis et fortis aliis super alia operibus augeas.

## LXXXIX

TRAIANUS PLINIO

AGNOSCO vota tua, mi Secunde carissime, quibus precaris, ut plurimos et felicissimos natales florente statu rei publicae nostrae agam.

## XC

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SINOPENSES, domine, aqua deficiuntur; quae videtur et bona et copiosa ab sextodecimo miliario posse perducī. Est tamen statim ab capite paulo amplius mille passibus locus suspectus et mollis, quem ego interim explorari modico impendio iussi, an recipere et sustinere opus possit. Pecunia curantibus nobis contracta non deerit, si tu, domine, hoc genus operis et salubritati et amoenitati valde sitientis coloniae indulseris.

LXXXVIII

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

MAY this and many succeeding birthdays be attended, Sir, with the highest felicity to you ; and may you, in the midst of an uninterrupted course of health and prosperity, be still adding to the increase of that immortal glory which your virtues justly merit.

LXXXIX

TRAJAN TO PLINY

YOUR wishes, my dear Pliny, for my enjoyment of many happy birthdays amidst the glory and prosperity of the republic, were extremely agreeable to me.

XC

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE city of Sinope is ill supplied, Sir, with water, which, however, may be brought thither from about sixteen miles' distance in great plenty and perfection. The ground indeed, near the source of this spring, is for something more than a mile of a very suspicious and marshy nature ; but I have directed an examination to be made (which will be done at a small expense) whether it is capable of bearing any superstructure. I have taken care to provide a sufficient fund for this purpose, if you shall approve, Sir, of a work so conducive to the health and amenity of this colony, greatly distressed by a scarcity of water.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XCI

TRAIANUS PLINIO

UT coepisti, Secunde carissime, explora diligenter, an locus ille, quem suspectum habes, sustinerè opus aquae ductus possit. Neque enim dubitandum puto, quin aqua perducenda sit in coloniam Sinopensem, si modo et viribus suis ipsa id adsequi potest, cum plurimum ea res et salubritati et voluptati eius collatura sit.

## XCII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

AMISENORUM civitas et libera et foederata beneficio indulgentiae tuae legibus suis utitur. In hac datum mihi publice libellum ad eranos pertinentem his litteris subieci, ut tu, domine, dispiceres, quid et quatenus aut permittendum aut prohibendum putares.

## XCIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

AMISENOS, quorum libellum epistolae tuae iunxeras, si legibus istorum, quibus de officio foederis utuntur, concessum est eranum habere, possumus, quo minus habeant, non impedire, eo facilius, si tali collatione, non ad turbas et illicitos coetus, sed ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam utuntur. In ceteris civitatibus, quae nostro iure obstrictae sunt, res huius modi prohibenda est.

## XCI

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WOULD have you proceed, my dear Pliny, in carefully examining, whether the ground you suspect is firm enough to support an aqueduct. For I have no manner of doubt that it is proper the city of Sinope should be supplied with water; provided their finances will bear the expense of a work so conducive to their health and pleasure.

## XCII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE free and confederate<sup>a</sup> city of Amisus enjoys, by your indulgence, the privilege of its own laws. A memorial being presented to me there concerning mutual benefit societies, I have enclosed it in this letter that you may consider, Sir, whether, and how far, these meetings are to be permitted or prohibited.

## XCIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

IF a benefit society be agreeable to the laws of the Amisenians, which they enjoy under the terms of the treaty, we cannot oppose it; especially if these contributions are employed, not for the purposes of riot and faction, but for the support of the indigent. In other cities, however, which are subject to our laws, I would have all societies of this nature prohibited.

<sup>a</sup> *civitas foederata* was one whose autonomy was secured to it by formal treaty.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XCIV

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SUETONIUM TRANQUILLUM, probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum, et mores eius secutus et studia iampridem, domine, in contubernium assumpsi, tantoque magis diligere coepi, quanto hunc propius inspexi. Huic ius trium liberorum necessarium faciunt duae causae; nam et iudicia amicorum promeretur et parum felix matrimonium expertus est impetrandumque a bonitate tua per nos habet, quod illi fortunae malignitas denegavit. Scio, domine, quantum beneficium petam, sed peto a te, cuius in omnibus desideriis meis plenissimam indulgentiam experior. Potes autem colligere, quanto opere cupiam, quod non rogarem absens, si mediocriter cuperem.

## XCV

TRAIANUS PLINIO

QUAM parce haec beneficia tribuam, utique, mi Secunde carissime, haeret tibi, cum etiam in senatu

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<sup>a</sup> ii. 13, note.

## BOOK X. xciv.—xcv

### XCIV

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, Sir, is a person of great merit and learning, as well as of noble birth. I was so much pleased with his turn and manners, that I long since made him one of my intimates; and my affection for him still increased the more I discovered of his character. Two reasons concur to make the privilege which the law grants to those who have three children,<sup>a</sup> extremely necessary to him; he is legatee to several of his friends,<sup>b</sup> and has had ill success in his marriage. Those advantages therefore which nature has denied to him, he hopes to obtain from your goodness, by means of my intercession. I am thoroughly sensible, Sir, of the value of the favour I am asking; but I know I am making this request to one whose gracious compliance with all my desires I have amply experienced. How passionately I wish to obtain this favour, you will judge by my thus requesting it in my absence, which I should not have done, had it been a point wherein I am only commonly solicitous.

### XCV

#### TRAJAN TO PLINY

You cannot but know, my dear Pliny, how reserved I am in granting favours of this kind, having frequently declared in the senate, that I had not ex-

<sup>b</sup> By the *Lex Papia Poppaea* (vii. 16, note) childless persons forfeited one half of every legacy they received.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

adfirmare soleam non excessisse me numerum, quem apud amplissimum ordinem suffecturum mihi professus sum. Tuo tamen desiderio subscripsi et dedisse me ius trium liberorum Suetonio Tranquillo ea condicione, qua adsuevi, referri in commentarios meos iussi.

### XCVI

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SOLEMNE est mihi, domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere, vel ignorantiam instruere? Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui numquam. Ideo nescio, quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat, aut quaeri. Nec mediocriter haesitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen aetatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant, detur paenitentiae venia, an ei, qui omnino Christianus fuit, desisse non prosit, nomen ipsum, etiamsi flagitiis, careat, an flagitia eohaerentia nomini puniantur.

Interim in iis, qui ad me tamquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, an essent Christiani. Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi supplicium minatus. Perseverantes duci iussi. Neque enim dubitabam, quaecumque esset, quod faterentur, pertinaciam certe et



ceeded the number which I assured that illustrious order I would be contented with. I have yielded, however, to your request; and have directed an article to be inserted in my register, that I have conferred upon Tranquillus, on my usual conditions, the privilege which the law grants to those who have three children.

## XCVI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

It is a rule, Sir, which I inviolably observe, to refer myself to you in all my doubts; for who is more capable of guiding my uncertainty or informing my ignorance? Having never been present at any trials of the Christians, I am unacquainted with the method and limits to be observed either in examining or punishing them. Whether any difference is to be made on account of age, or no distinction allowed between the youngest and the adult; whether repentance admits to a pardon, or if a man has been once a Christian it avails him nothing to recant; whether the mere profession of Christianity, albeit without crimes, or only the crimes associated therewith are punishable—in all these points I am greatly doubtful.

In the meanwhile, the method I have observed towards those who have been denounced to me as Christians is this: I interrogated them whether they were Christians; if they confessed it I repeated the question twice again, adding the threat of capital punishment; if they still persevered, I ordered them to be executed. For whatever the nature of their creed might be, I could at least feel no doubt that

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentiae ; quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos.

Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine auctore multorum nomina continens. Qui negabant se esse Christianos aut fuisse, cum praeunte me deos appellarent, et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicarent, praeterea maledicerent Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur, qui sunt re vera Christiani, dimittendos esse putavi. Alii ab indice nominati esse se Christianos dixerunt et mox negaverunt ; fuisse quidem, sed desiisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti quinque.<sup>1</sup> Omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt : et Christo maledixerunt.

Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne

<sup>1</sup> viginti quinque *Rittershusius*, quoque *a, Av.*

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<sup>a</sup> Except by special delegation of the Emperor's own jurisdiction, no provincial governor had power to inflict the death

contumacy and inflexible obstinacy deserved chastisement. There were others also possessed with the same infatuation, but being citizens of Rome,<sup>a</sup> I directed them to be carried thither.

These accusations spread (as is usually the case) from the mere fact of the matter being investigated and several forms of the mischief came to light. A placard was put up, without any signature, accusing a large number of persons by name. Those who denied they were, or had ever been, Christians, who repeated after me an invocation to the Gods, and offered adoration, with wine and frankincense, to your image, which I had ordered to be brought for that purpose, together with those of the Gods, and who finally cursed Christ—none of which acts, it is said, those who are really Christians can be forced into performing—these I thought it proper to discharge. Others who were named by that informer at first confessed themselves Christians, and then denied it; true, they had been of that persuasion but they had quitted it, some three years, others many years, and a few as much as twenty-five years ago. They all worshipped your statue and the images of the Gods, and cursed Christ.

They affirmed, however, the whole of their guilt, or their error, was, that they were in the habit of meeting on a certain fixed day before it was light, when they sang in alternate verses a hymn to Christ, as to a god, and bound themselves by a solemn oath, not to any wicked deeds, but never to commit any fraud, theft or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they

penalty on a Roman citizen, but must allow him to take his trial at Rome. *cf.* St. Paul's "appeal to Caesar," Acts xxv. 11.

depositum appellati abnegarent. Quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium; quod ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quaerere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam, immodicam.

Ideo dilata cognitione ad consulendum te decurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est; quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat, prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et sacra solemnia diu intermissa repeti: passimque venire victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quae turba hominum emendari possit, si fiat paenitentiae locus.

should be called upon to deliver it up; after which it was their custom to separate, and then re-assemble to partake of food—but food of an ordinary and innocent kind.<sup>a</sup> Even this practice, however, they had abandoned after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your orders, I had forbidden political associations.<sup>b</sup> I judged it so much the more necessary to extract the real truth, with the assistance of torture, from two female slaves, who were styled *deaconesses*: but I could discover nothing more than depraved and excessive superstition.

I therefore adjourned the proceedings, and betook myself at once to your counsel. For the matter seemed to me well worth referring to you,—especially considering the numbers endangered. Persons of all ranks and ages, and of both sexes are, and will be, involved in the prosecution. For this contagious superstition is not confined to the cities only, but has spread through the villages and rural districts; it seems possible, however, to check and cure it. 'Tis certain at least that the temples, which had been almost deserted, begin now to be frequented; and the sacred festivals, after a long intermission, are again revived; while there is a general demand for sacrificial animals, which for some time past have met with but few purchasers. From hence it is easy to imagine what multitudes may be reclaimed from this error, if a door be left open to repentance.

<sup>a</sup> Like the medieval Jews, the early Christians were suspected of ritually murdering children, and even of drinking their blood at these "love feasts."

<sup>b</sup> On *hetaeriae* see x. 33 note.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## XCVII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

ACTUM quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis causis eorum, qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant, secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt; si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen, ut, qui negaverit se Christianum esse idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est supplicando diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum fuerit, veniam ex paenitentia impetret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli, nec nostri saeculi est.

## XCVIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

AMASTRIANORUM civitas, domine, et elegans et ornata habet inter praecipua opera pulcherrimam eandemque longissimam plateam; cuius a latere per spatium omne porrigitur nomine quidem flumen, re vera cloaca foedissima; quae sicut turpis et immundissima aspectu, ita pestilens est odore taeterrimo. Quibus ex causis non minus salubritatis quam decoris

## XCVII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE method you have pursued, my dear Pliny, in sifting the cases of those denounced to you as Christians is extremely proper. It is not possible to lay down any general rule which can be applied as the fixed standard in all cases of this nature. No search should be made for these people; when they are denounced and found guilty they must be punished; with the restriction, however, that when the party denies himself to be a Christian, and shall give proof that he is not (that is, by adoring our Gods) he shall be pardoned on the ground of repentance, even though he may have formerly incurred suspicion. Informations without the accuser's name subscribed must not be admitted in evidence against anyone, as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to the spirit of the age.

## XCVIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE elegant and beautiful city of Amastris, Sir, has among other capital buildings a most noble and extensive piazza. On one entire side of this structure runs what is called indeed a river, but in fact is no other than a vile common sewer, extremely offensive to the eye, and at the same time very unwholesome by its noxious smell. It will be advantageous therefore in point of health, as well as

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

interest eam contegi; quod fiet, si permiseris, curantibus nobis, ne desit quoque pecunia operi tam magno, quam necessario.

### XCIX

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

RATIONIS est, mi Secunde carissime, contegi aquam istam, quae per civitatem Amastrianorum fluit, si intacta salubritati obest. Pecunia ne huic operi desit, curaturum te secundum diligentiam tuam certum habeo.

### C

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

VOTA, domine, priorum annorum nuncupata alacres lactique persolvimus novaque rursus certante<sup>1</sup> commilitonum et provincialium pietate, suscepimus precati deos, ut te remque publicam florentem et incolumem ea benignitate servarent, quam super magnas plurimasque virtutes praecipua sanctitate, obsequio,<sup>2</sup> deorum honore meruisti.

<sup>1</sup> certante *Cellarius*, curante *a*, *Av*.

<sup>2</sup> obsequio *Beroaldus*, obsequi *a*, *Av*.



ornament, to have it covered; which shall be done, with your permission: as I will take care, on my part, that money be not wanting for executing so noble and necessary a work.

## XCIX

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

It is highly reasonable, my dear Pliny, if the water which runs through the city of Amastris is prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants while open, that it should be covered. I am well assured you will, with your usual application, take care that the money necessary for this work shall not be wanting.

## C

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WE have paid, Sir, with great joy and alacrity, the vows which we offered up for you the last year; and have again publicly renewed them, the army and provincials vying with each other in demonstrations of loyalty. We implored the Gods to preserve you and the commonwealth in safety and prosperity, with that peculiar favour, which not only your other many and great virtues, but particularly your distinguished piety and reverence of them, deserve.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## CI

TRAIANUS PLINIO

SOLVISSE vota dis immortalibus te praeunte pro mea incolumitate commilitones cum provincialibus laetissimo consensu et in futurum nuncupasse libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi litteris tuis.

## CII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

DIEM, quo in te<sup>1</sup> tutela generis humani felicissima successione translata est, debita religione celebravimus commendantes dis imperii tui auctoribus et vota publica et gaudia.

## CIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

DIEM imperii mei debita laetitia et religione a commilitonibus et provincialibus praeunte te celebratum libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi litteris tuis.

<sup>1</sup> quo in te *B*, in quem *a*.

CI

TRAJAN TO PLINY

It was very agreeable to me, my dear Pliny, to learn by your letter, that the army and the provincials seconded you with great joy and unanimity in those vows which you paid and renewed to the immortal Gods for my welfare.

CII

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

We have celebrated, with all the devotion we ought, the day in which, by a very happy succession, the protection of mankind was transferred to you; commending to the Gods, from whom you received the empire, our public vows and congratulations.

CIII

TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WAS extremely well pleased to be informed by your letter, my dear Pliny, that you had, at the head of the soldiers and the provincials, solemnized my accession to the empire, with all due joy and devotion.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## CIV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

VALERIUS, domine, Paulinus, excepto uno<sup>1</sup> ius Latinorum suorum mihi reliquit; ex quibus rogo tribus interim ius Quiritium des. Vereor enim, ne sit immodicum pro omnibus pariter invocare indulgentiam tuam, qua debeo tanto modestius uti, quanto pleniorum experior. Sunt autem, pro quibus peto, C. Valerius Astraeus, C. Valerius Dionysius, C. Valerius Aper.

## CV

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

CUM honestissime iis, qui apud fidem tuam a Valerio Paulino depositi sunt, consultum velis, matura per me. Iis interim, quibus nunc petisti, dedisse me ius Quiritium referri in commentarios meos iussi idem facturum in ceteris, pro quibus petieris.

<sup>1</sup> excepto uno *Bipons*; excepto [Paulino] uno *a*; excepto Paul. *Av.*, Müller.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "his Latini." By a law passed 19 A.D., freedmen over thirty years old who were formally manumitted by

## CIV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

VALERIUS PAULINUS, Sir, having left me his right of patronage over all his freedmen,<sup>a</sup> except one, I intreat you to grant full Roman citizenship to three of them. To desire you to extend this favour to them all, would, I fear, be too unreasonable a trespass upon your indulgence; which, as I have amply experienced, I ought to be so much the more cautious in troubling. The persons for whom I make this request are, C. Valerius Astraeus, C. Valerius Dionysius, and C. Valerius Aper.

## CV

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

As it is very generous of you to consult the interest of those whom Valerius Paulinus has confided to your trust, I cannot but encourage your good intentions. I have meanwhile given full Roman citizenship to those persons for whom you requested it, and have directed the grant to be registered: I am ready to do the same for the rest, whenever you shall desire me.

Roman citizens, became full citizens themselves; failing any one of these three conditions they gained only the partial citizenship known as the "Latin" franchise, and were called *Latini Juniani* from the title of the law in question (*lex Junia Norbana*).

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## CVI

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ROGATUS, domine, a P. Accio Aquila, centurione cohortis sextae equestris, ut mitterem tibi libellum, per quem indulgentiam pro statu filiae suae implorat, durum putavi negare, cum scirem, quantam soleres militum precibus patientiam humanitatemque praestare.

## CVII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

LIBELLUM P. Accii Aquilae, centurionis cohortis sextae equestris, quem misisti, legi; cuius precibus motus dedi filiae eius civitatem Romanam. Libellum rescripti, quem illi redderes, misi tibi.

## CVIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUID habere iuris velis et Bithynas et Ponticas civitates in exigendis pecuniis, quae illis vel ex locationibus vel ex venditionibus aliisve causis debeantur, rogo, domine, rescribas. Ego inveni

## CVI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

P. ACCIUS AQUILA, centurion of the sixth equestrian cohort, requested me, Sir, to transmit his petition to you concerning the status of his daughter.<sup>a</sup> I thought it would be unkind to refuse him this good office, knowing, as I do, with what patience and humanity you receive the petitions of the soldiers.

## CVII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I HAVE read the petition of P. Accius Aquila, centurion of the sixth equestrian cohort, which you sent to me ; and in compliance with his request, I have given his daughter the freedom of the city of Rome. I send you at the same time the patent, which you will deliver to him.

## CVIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I BEG, Sir, you would inform me what rights you wish assigned to the cities of Bithynia and Pontus with regard to recovering their debts, either for rent, or goods sold, or upon any other consideration. I

<sup>a</sup> Accius was an alien who had received Roman citizenship, but under conditions which left his daughter an alien. See Hardy's note.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

a plerisque proconsulibus concessam eis protopraxian, eamque pro lege valuisse. Existimo tamen tua providentia constituendum aliquid et sanciendum, per quod utilitatibus eorum in perpetuum consulatur. Nam, quae sunt ab aliis instituta, sint licet sapienter indulta, brevia tamen et infirma sunt, nisi illis tua contingat auctoritas.

### CIX

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

Quo iure uti debeant Bithynae vel Ponticae civitates in iis pecuniis, quae ex quaque causa rei publicae debebuntur, ex lege cuiusque animadvertendum est. Nam, sive habent privilegium, quo ceteris creditoribus anteponantur, custodiendum est, sive non habent, in iniuriam privatorum id dari a me non oportebit.

### CX

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Ecdicus, domine, Amisenorum civitatis petebat apud me a Iulio Pisone denariorum circiter XL milia donata ei publice ante xx annos bule et ecclesia



find they have a privilege granted to them by several Proconsuls, of being preferred to other creditors ; and this custom has prevailed, as if it had been established by law. Your prudence, I imagine, will think it necessary to enact some settled rule, by which their advantage may always be secured. For the ordinances of others, however wisely conceded, are but feeble and temporary expedients, unless confirmed by your authority.

## CIX

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE rule by which the cities either of Pontus or Bithynia are to be governed, in the recovery of debts of whatever kind, due to their several communities, must be determined agreeably to their respective laws. Where any of them enjoy the privilege of being preferred to other creditors, it must be observed ; but, where no such privilege prevails, it is not just I should establish one, in prejudice of private property.

## CX

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE solicitor to the treasury<sup>a</sup> of the city of Amisus laid a claim, Sir, before me against Julius Piso of about 40,000 denarii, which were given him by the public above twenty years ago, with the

<sup>a</sup> “The *ecdicus* was a public prosecutor in financial matters. We only know of the title in connection with Asia Minor.” (Hardy.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

consentiente utebaturque mandatis tuis, quibus eius modi donationes vetantur. Piso contra plurima se in rempublicam contulisse ac prope totas facultates erogasse dicebat. Addebat etiam temporis spatium postulabatque, ne id, quod pro multis et olim accepisset, cum eversione reliquae dignitatis reddere cogeretur. Quibus ex causis integram cognitionem differendam existimavi, ut te, domine, consulerem, quid sequendum putares.

### CXI

TRAIANUS PLINIO

Sicut largitiones ex publico fieri mandata prohibent, ita, ne multorum securitas subruatur, factas ante aliquantum temporis retractari atque in irritum vindicari non oportet. Quidquid ergo ex hac causa actum ante viginti annos erit, omittamus. Non minus enim hominibus cuiusque loci, quam pecuniae publicae consultum volo.

consent of the general council and assembly of the city; and he founded his demand upon certain of your edicts by which donations of this kind are prohibited. Piso, on the other hand, asserted that he had conferred large sums of money upon the community, and, indeed, had expended that way almost his whole estate. He insisted upon the length of time which had intervened since this donation, and hoped that he should not be compelled, to the ruin of the remainder of his fortunes, to refund a sum, which had been granted him long since, in return for many good offices he had done to the city. For this reason, Sir, I thought it necessary to suspend giving any judgement in this cause, till I shall receive your directions.

## CXI

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

THOUGH by my edicts I have ordained, that no largesses shall be given out of the public money; yet, that numberless private persons may not be disturbed in the secure possession of their fortunes, those donations which have been made long since, ought not to be called in question or revoked. We will not, therefore, inquire into any thing that has been transacted in this affair so long ago as twenty years; for I would be no less attentive to secure the repose of every private man, than the treasure of every public community.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## CXII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

LEX Pompeia, domine, qua Bithyni et Pontici utuntur, eos, qui in bulen a censoribus leguntur, dare pecuniam non iubet; sed ii, quos indulgentia tua quibusdam civitatibus super legitimum numerum adicere permisit, et singula milia denariorum et bina intulerunt. Anicius deinde Maximus proconsul eos etiam, qui a censoribus legerentur, duntaxat in paucissimis civitatibus aliud aliis iussit inferre. Superest ergo, ut ipse dispicias, an in omnibus civitatibus certum aliquid omnes, qui deinde buleutae leguntur, debeant pro introitu dare. Nam quod in perpetuum mansurum est, a te constitui decet, cuius factis dictisque debetur aeternitas.

## CXIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

HONORARIUM decurionatus omnes, qui in quaque civitate Bithyniae decuriones fiunt, inferre debeant necne, in universum a me non potest statui. Id ergo quod semper tutissimum est, sequendam cuiusque

## CXII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Pompeian law, Sir, which is observed in Pontus and Bithynia, does not direct that any money should be given by those who are elected into the public council by the Censors. It has however been usual for such members as have been admitted into those assemblies, in pursuance of the privilege which you were pleased to grant to some particular cities, of receiving above their legal number, to pay one or two thousand denarii. Subsequent to this, the Proconsul Anicius Maximus ordained (though indeed his edict extended to some few cities only) that those who were elected by the Censors should also pay into the treasury a certain sum, which varied in different places. It remains, therefore, for your consideration whether it would not be proper for all the cities to settle a certain sum for each member, who is elected into the council, to pay upon his entrance; for it well becomes you, whose every word and action deserves immortality, to give laws that shall for ever be permanent.

## CXIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I CAN give no general directions applicable to all the cities of Bithynia, whether those who are made members of their respective councils shall pay an honorary fee upon their admittance, or not. It seems best therefore, in this case (what indeed upon

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

civitatis legem puto ; scilicet adversus eos, qui inviti fiunt decuriones, id existimo acturos, ut erogatio ceteris praeferatur.

### CXIV

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

LEGE, domine, Pompeia, permissum Bithynicis civitatibus adscribere sibi, quos vellent, cives, dum ne quem earum civitatum<sup>1</sup> quae sunt in Bithynia. Eadem lege sancitur, quibus de causis e senatu censoribus eiciantur. Inde me quidam ex censoribus consulendum putaverunt, an eicere deberent eum, qui esset alterius civitatis. Ego, quia lex sicut adscribi civem alienum vetabat, ita eici e senatu ob hanc causam non iubebat, praeterea quia ab aliquibus adfirmabatur mihi, in omni civitate plurimos esse buleutas ex aliis civitatibus, futurumque ut multi homines multaeque civitates concuterentur ea parte legis, quae iam pridem consensu quodam exolevisset, necessarium existinavi consulere te, quid servandum putares. Capita legis his litteris subieci.

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<sup>1</sup> dum ne quem earum civ., *B*, dum neque merum civ., *Av*.

<sup>a</sup> lxxix. note.

all occasions is the safest way), to leave each city to its respective laws. But I think, however, that the Censors ought to set the sum lower to those who are chosen into the senate contrary to their inclinations, than to the rest.

## CXIV

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Pompeian law,<sup>a</sup> Sir, allows the Bithynians to give the freedom of their respective cities to whatever persons they think proper, provided they do not already belong to any of the cities of this province.<sup>b</sup> The same law specifies the particular causes for which the Censors may expel any member of the senate. Certain of the Censors accordingly have desired my sentiments, whether they ought to expel a member if he should happen to be a citizen of another Bithynian state. But I thought it necessary to receive your instructions in this case; not only because the law, though it forbids such persons to be admitted citizens, does not direct a senator to be expelled for the same reason, but because I am informed that there are in every city several members of their senate who are in these circumstances. If therefore this clause of the law, which seems to be antiquated by a long custom to the contrary, should be enforced, many cities, as well as private persons, will be thrown into great confusion. I have subjoined the heads of this law to my letter.

<sup>b</sup> The rule that a man could not be citizen of more than one city was often contravened in practice, and difficulties and confusion necessarily resulted.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## CXV

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

MERITO haesisti, Secunde carissime, quid a te responderi oporteret censoribus consulentibus, an legerent in senatum aliarum civitatum, eiusdem tamen provinciae cives. Nam et legis auctoritas et longa consuetudo usurpata contra legem in diversum movere te potuit. Mihi hoc temperamentum eius placuit, ut ex praeterito nihil novaremus, sed manerent quamvis contra legem adsciti quarumcunque civitatum cives, in futurum autem lex Pompeia observaretur; cuius vim si retro quoque velimus custodire, multa necesse est perturbari.

## CXVI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUI virilem togam sumunt vel nuptias faciunt vel ineunt magistratum vel opus publicum dedicant, solent totam bulen atque etiam e plebe non exiguum numerum vocare binosque denarios vel singulos dare. Quod an celebrandum et quatenus putes, rogo scribas. Ipse enim sicut arbitror, praesertim ex



## CXV

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

You might very reasonably, my dear Pliny, be doubtful what decision to give to the inquiry of the Censors; whether they might elect into the senate citizens of other cities though of the same province? The authority of law on one side, and long custom prevailing against it on the other, might well throw you into a state of suspense. The proper mean to observe in this case, will be, to make no change in what is past, but to suffer those senators who are already elected, though contrary to law, to keep their seats, to whatever city they may belong; in all future elections, however, to pursue the directions of the Pompeian law: for to extend its influence backwards, must necessarily introduce great confusion.

## CXVI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

It is customary here upon any person's taking the manly robe,<sup>a</sup> solemnizing his marriage, entering upon the office of a magistrate, or dedicating any public work, to invite the whole senate, together with a considerable part of the commonalty, and distribute to each of the company one or two denarii. I beg you would inform me, whether you think proper this ceremony should be observed, and if so, within what limits. For myself, though I am of opinion that

<sup>a</sup> i. 9, note.

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

solemnibus causis, concedendas iussisti invitationes,<sup>1</sup> ita vereor, ne ii, qui mille homines, interdum etiam plures vocant, modum excedere et in speciem dianomes incidere videantur.

### CXVII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

MERITO vereris, ne in speciem dianomes incidat invitatio, quae et in numero modum excedit et quasi per corpora, non viritim singulos ex notitia ad solemnes sportulas contrahit. Sed ego ideo prudentiam tuam elegi, ut formandis istius provinciae moribus ipse moderareris et ea constituas, quae ad perpetuam eius provinciae quietem essent profutura.

### CXVIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ATHLETAE, domine, ea, quae pro iselasticis certaminibus constituisti, deberi sibi putant statim ex

<sup>1</sup> concedendas iussisti invitationes *Hardy*, concedendum iussisti *B*, *Budaeus*, concedendum iussi invit. *a*, concedendas esse invit. *Orelli*.

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<sup>a</sup> *dianome* (Gr. *διανομή*, "distribution") here means "distribution of bribes," such as was made by candidates through their agents.

<sup>b</sup> *Iselastic* (Gr. *ἰσελαστικός*, "of entry") games were those which entitled the victors to make a triumphal entry into

upon some occasions, especially those of public festivals, this kind of invitations may be permitted; yet when they are carried so far as to draw together a thousand persons and sometimes more, it is going, I fear, beyond a reasonable number, and has something the appearance of ambitious largesses.<sup>a</sup>

## CXVII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

It is with justice you apprehend, that these public invitations, which extend to an unreasonable number of people, and where the dole is distributed, not singly to a few acquaintances, but as it were to whole collective bodies, may be turned to turbulent purposes of ambition. But I made choice of your prudence, expressly that you might take your own measures for regulating the manner and settling the peace of this province.

## CXVIII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Athletic victors, Sir, in the iselastic games,<sup>b</sup> think they ought to receive the pension you have established for the conquerors at those combats from their native city, in a chariot of state, which was driven through a breach in the walls made for the occasion. These honours were originally confined to victors at the four great Hellenic games (the Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea); but in Imperial times it appears that any games could become, or cease to be, iselastic at the Emperor's pleasure. Iselastic victors had always received a pension, or free maintenance, for life from their cities; Trajan had increased these (probably daily) allowances. (Hardy.)

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

eo die, quo sunt coronati ; nihil enim referre, quando sint patriam invecti, sed quando certamine vicerint, ex quo invehi possint. Ego contrascribo<sup>1</sup> 'iselastici nomine' ita ut<sup>2</sup> vehementer addubitem, an sit potius id tempus, quo εἰσήλασαν, intuendum. Iidem obsonia petunt pro eo agone, qui a te iselasticus factus est, quamvis vicerint, ante quam fieret. Aiunt enim congruens esse, sicut non detur sibi pro iis certaminibus, quae esse iselastica, postquam vicerunt, desierunt, ita pro iis dari, quae esse coeperunt. Hic quoque non mediocriter haereo, ne cuiusquam retro habeatur ratio, dandumque, quod tunc, cum vincerent, non debebatur. Rogo ergo, ut dubitationem meam regere, id est beneficia tua interpretari, ipse digneris.

### CXIX

TRAIANUS PLINIO

ISELASTICUM tunc primum mihi videtur incipere deberi, cum quis in civitatem suam ipse εἰσήλασεν. Obsonia eorum certaminum, quae iselastica esse placuit mihi, si ante iselastica non fuerunt, retro non

<sup>1</sup> Ego contrascribo 'iselastici nomine' *Orelli*, ex *a*, *Av.*,  
Ego contra scribo is. nom.

<sup>2</sup> ita ut *Beroaldus*, itaque eorum *a*, *Av.*

the day they are crowned: for it is not at all material, they say, when they may be triumphantly conducted into their city, but when they merit that honour by their conquest. I habitually countersign the drafts for payment with the words "under the head of iselastic money," so that I am strongly inclined to believe that the time of their public entry is to be alone considered. They likewise petition to be allowed the pension you give at those combats which you have made iselastic, though they were conquerors before that establishment took place: for it is but reasonable, they assert, that they should receive their rewards in this case, as they are deprived of them at those games which have been divested of the honour of being iselastic, since their victories. But I am extremely doubtful, whether a retrospect should be admitted in this case, and a reward given to which they had no right at the time they gained the victory. I beg therefore you would be pleased to direct my judgement in these points, by explaining the intention of your own benefactions.

## CXIX

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE reward proposed to the conqueror in the iselastic games, is not, I think due till he makes his public entry into his city. Nor at those combats which I have thought proper to make iselastic, ought pensions to be extended backwards to those

## THE LETTERS OF PLINY

debentur. Nec proficere pro desiderio athletarum potest quod eorum quae postea iselastica non esse constitui, quam vicerant<sup>1</sup> accipere desierunt. Mutata enim condicione certaminum nihilo minus, quae ante perceperant, non revocantur.

### CXX

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

USQUE in hoc tempus, domine, neque cuiquam diplomata commodavi neque in rem ullam nisi tuam misi. Quam perpetuam servationem meam quaedam necessitas rupit. Uxori enim meae audita morte avi volenti ad amitam suam excurrere usum eorum negare durum putavi, cum talis officii gratia in celeritate consisteret, sciremque te rationem itineris probaturum, cuius causa erat pietas. Haec scripsi, quia mihi parum gratus tibi fore videbar, si dissimulassem inter alia beneficia hoc unum me debere indulgentiae tuae, quod fiducia eius quasi consulto te non dubitavi facere, quem si consuluissem, sero fecissem.

<sup>1</sup> quod eorum quae postea iselastica non esse constitui, quam vicerant *Schaefer*, quid eorum q. p. is. non lege const., quam qui ierant *a*.

who conquered there before that alteration took place. Nor is it a point in their favour that they have ceased to receive the emolument for those games which subsequent to their victories I have ordained are not to be iselastic; since, notwithstanding any change which has been made relating to these games, they are not called upon to return the recompense which they received prior to such alteration.

## CXX

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I HAVE never, Sir, accommodated any person with an order for post chaises,<sup>a</sup> or dispatched a courier provided with one, except upon your affairs. I find myself however at present under a sort of necessity of breaking through this fixed rule. My wife having received an account of her grandfather's<sup>b</sup> death, and being desirous to wait upon her aunt<sup>c</sup> with all possible expedition, I thought it would be unkind to deny her the use of this privilege; as the grace of so tender an office consists in the early discharge of it, and as I well knew a journey which was founded in filial piety, could not fail of your approbation. I have informed you of this, as I should think myself highly ungrateful, were I to dissemble, that among other great obligations which I owe to your indulgence, I have this in particular, that in confidence of your favour I have ventured to do without consulting you, what would have been too late had I waited for your consent.

<sup>a</sup> x. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Fabatus.

<sup>c</sup> Hispulla.

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## CXXI

TRAIANUS PLINIO

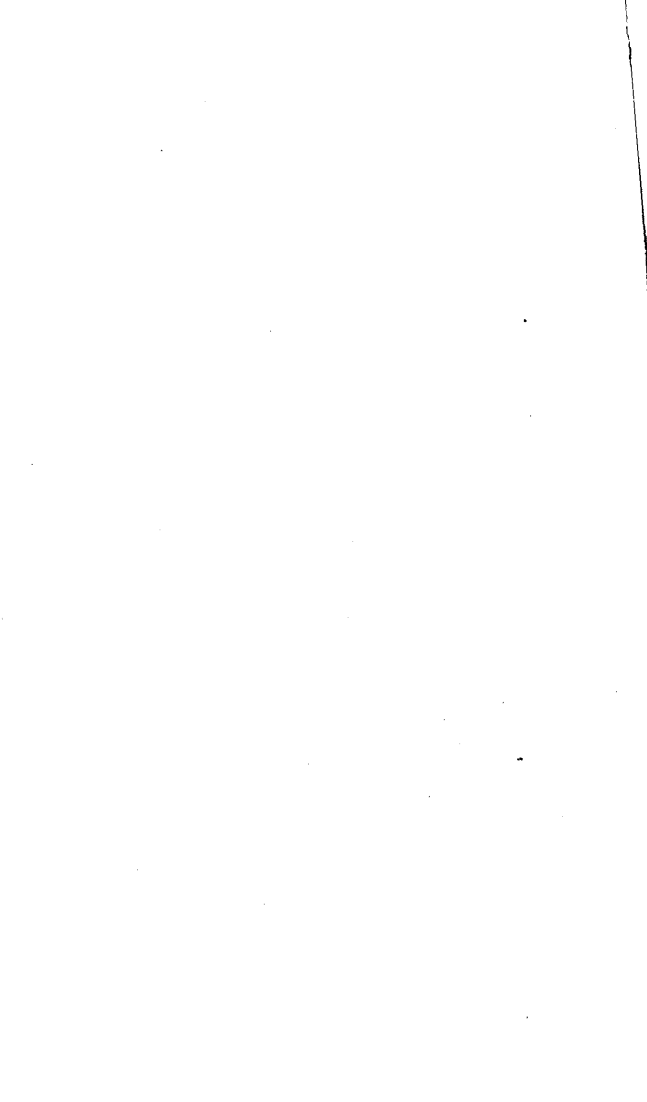
MERITO habuisti, Secunde carissime, fiduciam animi mei. Nec dubitandum fuisset, si exspectasses, donec me consuleres, an iter uxoris tuae diplomatibus, quae officio tuo dedi, adiuvandum esset, usum eorum intentioni non profuisse, cum apud amitam suam uxor tua deberet etiam celeritate gratiam adventus sui augere.



## CXXI

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

You did me justice, my dear Pliny, by confiding in my affection towards you. Without doubt, if you had waited for my consent to forward your wife in her journey by means of those warrants which I have intrusted to your care, the use of them would not have answered your purpose ; since it was proper this visit to her aunt should have the additional recommendation, of being paid with all possible expedition.



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## OF NOTABLE PERSONS ADDRESSED OR MENTIONED BY PLINY

ARRIA THE ELDER (III. 16; VI. 24), wife to Caecina Paetus, crowned an heroic life by showing her condemned husband how to die, A.D. 42 (*see* III. 16, note). Her daughter,

ARRIA THE YOUNGER (III. 11, 16; VII. 19; IX. 13), was already married to Thræsea Paetus at the time of her mother's death, which she wished to emulate twenty-four years later, when Thræsea was condemned for treason to Nero (66 A.D.). But he persuaded her to live for the sake of their daughter Fannia (*q.v.*). Banished by Domitian, Arria returned with the other political exiles on Nerva's accession (96 A.D.). Her death occurred some time before that of Fannia (VII. 19), but the date is unknown.

ARULENUS RUSTICUS, L. JUNIUS (I. 5, 14; III. 11; V. 1; IX. 29), first showed his fiery spirit when as a young man (*flagrans iuvenis cupidine laudis*, Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI. 26), being tribune of the plebs, he would have vetoed the Senate's condemnation of Thræsea Paetus, but for Thræsea's earnest representation that he would only throw away his own life by ineffectually interposing (66 A.D.). Praetor under Vitellius in 69 A.D., he was among the envoys sent by the Senate to meet Vespasian's troops; and was wounded by them while

unsuccessfully making overtures for peace (I. 5; Tac. *Hist.* III. 80). Quiescent under Vespasian and Titus, he could not brook in silence the tyranny of Domitian; he published a panegyric upon Thræsea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus which led to his execution for treason, 93 A.D. His book was publicly burned by order of the Senate (*scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur*, Tac. *Agric.* 2). Rusticus was doubly suspect as a disciple of Stoicism, which was supposed to foster revolutionary principles; and Suetonius (*Dom.* 10) connects his condemnation with Domitian's expulsion of all philosophers from Rome.

CORNUTUS TERTULLUS, C. JULIUS (II. 11, 12; IV. 17; V. 14; VII. 21, 31; IX. 13), Pliny's colleague in the prefecture of the treasury and in the consulship, was his senior by about twenty years. Pliny loved and revered him, and their official relations were the happiest possible (V. 14). Cornutus was given the curatorship of the Aemilian Way while Pliny was holding that of the Tiber (V. 14); later he successively governed four provinces, the second being Bithynia, where he apparently succeeded Pliny on the latter's death.

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**DOMITIUS AFER** (II. 14; VIII. 18), the teacher of Quintilian, who pronounces him the foremost orator of his time, was a native of Nemausus (Nîmes). Under Tiberius, he misused his great gifts by prosecuting persons obnoxious to the Emperor (Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 52, 56; XIV. 19; *Dial. de Orat.* 13, 15). He died at a great age in 59 A.D.

**EUPHRATES** (I. 10), a Stoic philosopher, native of Alexandria, taught first at Tyre, afterwards for many years at Rome, whither he came in Vespasian's retinue. Conformably to Stoic principles, he committed suicide when oppressed by age and infirmity (118 A.D.).

**FANNIA** (III. 11, 16; VII. 19; IX. 13), granddaughter of Caecina Paetus and Arria the Elder, daughter of Thrasea Paetus and Arria the Younger, was married 52 A.D. to Helvidius Priscus (*q.v.*). She twice followed her husband into exile; and was herself banished (93 A.D.) by Domitian, along with her mother, whom she vainly sought to exculpate, for being accessory to Herennius Senecio in producing a laudatory memoir of Helvidius. Returning to Rome on Domitian's death, Fannia was called on by Pliny to join in his attempt to avenge her stepson, the younger Helvidius (*q.v.*). The letter (VII. 19) in which Pliny laments her death as imminent was probably written in 107 A.D., when she must have been at least seventy.

**FESTUS, VALERIUS** (III. 7), commanded the troops in Africa under the proconsul Piso. After vainly endeavouring to make Piso take up arms for Vitellius against Vespasian, Festus went over to the latter's side when he saw it was the winning one, and carried out the order of

Vespasian's lieutenant by sending a party of soldiers to kill Piso. The treachery of Festus was rewarded with a series of honours (including the consulship in 71 A.D.) bestowed on him by Vespasian and by Titus.

**HELVIDIUS PRISCUS** (VII. 19), son-in-law to Thrasea Paetus, was banished by Nero in the year of Thrasea's execution (66 A.D.), and again by Vespasian, who finally put him to death in exile. It was for publishing encomiums upon him as a champion of Liberty that Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio were condemned to death. Fannia (*q.v.*), the daughter of Thrasea, was his second wife; by a former marriage he left a son—

**HELVIDIUS** (III. 11; IV. 21; VII. 30; IX. 13), executed for high treason under Domitian (A.D. 93), on the accusation of Publius Certus, a senator, whom Pliny sought to bring to justice after Domitian's death (IX. 13). Helvidius left a son, and two daughters, both of whom died young in childbirth (IV. 21).

**HERENNIUS SENECIO** (I. 5; III. 11; IV. 7, 11; VII. 19, 33), an eminent advocate, was counsel for Licinianus (IV. 11) in 90 A.D., and, conjointly with Pliny, for his native province of Baetica in the trial of Baebius Massa (VII. 19), 93 A.D. In the same year he was put to death on a charge of treason brought by Mettius Carus; his crime consisted in having, like Rusticus, published a laudatory memoir of Helvidius Priscus (*see* FANNIA).

**JULIUS FRONTINUS, SEX.** (IV. 8; V. 1; IX. 19), one of the most eminent men of his time, was born not later than 40 A.D. and died *circa* 103 A.D., when Pliny succeeded him in the College of

## BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

**Augurs.** Among other high offices, he held the Proconsulship of Britain in 76-78 A.D.; his conduct in this arduous post is praised by Tacitus (*Agric.* 17). His treatise on Strategy, another on the aqueducts of Rome, and fragments of a third on field-surveying, are still extant.

**LICINIUS SURA** (IV. 30; VII. 27), a native of Spain, became the trusted friend and counsellor of Trajan, whom Nerva is said to have adopted partly on Sura's advice. The success of Trajan's Dacian campaigns was largely owing to his services as chief of the staff, which the Emperor repaid with many high honours. Hadrian, who was Sura's *quaestor* during those campaigns, gained Trajan's favour through his influence; so that Sura may be said to have made two emperors. Trajan erected a statue to him after his death.

**MAURICIUS, JUNIUS** (I. 5, 14; II. 18; III. 11; IV. 22; VI. 14), was brother to Arulenus Rusticus, and exiled in the year of his execution (93 A.D.). Recalled by Nerva, he was *persona grata* with that Emperor and with Trajan; but no more is known of his later life. He showed the bold, uncompromising character, which Pliny illustrates by two anecdotes (IV. 22), at an early age; first by reproving public lawlessness under Galba (Plutarch, *Galba* 8), and again, on Vespasian's accession, by seeking to prosecute the informers of Nero's time. Pliny addresses three letters (I. 14; II. 18; VI. 14) to Mauricius, who evidently treated him as a valued friend of the family.

**METTIUS CARUS** (I. 5; VII. 19, 27), pilloried for ever as the typical informer by Tacitus, Martial and Juvenal, is said by the scholiast on the last-named to

have been a dwarf, and a favourite freedman of Nero. Herennius Senecio was one of his victims under Domitian; Pliny might have been another, but for the tyrant's death (VII. 27). His end is unknown; the statement of the scholiast on Juvenal that he was himself informed against, and put to death, being invalidated by a manifest anachronism. One hopes it is so far true, that Carus did finally pay the just penalty of his crimes.

**PISO, L. CALPURNIUS** (III. 7), consul with Nero 57 A.D., was proconsul of Africa when killed there by his subordinate, Valerius Festus, 70 A.D. (see *FESTUS*). His father ("L. Piso," III. 7), consul 27 A.D., had likewise been proconsul of Africa; his grandfather was Cn. Calp. Piso, the enemy and alleged murderer of Germanicus.

**PISO (L. Calp. Piso Licinianus)** (II. 20), was adopted as heir by Galba on his accession, and murdered with him five days afterwards (Jan. 15, 69 A.D.). His wife, Verania, the lady pestered by Regulus (II. 20) bought her husband's head from the assassins.

**PLINIUS SECUNDUS, C., THE ELDER** (I. 19; III. 5; V. 8; VI. 16), our Pliny's uncle and adoptive father (see *Introd.*), was born in the middle of the reign of Tiberius and perished, a martyr to scientific curiosity, in the great eruption of Vesuvius, August 79 A.D. (VI. 16). Though his life was passed in active civil and military service in almost every province of the empire, he was the most learned man and prolific writer of his day. His voluminous works (III. 5) are lost, with the exception of his *Natural History* in thirty-seven books—"a priceless storehouse of information on every

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branch of natural science as known to the ancient world" (Mackail).

POMPEIUS FALCO, Q. (I. 23; IV. 27; VII. 22; IX. 15), son-in-law to Q. Sossius Senecio, had a distinguished official career under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, holding several of the most important provincial governorships besides other high positions.

QUINTILIANUS (M. FABIVS) (II. 14; VI. 6, 32), was born at Calagurris, a small town of Hispania Tarraconensis, where he taught rhetoric after studying it at Rome under Domitius Afer, and became known to Galba, then proconsul of that province. On Galba being declared Emperor (68 A.D.), Quintilian accompanied him to Rome, and was made a public teacher of rhetoric, an appointment which he held for about twenty years of fame and prosperity. He died, apparently, either shortly before, or not long after, Domitian, who made him tutor to his two grand-nephews, and gave him consular rank. His great work, the *Institutio Oratoria*, appeared about 93 A.D. and "at once became the final and standard treatise on the theory and practice of Latin oratory" (Mackail).

REGVLVS, M. AQUILIUS (I. 5, 20; II. 11, 20; IV. 2, 7; VI. 2), became notorious as an informer in the two last years of Nero, when the consuls M. Licinius Crassus Frugi and Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Peticus were executed on charges brought by him. According to Pliny (I. 5) he played an equally infamous part, though more covertly, under Domitian; but his having virulently attacked the memory of Rusticus and Senecio seems to have been the head and front of his offending. Pliny's contem-

plated prosecution of him after Domitian's death was not carried out, whether owing to Nerva's policy of letting bygones be bygones, or because Pliny's adviser (I. 5) saw that the case against Regulus would not really hold water. Notwithstanding Pliny's ridicule, he makes it clear that Regulus was an able and eloquent advocate. Martial praises his oratory as highly as he does Pliny's, ranking both with Cicero's (Epp. IV. 16; V. 28, 63; VI. 64). Regulus died early in Trajan's reign (VI. 2), not unregretted by his old adversary.

RUSTICVS, *see* ARULENVS.

SENECIO, HERENNIUS, *see* HERENNIUS.

SENECIO, Q. SOSIVS (I. 13; IV. 4), was twice consul under Trajan, who honoured him with a statue; but his more enduring monument is the dedication to him by Plutarch of the *Lives*. He was son-in-law to Julius Frontinus and father-in-law to Pompeius Falco.

SEPTICIUS CLARVS, C. (I. 1, 15; II. 9; VII. 28; VIII. 1), is only memorable as having received the dedication of two famous works. Pliny addressed to him the introductory letter (I. 1) prefixed to the first Book; and while he was Praetorian Prefect under Hadrian, Suetonius dedicated to him his *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (120 A.D.). Like Suetonius, who was then Hadrian's secretary, Septicius lost his office the following year, and for the same reason (*see* SUTONIUS).

SUTONIUS TRANQVILLVS, C. (I. 18, 24; III. 8; V. 10; IX. 34; X. 94, 95), son of an officer of the Thirteenth Legion, was born not long before 75 A.D. As a young man he practised at the bar and became an intimate friend of Pliny, his senior by

## BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

some twelve years, whose influence secured him a military tribuneship (III. 8) and the *ius trium liberorum* (X. 94, 95). Suetonius was later one of Hadrian's private secretaries, but lost office and Imperial favour in 121 A.D. by failing in respect towards the Empress Sabina, and devoted the last forty years of his life to writing voluminously on grammar, rhetoric, antiquities, and the natural sciences. His works are almost entirely lost with the fortunate exception of his *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*—a *chronique scandaleuse*, but also an inestimable mine of personal detail about the early Emperors. The *Lives* can hardly have been the work referred to by Pliny in V. 10 as long overdue, since they were not published until 120 A.D.

TACITUS, CORNELIUS (I. 6; II. 1, 11; IV. 13, 15; VI. 9, 16, 20; VII. 20, 33; VIII. 7; IX. 10, 14, 23), of whose family nothing is known, was born early in Nero's reign, and began his official career, as quaestor, not later than 79 A.D., being then at least twenty-five, and already married to the daughter of Agricola. He was thus some seven years older than Pliny, whose friend and associate he became while both practised at the bar. Praetor under Domitian, 88 A.D., Tacitus rose to the consulship as Nerva's colleague, 97 A.D. In the following year he published that pearl of biographies, the memoir of Agricola, and the treatise *De Origine Situ Moribus ac Populis Germaniae*, the first fruits of his genius, with the exception of an early essay on oratory (*Dialogus de Oratoribus*). Then followed the works that have made him immortal—the *Histories* and the *Annals*, presenting the history of the Roman Empire from the death

of its founder, Augustus, down to that of Domitian. Allusions to current events in the *Annals* show that this, his latest work, was published after 115 A.D., and it seems likely that Tacitus did not long survive that date. At least, he did not live to fulfil his expressed intention of recording the happier times of Nerva and Trajan.

THRASEA PAETUS, P. FANNIUS (III. 16; VI. 29; VII. 19; VIII. 22), a native of Padua, husband of the younger Arria, and father of Fannia, took a leading part in public affairs under Claudius, and under Nero until 63 A.D., when he marked his opposition to Nero by withdrawing altogether from the Senate. Three years later he was condemned for treason, and allowed to forestall execution by suicide (see ARRIA and RUSTICIUS). Martial (Epp. I. 8) couples Thrascia with Cato as a type of Roman Stoicism.

VERGINIUS RUFUS (II. 1; V. 3; VI. 10; IX. 19), Pliny's guardian and second father, was the Nestor of his time. Born in the first year of Tiberius (14 A.D.) and dying in the second of Nerva (97 A.D.), he saw eleven wearers of the purple, which he prudently refused for himself in the terrible "Year of Four Emperors" (68-69 A.D.). In that year, as Legate of Upper Germany, he crushed the formidable revolt of Julius Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, by the decisive battle of Besançon; his victorious army, casting off allegiance to Nero, then vainly urged him to proclaim himself Emperor and lead them into Italy. A few months later, when Galba's "transient and embarrassed phantom" had followed Nero to the shades, Verginius joined forces with Otho against Vitellius; and when

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the Vitellians won the day at Betrlacum, his beaten and desperate soldiers, after once more importuning him to claim the Empire, actually demanded his death from its new master. But Vitellius, to his credit, took pains to save him (Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 68). Having weathered these storms, Verginius lived honoured and prosperous under the three Flavian Emperors; if, as Pliny seems to imply (ii. 1), he was suspected and

disliked by Vespasian and Domitian, neither attempted to molest him. He was thrice consul; firstly in 63 A.D. under Nero; secondly in 69 A.D. under Otho; thirdly in 97 A.D., the year of his death, when Nerva made him his colleague in that office. Pliny is better inspired than usual when he declares (ii. 1) that to have his funeral eulogy pronounced by Tacitus set the coping-stone upon the good luck of Verginius.

## INDEX SIGLORUM

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